



TO THE

Right Honorable and his singular good Lord,
Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of
the most noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treasu-
rer of England, Maister of the Courts of Wards and
Lineries, and one of the Queenes Maiesties
priuie Councell.



Considering with my selfe, right Honorable and my singular good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuse me of vaine presumption, for enterprising to deale in this so weightie a worke, and so far aboue my reach to accomplish: I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first induced to undertake the same, although the cause that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lordship.

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizzen Reginald Wolfe late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowne and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world, and therewith also certaine particular histories of euery knowne nation, amongst other whom he purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories, and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after fise and xwentie yeares trauell spent therein; so that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that performed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse, those whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence, wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the same. Which although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answere that trust which the deceassed reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection: yet when the volume grew so great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression, were not willing to go

A.ij. through

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

through with the whole, they resolved first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, because they were not in such readinesse, as those of forren countries, they were inforced to use the helpe of other better able to doo it than my selfe.

Moreouer, the Charty, wherein Maister Wolfe spent a great part of his time, were not found so complet as we wished: and againe, vnderstanding of the great charges and notable enterprise of that worthie Gentleman maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charty of the seuerall provinces of this realme to be set forth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectlie, as shall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deserued praise. If any well willer will imitate him in so praiseworthy a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.

The histories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greatest part with Maister Wolfe in his life time, to his liking, who procured me so manie helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increase the readers knowledge, which causeth the booke to grow so great. But receiuing them by parts, and at seuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not so orderlie disposed them, as otherwise I ought, choosng rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderstanding might seeme to satisfie his expectation.

I therefore most humbly beseech your Honour to accept these Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wisdom and accustomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, because you were euer so especiall good Lord to Maister Wolfe, to whom I was singularly beholden; and in whose name I humbly present this rude worke vnto you; beseeching God, that as he hath made you an instrument to aduance his truth, so it may please him to increase his good gifts in you, to his glorie, the furtherance of the Queenes Maiesties seruice, and the comfort of all his faithfull and louing subiects.

Your Honours most humble to be commanded,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.



THE PREFACE

to the reader.



It is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in so large a field as I haue here vndertaken, while so manie fundrie men in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to surpasse me; but seeing the best able doo seeme to neglect it, let me (though least able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natue countries praise (which is their dutie) the encouragement of their woorthie countrymen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and

histories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may shew mine vttermost good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders dispensation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the least able are readiest to find fault in matters of least weight, and therefore I esteeme the lesse of their carping, but humblie beseech the skilfull to supplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeuyour. For it may please them to consider, that no one can be eie-witnesse to all that is written within our time; much lesse to those things which happened in former times, and therefore must be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene so carefull, that I haue spared no paines or helpe of freends to search out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witnesses for the true setting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find such want in writers for the necessarie knowledge of things doone in times past, and lacke of meanes to obtaine sufficient instructions by reporters of the time present; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countrymen so manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the same to posteritie (as I wished) to their well deserued praise. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My speech is plaine, without any rhetoricall shew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to simple truth, than to decking words. I wish I had beene furnished with so perfect instructions, and so many good gifts, that I might haue pleased all kinds of men, but that same being so rare a thing in any one of the best, I beseech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meanest.

But now for thy further instruction, to vnderstand the course of these my labours. First concerning the historie of England, as I haue collected the same out of manie and fundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and rashnesse sometime is

The Preface to the Reader.

found in their reports; I leaue to the discretion of those that haue perused their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather chosen to shew the diuersitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vsing a peremptorie censure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuertheless to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he seeth cause. If some-where I shew my fantasie what I thinke, and that the same dislike them; I craue pardon, speciallie if by probable reasons or plainer matter to be produced, they can shew mine error; vpon knowledge whereof I shall be readie to reforme it accordingly. Where I doo begin the historie from the first inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that first peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters so vncerteine, if I cannot sufficientlie content my selfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I should satisfie others. That which seemeth to me most likelie, I haue noted, beseeching the learned (as I trust they will) in such points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my skill: sith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but still they are in controuersie about it, and as yet *Sub iudice lis est*. Well, howsoeuer it came first to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the first the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans set any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongst them: which hath brought so manie good policies and states to ruihe and decay.

The Romans hauing once got possession of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not rest (as it appeareth) till they had brought the same also vnder their subiection; and the sooner doubtlesse, by reason of the factions amongst the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accustomed skill) could turne verie well to their most advantage. They possessed it almost fife hundreth yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their insufferable tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people, as well here as else-where; either that their ciuill discord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not so weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the same against the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in histories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land stood in verie weake state: being spoiled of the most part of all hir able men, which were led awaie into forren regions, to supplie the Romane armies; and likewise (perhaps) of all necessarie armour, weapon, and treasure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons against the Scots and Picts then inuading the same, ministred to them occasion to attempt the second conquest, which at length they brought to passe, to the overthrow not onelie of the British dominion, but also to the subuersion of the Christian religion here in this land: which chanced (as appeareth by *Gildas*) for the wicked sins and vnthankfulnesse of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occasions and causes of the transmutations of kingdoms, *Nam propter peccata, regna transmutantur a gente in gentem*.

The Saxons obtaining possession of the land, gouerned the same, being diuided into fundrie kingdoms, and hauing once subdued the Britons, or at the least-wise remooued them out of the most part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines, fell at diuision among themselues, and oftentimes with warre pursued ech other, so as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puissance, either to mooue warres abroad, or sufficientlie to defend themselues against forren forces at home: as manifestlie was perceiued, when the Danes and other the Northeasterne people, being then of great puissance by sea, began miserablie to afflicte this land: at the first inuading as it were but onelie the coasts and countries lieng neere to the sea, but afterwards with maine armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the English people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to resist the enimies; yet at length those Danes subdued the whole, and had

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had possession thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to those of the Saxon line: till thortlie after, by the insolent dealings of the gouernours, a diuision was made betwixt the king and his people, through iust punishment decreed by the prouidence of the Almighty, determining for their sinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a stranger; and therevpon when spite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in succession appertained, the Conquerour entred, and they remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie so cleerlie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to stand vp against him. And herewith altering the whole state, he planted such lawes and ordinances as stood most for his auaille and securitie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke such effect, that the state hath euer sithens continued whole and vnbroken by wise and politike gouernement, although disquieted sometime by ciuill dissention, to the ruine commonlie of the first mouers, as by the sequele of the historie you may see.

For the historie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed *Hector Boece*, *Iohannes Maior*, and *Iowan Ferreri Piemontese*, so far as they haue continued it, interlaced sometimes with other authours, as *Houeden*, *Fourdon*, and such like; although not often, because I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne histories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprize to their owne countymen: so that whatsoeuer ye read in the same, consider that a Scotishman writ it, and an Englishman hath but onelie translated it into our language, referring the reader to the English historie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he seeth cause. For the continuation thereof I vsed the like order, in such copies and notes as Maister Wolfe in his life time procured me; sauing that in these last yeares I haue inserted some such notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, because I got them not till that part of the English historie was past the presse.

For Ireland, I haue shewed in mine epistle dedicatorie in what sort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to signifie, that I had not *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Flatburie*, vntill that part of the booke was vnder the presse, and so being constrained to make post hast, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet dispose it so orderlie as had beene conuenient, nor pen it with so apt words as might satisfie either my selfe, or those to whose view it is now like to come. And by reason of the like haste made in the impression, where I was determined to haue transposed the most part of that which in the English historie I had noted, concerning the conquest of Ireland by Hen. the second, out of *Houeden* & others, I had not time thereto; and so haue left it there remaining where I first noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Irish histories, because the same commeth there well inough in place, as to those that shall vouchsafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

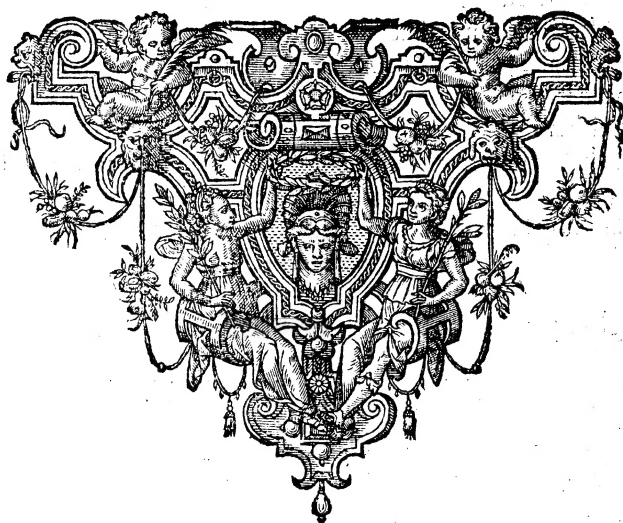
For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister *Wolfe's* aduise followed *Functius*; but after his deceasse, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue set them downe according to such authours as seeme to be of best credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but to the learned and skilfull in histories it shall appeare. Moreover, this the reader hath to consider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the surest order (in my fanisie) that can be followed.

For the names of persons, townes, and places, as I haue beene diligent to reforme the errors of other (which are to be ascribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authours) so may it be that I haue some-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to restore them to their full integritie as I wished. But what I haue performed, as well in that behalfe as others, the skilfull reader shall easily perceiue, and

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and withall consider (I trust) what trauell I haue bestowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompense thereof he will iudge the best, and to make a freendlie construction of my meaning, where ought may seeme to haue escaped my pen or the printers presse, otherwise than we could haue wished for his better satisfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offense in time present, which referred to the time past when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable, but also allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beseech thee to weigh the causes and circumstances of such faults and imperfections, and consider that the like may creepe into a far lesse volume than this, and shew me so much fauour as hath beene shewed to others in like causes. And sithens I haue doone my good will, accept the same, as I with a free and thankfull mind doo offer it thee; so shall I thinke my labour well bestowed. For the other histories, which are alreadie collected, if it please God to giue abilitie, shall in time come to light, with some such breefe descriptions of the foreign regions whereof they treat, as may the better suffice to the readers contentation, and vnderstanding of the matters contained in the same histories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I cease further to trouble thy patience, wishing to thee (gentle reader) so much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie spirit may endue thee with.

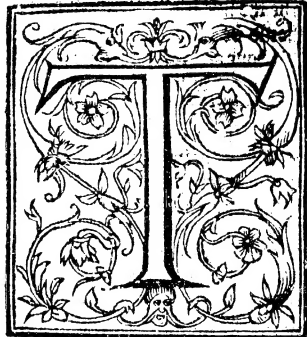
FINIS.





The politike Conquest of William the first.

Anno. 1.



This William Duke of Normandie, base son of Robert the first Duke of Normandie, and nephew unto Edward king of England, surnamed the Confessor, having vanquished the English power, and slaine Harold in the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the historie of England) began his reigne ouer England the xv. daie of October being sundae, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033. (as W. Harison gathereth) and after the birth of our Saviour 1066, which was in the tenth yeare of the emperor Vetric the fourth, in the first of pope Alexander the second, in the first of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolm the third, surnamed Canmor, king of Scotland.

Sim.Dun.

Immediatlie after he had thus got the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) he first returned to Hastings, and after set forward towards London, wasted the countries of Suffex, Kent, Hampshire, Southerie, Middlesex, and Herefordshire, burning the townes, and slaing the people, till he came to Beorcham. In the meane time, immediatlie after the discomfiture in Suffex, the two earles of Northumberland and Mercia, Edwin and Maccar, who had withdrawne themselves from the battell together with their people, came to London, and with all speed sent their sister quene Alditha unto the citie of Chelster, and herewith sought to persuade the Londoners to advance one of them to the kingdome: as Wil.Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham saith, that Aldred archbishop of Yorke, and the said earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Wherewith, whilest manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to make themselves redie to give a new battell to the Normans (how or what soeuer was the cause) the said earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great discomfirt of their friends. Wil. Malm. seemeth to put blame in the bishops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpose in advancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the bishops (saith he) refused to ioint with the lords in that behalf, and so through eniue and spite which one part bare to another, when they could not agree vpon an Englishman, they received a stranger, inasmuch that vpon king William his coming vnto Beorcham, Aldred archbishop of Yorke, Wolsane bishop of Worcester, and Walter bishop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foresaid earles Edwin and Maccar

Edwin and Maccar.

Quene Alditha sent to Chelster.

Wil.Mal. Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. The bishops blamed.

The archbishop of Yorke & other submit themselves to king William.

came and submitted themselves vnto him, whom he gentlie received, and incontinentlie made an agreement with them, taking their oth and hostages (as some write) and yet neuertheless he permitted his people to spoile and burne the countrie.

But now, when the feast of Christs nativitie (commonlie called Christmas) was at hand, he approached to the citie of London, and coming thither, caused his haughtie first to enter into the streets, where finding some resistance, he easily subdued the citizens that thus took vpon them to withstand him, though not without some bloodshed (as Gemeticen. writeth) but as by others it should appeere, he was received into the citie without anie resistance at all; and so being in possession thereof, he spake manie friendlie words to the citizens, and promised that he would vse them in most liberall & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requisite) he was crowned king vpon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke. For he would not receive the crowne at the hands of Stigand archbishop of Canturburie, because he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd person and a naughtie liuer.

Gemeticen.

William Conquerour crowned 1067. according to their account which begin the yeare on the daie of Christs nativitie.

At his coronation he caused the bishops and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they should be his true and loiall subjects (according to the maner in that case accustomed.) And being required thereto by the archbishop of Yorke, he took his personall oth before the altar of S. Peter at Westminster, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the same, to gouerne the people in iustice as became a king to doe, to ordeine righteous lawes & keepe the same, so that all maner of baying, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements should for euer after be abolished.

After this, he took order how to keepe the realme in god and quiet government, fortifying the necessarie places, and furnishing them with garisons. He also appointed officers and counsellors, such as he thought to be wise and discret men, and appointed ships to be in the hauens by the coast for the defense of the land, as he thought most expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by some authours it should seeme) euen presentlie vpon obtaining of the citie of London, he took his journey towards the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also: which when the archbishop Stigand and Egellin the abbat of S. Augustines (being as it were the chiefest lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and considered that the whole realme was in an euill state; & that whereas in this realme of England, before the coming in of the foresaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonaltie were without respect made subiect to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occasion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the safeguard of themselves

Polydor.

1067.

John Stow.

Tho. Spot.

Heretofore & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonaltie to the Normans.

felices and their countrie. They caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come in to, the pride and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and griefe of bondage and servile estate. Whereupon all the people rather chosing to end their unfortunate life, than to submit themselves to an unaccustomed yoke of servitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to meet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countie. Also, the foresaid Stigand the archbishop, and the abbat Egelsin, chosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabees, became capitains of the armie. And at a date appointed, all the people met at Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, laye pynlie in wait for the comming of the foresaid duke William.

Now, because it cannot hurt to take great heed, and to be vertie warie in such cases, they agreed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the passages on euerie side stopped, to the end he should no waie be able to escape, euerie one of them, as well horsemen as footmen should beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories nere vnto Swanescombe, and saw all the countrie set and placed about him, as it had bene a stirring and mourning wood, and that with a meane pace they approached and drew neare vnto him, with great discomfort of mind he wondered at that sight. And as soon as the capitains of the Kentishmen sawe that duke William was inclosed in the midst of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounded, their banners to be displaied, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their swords drawne, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched forth, they shewed themselves ready to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) soxe astonied, and amazed: so that he which thought he had already all England fast in his fist, did now despaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentishmen, were sent vnto duke William the archbishop Stigand, and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines, who told him their

meslage in this sort.

My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to meet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which pertain to peace, and that vnder this condition; that all the people of Kent enjoy for ever their ancient liberties, and may for evermore vse the lawes and customes of the countrie; otherwise they are ready presently to bid battell to you, and them that be with you, and are minded rather to die here altogether, than to depart from the lawes and customes of their countrie, and to submit themselves to bondage, thereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The duke seeing himselfe to be dzinen to such an exigent & stay to pinch, consulted a while with them that came with him, prudently considering, that if he should take anie repulse or displeasure at the hands of this people, which he called the people of England, all that he had done before should be disannulled and made of none effect, and all his hope and safetie should stand in danger and leoparchie: not so willinglie as wiselie he granted the people of Kent their request. Now when the covenant was established, and pledges giuen on both sides: the Kentishmen being ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who also were glad) vnto Rochester, and yelded vp to the duke the earledome of Kent, and the noble castell of Dover. Thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and customes of the countrie, which before the comming of duke William out of Normandie, were equally kept throughout all England, be (through this industrie and earnest traueil of the archbishop Stigand and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines) remaine inuoluable obserued vntill this daie within that countie of Kent. ¶ Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writeth the same. Of the which the former (that is Spot) liued in the daies of king Edward the first, and William Thorne in the daies of king Richard the second.

The ancient liberties and lawes of England remaine in Kent onke.

Wil. Thorne.

But now, before we proceed anie further in recital of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a table noted all the noble capitains and gentlemen of name, aswell Normans as other strangers, which assisted duke William in the conquest of this land: and first, as we find them written in the chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleux.

The Catalog of such Noble men, Lords, and Gentlemen of name, as came into this land with William the Conquerour.

O Do bishop of Bayeux.	Le seig. de S. Martin.	Osmond seig. du Pont.	Le seig. de Bacqueuille.
Robert erle of Mortaign.	Le seig. de Puis.	Le seig. de Estouteuille.	Le seig. de Preaulx.
Roger erle of Beaumont	Guillaume Crespin.	Le seig. de Torchy.	Le seig. de Iouy.
turnamed <i>A la Barbe</i> .	Guillaume de Moyenne	Le seig. de Barnabost.	Le seig. de Longueuille.
Guillaume Mallet seigneur de Montfort.	Guillaume Desmoulins.	Le seig. de Breual.	Le seig. d'Aquigny.
Henrie seig. de Ferrers.	Guillaume Desgarennes.	Le seig. de Seculme.	Le seig. de Passy.
Guillaume d'Aubellmare seign. de Fougieres.	Hue de Gourney, <i>alias</i> Geneuay.	Le seig. de Houme.	Le seig. de Tournay.
Guillaume de Roumare seig. de Lithare.	Le seig. de Bray.	Le seig. de Souchoy.	Le seig. de Colombieres.
Le seig. de Touque.	Le seig. de Gouy.	Le seig. de Cally.	Le seig. de Bolleber.
Le seig. de la Mare.	Le seig. de Laigle.	Le seig. de la Riuere.	Le seig. de Garenfieres.
Neel le Viconte.	Le seig. de Touarts.	Euldes de Beanien.	Le seig. de Longueile.
Guillaume de Vepont.	Le seig. de Aurenchin.	Le seig. de Roumily.	Le seig. de Houdetot.
Le seig. de Magneuille.	Le seig. de Vitrey.	Le seig. de Glotz.	Le seig. de Malletot.
Le seig. de Grosfenil.	Le seig. de Trassy, <i>alias</i> Tracy.	Le seig. du Sap.	Le seig. de la Haie Maerbe.
	Le seig. de Picquigny.	Le seig. de Vanuille.	Le sei. de Porch Pinche.
	Le seig. d'Espinau.	Le seig. Branchou.	Le seig. de Luetot.
		Le seig. Balleul.	The erle of Tanqueruile
		Le seig. de Beaufault.	The erle d'Eu.
		Le seig. de Telleres.	The erle d'Arques.
		Le seig. de Senlys.	

The

The erle of Aniou.	Eustace de Hambleule.	nolles.	Le feig. de S. Sain.
The erle of Neuers.	Geoffray Bournom.	Anguerand erle of Her-	Le feig. de Breanvou.
Le feig. de Rouuile.	Le feig. de Blainuile.	court.	Le feig. de Saffy.
Le prince de Ale-	Le feig. de Mauneuile.	Roger Marmion.	Le feig. de Naffy.
maigne.	Geoffrey de Moienne.	Raoul de Gaiel.	Le vidam de Chartres.
Le feig. de Pauilly.	Auffray and Mauger de	Auenel de Viers.	Le feig. de Ieanuile.
Le feig. de S. Cler.	Carteny.	Pauuel du Montier Hu-	Le vidam du Passais.
Le feig. d'Espinau.	Le feig. de Freanuile.	bert.	Pierre du Bailleul feig.
Le feig. de Bremetot.	Le feig. de Moubray.	Robert Bertraule Tort.	de Fescampe.
Alain Fergant erle of	Le feig. de Iastay.	Le feig. de Seulle.	Le seneschal de Tor-
Britaigne.	Guillaume Patais feig.	Le feig. Doruial.	chy.
Le feig. de la Ferte.	de la Lande.	Le feig. de la Hay.	Le feig. de Griffey.
Robert fils Heruays duc	Eulde de Mortimer.	Le feig. de S. Iohn.	Le feig. de Bassefey.
de Orleans.	Hue erle of Gournay.	Le feig. de Sauffy.	Le feig. de Tourneur.
Le feig. de la Lande.	Egremont de Laigle.	Le feig. de Brye.	Guillaume de Colom-
Le feig. de Mortimer.	Richard d'Aurinchin.	Richard Dollebec.	bieres.
Le feig. de Clare.	Le feig. de Bearts.	Le feig. du Monfiquet.	Le feig. de Bonnebault.
Le feig. de Magny.	Le feig. de Soulligny.	Le feig. de Bresfey.	Le feig. de Ennebault.
Le feig. de Fontnay.	Bouteclier d'Aubigny.	Le feig. de Semilly.	Le feig. de Danuillers.
Roger de Montgomery.	Le feig. de Marcey.	Le feig. de Tilly.	Le feig. de Beruile.
Amaury de Touars.	Le feig. de Lachy.	Le feig. de Preaux.	Le feig. de Creueceur.
Le feig. de Hacqueuile.	Le feig. de Valdere.	Le feig. de S. Denis.	Le feig. de Breate.
Le feig. de Neanthou.	Eulde de Montfort.	Le feig. de Meuley.	Le feig. de Coutray.
Le feig. de Perou.	Henoy de Cahieu.	Le feig. de Mionceaux.	The erle of Eureux.
Robert de Beaufou.	Le feig. de Vimers.	The archers of Breuile.	Le feig. de feint Valery.
Le feig. Meauuon.	Guillaume de Mouion.	The archers of Vaudre-	Thomas erle d'Aumale.
Le feig. de Soteuile.	Raoul Tesson de Tig-	uile.	The erle de Hiesmes.

With other lords and men of account in great numbers, whose names the author of the chronicles of Normandie could not come by (as he himselfe confesseth.) In consideration whereof, and because diuers of these are set forth onlie by their titles of estate, and not by their surnames; we haue thought it conuenient to make you partakers of the roll which sometime belonged to Battell abbeie, containing also (as the title thereof importeth) the names of such Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time with the Conqueror, whereof diuerse maie be the same persons which in the catalog aboue written are contained, bearing the names of the places whereof they were possessed, and owners, as by the same catalog maie appeare.

The roll of Battell abbeie.

A	Brebus and Byseg	Beauchampe	Beteruile	Bernon
Vmarle	Bardolfe	Bray and Bandy	Bertin	Boels
Aincourt	Bassët and Bigot	Bracy	Bereneuile	Belefroun
Audeley	Bohun	Boundes	Bellewe	Brutz
Adgillam	Bailif	Bascoun	Benery	Barchampe
Argentoune	Bondeuile	Broilem	Busshell	C
Arundell	Brabafon	Broleuy	Boranuile	Amois
Auenant	Baskeruile	Burnell	Browe	Camuile
Abell	Bures	Beller	Beleuers	Chawent
Anuerne	Bounilaine	Baudewin	Buffard	Chauncy
Aunwers	Bois	Beaumont	Botelere	Conderay
Angers	Botelere	Burdon	Bonueier	Coluile
Angenoun	Bourcher	Berteuilay	Boteuile	Chamberlaine
Archere	Brabaion	Barre	Bellire	Chamburnoun
Anuay	Berners	Busseuile	Bastard	Comin
Asperuile	Braibuf	Blunt	Bainard	Columber
Albeuile	Brande & Bronce	Beupere	Brasard	Cribett
Andeuile	Burgh	Beuill	Beelhelme	Creuquere
Amouerduile	Bushy	Barduedor	Braine	Corbine
Arcy and Akeny	Banet	Brette	Brent	Corbett
Albeny	Blondell	Barrett	Braunch	Chaundos
Aybeuare	Breton	Bonret	Belesuz	Chaworth
Amay	Bluat and Baious	Bainard	Blundell	Cleremaus
Aspermound	Browne	Barniuale	Burdet	Clarell
Amerenges	Beke	Bonett	Bagot	Chopis
B	Bickard	Barry	Beauuife	Chaunduit
Ertram	Banastre	Bryan	Belemis	Chantelow
Buttecourt	Baloun	Bodin	Beifin	Chamberay

Cressy

Cressy	Durant	Graunfon	Louell	Morell
Curtenay	Drury	Gracy	Lemare	Mainell
Conestable	Dabitot	Georges	Leuetot	Malcluse
Cholmeley	Dunfteruile	Gower	Lucy	Memorous
Champney	Dunchampe	Gaugy	Luny	Morreis
Chawnos	Dambelton	Goband	Logeuile	Morleian Maine
Comiuile	E	Gray	Longespes	Maleure
Champaine	E Strange	Gaunfon	Louerace	Mandut
Careuile	Eftuteuile	Golfoie	Longechampe	Mountmarten
Carbonelle	Engaine	Gobion	Lafcales	Mantelet
Charles	Ettriels	Grenfy	Lacy	Miners
Chereberge	Efturney	Graunt	Louan	Mauclerke
Chawnes	F	Greile	Leded	Maunchenell
Chaumont	F Errerers.	Greuet	Lufe	Mouet
Caperoun	F Foluile	Gurry	Loterell	Meintenore
Cheine	Fitz Water	Gurley	Loruge	Meletak
Curfon	Fitz Marmaduke	Grammori	Longeuale	Manuile
Couille	Fleuez	Gernoun	Loy	Mangifere
Chaiters	Filberd	Grendon	Lorancourt	Maumafin
Cheines	Fitz Roger	Gurdon	Loions	Mountlouel
Cateray	Fauccourt	Gines	Limers	Mawreward
Cherercourt	Ferrers	Griuil	Longepay	Monhaut
Cammile	Fitz Philip	Greneuile	Laumale	Meller
Clerenay	Filiot	Glateuile	Lane	Mountgometie
Curly	Furniuens	Gurney	Louetot	Manlay
Cuily	Furniuauis	Giffard	M	Maulard
Clinels	Fitz Otes	Gouerges	M Ohant	Mamard
Chaundos	Fitz William	Gamages	M Mowne	Menere
Courteney	Fitz Roand	H	Maundeuile	Martinaft
Clifford	Fitz Pain	H Aunteney	Marmilon	Mare
D	Fitz Auger	H Haunfard	Moribray	Mainwaring
D Enauille	Fitz Aleyn	Hastings	Moruile	Matelay
Dercy	Fitz Rauff	Hanlay	Miriell	Malemis
Dine	Fitz Browne	Haurell	Manlay	Maleheire
Diffencere	Fouke	Hufec	Malebraunch	Moren
Daubeny	Freuil	Hercy	Malemaine	Melun
Daniell	Front de Boef	Herioun	Mortimere	Marceans
Denife and Druell	Facunberge	Herne	Mortimaine	Maiell
Denans	Fort	Harecourt	Mufe	Morton
Dauers	Frifell	Henoure	Marteine	N
Dodingfels	Fitz Simon	Houell	Mounthother	N Oers
Darell	Fitz Fouk	Hamelin	Mountfoler	N Neuile
Delaber	Filioll	Harewell	Maleuile	Newmarch
Delapole	Fitz Thomas	Hardell	Malet	Norbet
Delalinde	Fitz Morice	Haket	Mounteney	Norice
Delahill	Fitz Hugh	Hamound	Monficher	Newborough
Delaware	Fitz Henrie	Harcord	Maleherbe	Neiremet
Delauache	Fitz Waren	I	Mare	Neile
Dakeny	Fitz Rainold	I Arder	Mufegros	Normaule
Damtre	Flamuile	Ilay	Mufard	Neofinarch
Defny	Formay	Ieniels	Moine	Nermitz
Dabernoune	Fitz Eufiach	Ierconuife	Montrauers	Nembrutz
Damry	Fitz Laurence	Ianuile	Merke	O
Daueros	Formibaud	Iafperuile	Murres	O Teuell
Dauonge	Frifound	K	Mortuale	O Olibef
Duilby	Finere and Fitz	K Aunt	Monchenefy	Olifant
Delauere	Robert	Karre	Mallory	Ofenel
Delahoid	Furniuale	Karrowe	Marny	Oifell
Durange	Fitz Geoffrey	Koine	Mountagu	Olifard
Delee	Fitz Herbert	Kimaronne	Mountford	Orinall
Delaund	Fitz Peres	Kiriell	Maule	Orioll
Delaward	Ficher	Kancey	Monhermon	P
Delaplanch	Fitz Rewes	Kenefre.	Mufett	P Igot
Damnot	Fitz Fitz	L	Meneuile	Pery
Danway	Fitz Iohn	L Oueny	Manteuenant and	Perépount
Dehenfe	Flefachampe	L Lacy	Manfe	Perfhale
Deuile	G	Linneby	Menpincoy	Power
Difard	G Vrnay	Latomer	Maine	Painell
Doiuille	G Grefly	Loueday	Mamard	Perche and Pauey
				Peurell

Peurell	Riuers	Sorell	Tollemach	Venoure
Perot	Riuell	Somerey	Tolous	Vilan
Picard	Rous	Sent Iohn	Tanny	Verland
Pinkenie	Rufhell	Sent George	Touke	Valers
Pomeray	Raband	Sent Les	Tibtrote	Veirny
Pounce	Ronde	Sesse	Turbeuile	Vauuruile
Pauely	Ric	Saluin	Turuile	Veniels
Paifre	Rokell	Say	Tomy and Tauer-	Verrere
Plukenet	Rifers	Solers	ner	Vfchere
Phuars	Randuile	Saulay	Trencheuile	Veffay
Punchardoun	Rofelin	Sent Albin	Trenchelion	Vanay
Pinchard	Raftoke	Sent Martin	Tankeruile	Vian
Placy	Rinuill	Sourdemale	Tirell	Vernoys
Pugoy	Rougere	Seguin	Triuet	Vrnall
Patefine	Rait	Sent Barbe	Tolet	Vnket
Place	Ripere	Sent Vile	Trauers	Vrnafull
Pampilioun	Rigny	Souremount	Tardeuile	Vafderoll
Perclay	Richemound	Soreglife	Turburuile	Vaberon
Perere & Pekeny	Rochford	Sanduile	Tineuile	Valingford
Poterell	Raimond	Sauncey	Torell	Venicorde
Peukeny	S	Sirewaft	Tortechappell	Valiue
Peccell	Souch	Sent Cheueroll	Trusbote	Viuille
Pinell	Sheuile	Sent More	Treuerell	Vancorde and Va-
Putrill	Seucheus	Sent Scudemore	Tenwis	lenges
Petiroll	Sendere	T	Totelles	W
Preaus	Sent Quintin	TOget	V	W
Pantolf	Sent Omere	Tercy	Ere	Ardebois
Peito	Sent Amond	Tuchet	Vernoun	Ward
Penecord	Sent Legere	Tracy	Vefcy	Wafre
Preudilegaft	Someruile	Trousbu	Verdoun	Wake
Perciuale	Siward	Trainell	Valence	Wareine
Q	Saunfouere	Taket	Verdeire	Wate
Q	Sanford	Truffel and Tri-	Vauafour	Watelin
Q	Sanctes	fon	Vendore	Wareuil
Q	Sauay	Talbot	Verlay	Wely
R	Saulay	Touny	Valenger	Werdonell
R	Sules	Traies	Venables	Wefpaile
R				Wiuell.

Sim. Dunc.

King William
goes over in-
to Normandy
Hen. Heng.
Polychron.
Sim. Dun.

Epische Syl
laticus,

Richard Fitz
Sicroppe.

The ruler
of wye.
King William
returneth into
England.

When king William had set all things in order through the most part of the realme, he deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Mdo, the bishop of Bayeux, and his cosine William Fitz Osborne, whom he had made erle of Hereford. In Lent following he sailed into Normandie, leading with him the pledges, and other of the chiefe lords of the English nation: among whom, the two earles Edwin and Marchar, Stigand the archbishop, Edgar Etheling, Walteof sonne to Siward sometime duke of Northumberland, and Agelnothus the abbat of Gloucestreburie were the most famous. Sone after his departing, Eddicke surnamed Syluaticus, sonne to Alfricke that was brother to Eddicke de Streona, refusing to submitt himselfe vnto the king, rebelled and rose against such as he had left in his absence to gouerne the land. Whereupon those that late in the castell of Hereford, as Richard Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes invade his landes, and wasted the goods of his farmours and tenants: but yet so often as they attempted to invade him, they lost manie of their owne souldiers and men of war. Moreover, the said Eddicke calling to his aid the kings of the Welshmen, Blothgent and Rithwall, about the feast of the assumption of our Ladie, wasted the countrie of Hereford, euen to the bridge of the riuer of Wyfe, and obtained out of those quarters a marvellous great spoile. In the winter alfo following, and after king William had disposed his busines in Normandie, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Englishmen somewhat sharpelie, supposing thereby to keepe them the more easilie vnder his obedience. He also toke alwaie

from diuerſe of the Nobilitie, and others of the better ſort, all their liuings, and gaue the ſame to his Poormans. Whereouer, he raiſed great taxes and ſubſidies through the realme: nor any thing regarded the Engliſh Nobilitie, ſo that they who before thought themſelues to be made for euer by bringing a ſtranger into the realme, do now ſee themſelues trodden binder ſot, to be deſpiſed, and to be mocked on all ſides, inſomuch that many of them were conſtrained (as it were for a further teſtimonie of ſeruitude and bondage) to ſhane their beards, to round their heare, and to frame themſelues as well in apparell as in ſeruice and diet at their tables after the Poorman manner, verie ſtrange and farre differing from the ancient cuſtomes and old vſages of their countrie. Others utterly reſuſing to ſuſtaine ſuch an irſufferable yoke of ſhadowe as was lately laid vpon them by the Poormans, choſe rather to leaue all both goods and lands, & after the maner of outlawes, got them to the woods, with their wiues, children, and ſeruants, meaning from thenceforth wholly to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adioining, and to take whatſoever came next to hand. Wherevpon it came to paſſe within a while, that no man might trauell in ſafetie from his owne houſe or towne to his next neighbors, and euerie quiet and honeſt mans houſe became as it were an hold or ſtreſſie furniſhed for defence with bowes and arrowes, bills, poles, ſwords, clubs and ſtaues, and other weapons; the doores kept locked and ſtronglie bolted in the night ſeaſon, for feare to be ſurpriſed as it had bene in time of open warre, and amongſt publike enemies. Prayers were ſaid alſo by the maſter of the

B. J. houſe,

house, as though they had bene in the midst of the seas in some stormie tempest, and when the win- dows or doores should be shut in and closed, they w- sed to saie *benedicite*, and others to answer, *Dominus*, in like sort as the prest and his penitent were wont to doe at confession in the church.

Notwithstanding all this, *W. William* sought to tame & vanquish those of the English Nobilitie, who would not be at his becke. They againe on the other side made themselves strong, the better to resist him, choosing for their chiefe captaines and leaders, the earles *Edwine* & *Edgar Etheling*, who valiantlie resisted the Normans, and slue many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, king *William* being a politike prince, forward and painefull in his businesse, suffered them not altogether to escape cleere awaie, but did sore annoy and put them oft to remedles losses, though he abode in the meane time many laborious iournies, slaughters of his people, and damages of his person. Hereupon the English Nobilitie ever after, yea in time of peace, were hated of the king and his Normans, and at length were kept so short, that being moued partlie with disdain, and partlie with dread, they got them out of the realme, some into Scotland, some into Denmarke, others into Norway; and among these, the two earles *Edwine* and *Harthar*, with certeine bishops & others of the cleargie, besides manie also of the tenepozaltie, escaped also to be dynen into Scotland by tempest, as they sailed towards the coasts of Germanie, purposing to haue returned into Hungarie, where the said *Edgar* was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found so friendlie enterainment there, that finally *Malcolme* the third then king of that realme, toke his sister *Margaret* to wife, and *Christine* became a nunne, as in the Scottish chronicles moze plainelie doth appere. King *William* hereby perswading daily how unwilling the Englishmen were to be vnder his obissance, was in feare of rebellions commotions; and therefore to subdue them the better, he builded foure castles, one at *Notingham*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Porke*, and the fourth nere vnto *Hastings*, where he landed at his first coming into England.

Whereouer, to reduce the English people the sooner vnto obedience and awe, he toke from them all their armour and weapons. He ordeined also that the maister of euerie household about eight of the clocke in the evening, should cause his fire to be raked vp in athes, his lightes to be put out, and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that euerie man might haue knowledge of the houre to go to rest, he gaue order, that in all cities, towne, and villages, where anie church was, there should a bell be rung at the said houre, which custome is still vsed euen vnto this daie, and comunonlie called by the French word, *Couet* *son*, that is, *Rake vp the fier*.

This yeare on *Whitsunday*, and the wife of king *William* was crowned Queene by Aeldred archbishop of *Porke*. The same yeare also was *Venerie* his sonne borne here in England: for his other two sonnes *Robert* and *William* were borne in Normandie, before he had conquered this land. About the same time also, *Godwine* and *Edmund* surnamed the great, the sonnes of *H. Harold*, came from Ireland, and landing in *Somersetshire*, fought with *Adonothus* that had bene maister of their fathers horses, whom they slue, with a great number of others; and so hauing gotten this victorie, returned

into Ireland, from whence they came with a great bootie which they toke in their returne out of *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*, and other places thereabouts. In like maner, *Erceffer* did as then rebell, and likewise the countie of *Northumberland*, whereupon the king appointed one of his captaines named *Robert Cumin*, a right noble personage (but moze valiant than circumspect) to go against the northerne people with a part of his armie, whilst he himselve and the other part went to subdue them of *Erceffer*: where, at his coming before the citie, the citizens prepared themselves to defend their gates and walls: but after he began to make his approach to assaile them, part of the citizens repenting their foolish attempts, opened the gates, and suffered him to enter. Thus hauing subdued them of *Erceffer*, he greuously punished the chiefe offenders. But the countesse *Cita*, the sister of *Sweine* *K.* of Denmarke, and sometime wife to earle *Godwine*, and mother to the last *H. Harold*, with diuers other that were got into that citie, found meanes to fle, and so escaped ouer into *Flanders*. King *William* hauing passed his businesse in such wise in *Deuonshire*, hasted backe towards *Porke*, being aduertised in the waie, that the *Northumbrians* hauing knowledge by their spies, that *Robert* generall of the Normans being come to *Durham*, did not so diligentlie cause watch and ward to be kept about the towne in the night season as was requisite, did set vpon him about midnight, & slue the same *Robert* with all his companie, so that of seauen hundred which he brought with him, there was but one that escaped to bring tidings to the king their souereigne.

He heard also, how *Edgar Etheling* at the same time, being in the countie, riding abroad with a troope of horsemen, and hearing of the discomfiture of those Normans, pursued them egerlie, and slue great numbers of them, as they were about to saue themselves by flight, with which newes being in no small furie, he made speed forward, and coming at the last into *Northumberland*, he easilie vanquished the foresaid rebels, and putting the chiefe authors of this mutinie to death, he reserved some of the rest as captiues, and of other some he caused the hands to be chopped off in token of their inconstancie and rebellious dealing. After this, he came to *Porke*, and there in like sort punished those that had aided *Edgar*, which done, he returned to *London*.

In the meane time, those Englishmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall sute made to *Sweine* then king of that realme, to procure him to make a iourne into England for reuengerie of the right descended to him from his ancestors, at length obtained their purpose, in so much that king *Sweine* sent his sonnes *Harold* and *Cnutus* toward England, who with a nantie of two hundred saile, in the companie of *Osborne* their vic- cle, arriued in the mouth of *Humber* betwene the two later ladie daies, and there landing their people with the English outlaues, whom they had brought with them, they straightwaies marched towards *Porke*, waiking and spoiling the countie with great crueltie as they passed. Soone after, also came *Edgar*, and such other English exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. When the newes of these things were brought to *Porke*, the people there were stricken with a maruelous feare, in somuch that *Aeldred* the archbishop (through verie graefe and anguish of mind) departed this life. The Normans also which late there in gar- rison, after they vnderstood by their spies that the en- mies were come within two daies iourne of them, began not a little to mistrust the faith of the citi- zens, and bicause the suburbs should not be any aio

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

This chaun- ced the 28. of Iannarie on a Wednesday.
Polydor.

Polydor.

1069

Sweine and Osborne haty
March. Paris.

These haue
died saules
saith M.W.
but Sim. Dun.
hath 240.

Polydor.
Anno Reg. 2.
March. Paris.
March. West.
Writers of the
English No-
bilitie forsake
their native
countie.

Polydor.

Two at York,
wherein he
left five hun-
dred men in
garrison.
Simon Dun.

The Conque-
ror taketh frō
the English-
men their ar-
mour.

Couet few first
instituted.

1068
March. West.

Edmund the
great.

Yorke burnt.

Normans
slaine.

Simon Dun.

A sharpe win-
ter, an continu
to swarlike en-
terprises.The Danes
where they
wintered.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

March. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

Earle Ed-
win's lands
giuen unto Al-
ane earle of
Britaine.

unto them, they set fire on the same, which by the hugeness of the wind that suddenlie arose, the flame became so big, and mounted such a height, that it caught the citie also, and consumed a great part thereof to ashes, together with the minster of S. Peter, and a famous librarie belonging to the same. Hereupon the Normans and citizens in like maner were constrained to issue forth at the same time, and being upon the enemies before they had any knowledge of their approach, were forced to trie the matter by disordered battell: whose number though it was far inferior unto theirs, yet they valiantlie defended themselves for a time, till being oppressed with multitudes, they were overcome and slaine, so that there perished in this conflict, to the number of three thousand of them. Panic of the Englishmen also that came with them to the field, were saued by the enemies, to the end they might gaine somewhat by their ransomes, as William Gallet thirde of the shire, with his wife, and two of their children, Gilbert de Gant, and others other. This slaughter chanced on a saturdaye, being the nineteenth day of September; a dismall date to the Normans.

The two brethren hauing thus obtained this victory, went on further into the countrie of Northumberland, and brought the same wholie to their subiection, insonuch that all the north parts were at their comandement. Upon this they meant to haue gone towards London with the like attempt in the south parts, if the extreame and hard winter which chanced that yere, had not staied their enterprise, as it did king William from assailing them; who hearing of all their doings in the north countrie, would else full gladlie haue set upon them. In the meane time, the Danes wintered in Yorkshire, betwixt the two riuers Ouse and Trent; but so sone as the snow began to melt, and the yce to thaw and waste away, king William sped him with great hast toward his enemies into Yorkshire, and comming to the riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refresh his people, for his enemies were at hand. The daie following he brought his armie into the field to fight with the Danish princes, who likewise in battell araiue met them. Then began a right sore and terrible battell, continuing a long space in equall balance, till at length in one of the Danish wings the Norman horsemen had put their enemies to flight. Which when the residue of the Danes perceived, and therewith put in a sudden feare, they likewise fled. Harold and Canutus with a band of hardie souldiers that carried about them, retired backe (though with much a do and great danger) vnto their ships. Edgar also, by helpe of god's graces, escaped into Scotland with a few in his company. Earle Walteof, who had fought most manfully in that battell, & slaine manie Normans with his owne hands, was reconciled into the kings fauour: but the residue were for the most part taken prisoners, and killed. William of Malmesburie writeth, that king William comming at that time into the north parts, besieged the citie of Yorke, and putting to flight a great armie of his enemies that came to the succour of them within, not without great losse of his owne souldiers, at length the citie was deliuered into his hands; the citizens and other that kept it, as Scots, Danes, and Englishmen, being constrained thereto through lacke of vittells. Other writeth, how the Danes, being laden with riches and spoiles gotten in the countrie, departed to their ships before the comming of king William. Here is not to be forgotten, that (as Iohn Leland hath noted) whilst the Conquerour held siege before Yorke, at the earnest request of his wife Queene Maude, he advanced his nephew Alane earle of Britaine, with the gift of

all those lands that sometime belonged vnto earle Edwine, the tenor of which gift insueth:

Ego Gulibelmus cognomine Bastardus, do & concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britannia comiti, & heredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras, qua nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eboracshira, cum feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & consuetudinibus, ita libere & honorifice sicut idem Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obsidione coram ciuitate Eboraci: that is, I William surnamed Bastard, doo giue and grant to thee my nephue Alane earle of Britaine, and to thine heires for euer, all those townes & lands that latelie were earle Eadwines in Yorkshire, with the knights fees and other liberties and customes, so freele and honourable as the said Eadwine held the same. Giuen in our seege before the citie of Yorke.

The earle of Britaine, being a man of a stout stomach, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a strong castell nere to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. The first originall line of the earles of Richmont (that bare their title of honor of this castell and towne of Richmont (as Leland hath set downe the same) is this: Eudo earle of Britaine, the sonne of Gesteire, begat three sonnes, Alane le Roue, otherwise fregaunte, Alane the blacke, and Stephan. These three brethren after their fathers decease, succeeded one another in the earldome of Britaine; the two elder, Alane the red and Alane the blacke died without issue. Stephan begat a sonne named Alane, who left a sonne, which was his heire named Conan, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William king of Scotland, who bare him a daughter named Constantia, which Constantia was coupled in marriage with Gesteire sonne to king Henrie the second, who had by hir Arthur, whom his uncle king John, for feare to be depriued by him of the crowne, caused to be made awaie; as some haue written. But now to returne where we left touching the Danes, Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harold and Canute or Crute the sonnes of Sweine king of Denmarke, with their uncle earle Osborne, and one Christianus a bishop of the Danes, and earle Turketillus were guides of this Danish armie, & that afterwards, when king William came into Northumberland, he sent vnto earle Osborne, promising him that he would permit him to take vp vittells for his armie about the sea coastes; and further, to giue him a portion of monie; so that he should depart and returne home as sone as the winter was passed. But howsoeuer the matter went with the Danes, certeine it is by the whole consent of writers, that king William hauing thus subdued his enemies in the north, he toke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of the countrie of Yorkshire and Northumberland, that he wasted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, so that for the space of threescore miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reason whereof it laie wast and desert for the space of nine or ten yeares. ¶ The goodlie cities with their towers and steeples set vpon a statelie height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fields and pastures, watered with the course of sweet and pleasant riuers, if a stranger should then haue beheld, and also knowne before they were thus defaced, he would surclie haue lamented: or if any old inhabitant had bene long absent, & newly returned thither, had seene this pitifull face of the countrie, he would not haue knowne it, such destruction was made throughout all those quarters, whereof Yorke it selfe felt not the smallest portion. The bishop of Durham Egelwinus with his cleargie fled into holie Island with S. Cutberts bodie, and other iewels of the church of Durham, where they carried three moneths and odd daies, before they returned to Durham againe. The

Castell of
Richmont.Earle of Brit-
taine.

Simon Dun.

March. Paris
maketh men-
tion but of
Sweine and
Osborne
whom he cal-
leth brethren.

Wil. Malm.

Simon Dun.

kings armie comming into the countrie that lieth betwixt the riuers Theise and Tine, found nothing but void felde and bare walles; the people with their goods and cattell being fled and withdrawne into the woods and mountaines, if any thing were forgotten behind, these new gesss were diligent inough to find it out.

Anno Reg 4.
1070.
Polydor.

In the beginning of the spring, king William returned to London, and now after all these troubles, began to conceiue greater hatred against the Englishmen than euer before; so as doubting that he should neuer by gentlenesse win their good willes, he now determined by a harder measure to moete with them; insonmuch that he banished a great number, other some also (not a few) he spoiled of their goods, those especiallie of whom he was in hope to gaine any great portion of substance.

Privileges
and freedoms
reueoked.

Thus were the Englishmen generallie in danger to lose life, lands and goods, without knowledge, or orderlie proceeding in iudgement, so that no greater miserie in the earth could be imagined, than that whereinto our nation was now fallen. He toke from the tostones and cities, from the bishops sees and abbeies all their ancient priuileges and freedoms, to the end they should not onelie be cut short and made weaker, but also that they (for the obtainment of their quietnesse) might redeeme the same of him for such summes of monie as pleased him to exact. Among other things, he ordeined that in time of warre they should aide him with armoz, horse and monie, according to that order which he should then prescribe: all which he caused to be registred, inrolled, and laid vp in his treasure. But diuerse of the spirituall persons would not obey this ordinance, whom he banished without remorse.

Stigand.
Alexander
bishop of Lin-
colne.

About this time the archbishop Stigand, and Alexander bishop of Lincolne fled to Scotland, where they kept themselves close for a season. But the king still continued in his hard proceeding against the Englishmen, insonmuch that now protesting how he came to the gouernance of the realme only by plaine conquest, he seized into his hands most part of euerie mans possessions, causing them to redeeme the same at his hands againe, and yet retained a proprietie in the most part of them; so that those that should afterwards enjoy them, should acknowledge themselves to hold them of him, in yeilding a yerlie rent to him and his successors for euer, with certeine other prouisions, whereby in cases of forfeiture the same lands should returne to him, and his said successors againe. The like order he appointed to be vsed by other possessors of lands, in letting them forth to their tenants. He ordeined also, that the Termes

The institution
of the foure
Termes.

should be kept foure times in the yere, in such places as he should nominate, and that the iudges should sit in their seuerall places to iudge and decide causes and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie, in manner as is vsed vnto this day. He decreed mozeouer, that there should be shiriffes in euerie shire, and iustices of the peace to keepe the countries in quiet, and to see offenders punished. Furthermore, he instituted the court of the Exchequer, and the officers belonging to the same, as the barons, the clerks, and such other, and also the high court of Chancerie.

The Exche-
quer.
The Chan-
cerie.

After he had in this sort ordeined his magistrates and ministers of the lawes, he lastlie toke order what ordinances he would haue obserued: whereupon a brogating in manner all the ancient lawes vsed in times past, and instituted by the former kings for the good order and quietnes of the people, he made new, nothing so equall or easie to be kept; which neuertheless those that came after (not without their great harme) were constrained to obserue: as though it

New lawes.

had bene an high offense against God to abolish those euill lawes, which king William (a prince nothing friendlie to the English nation) had first ordeined, and to bying in other moze easie and tollerable. Here by the waie I giue you to note a great absurditie; namelie, that those lawes which touched all, and ought to be knowne of all, were notwithstanding writtten in the Norman tong, which the Englishmen vnderstood not; so that euen at the beginning you should haue great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partlie by ignorance in misconstruing the same, to be wrongfullie condemned: some to death, and some in the forfeitures of their goods; others were so intangled in lutes and causes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continuallie were tolled from poore to piller; in such wise that in their minds they curst the time that euer these vnequall lawes were made.

The lawes
were writtten
in the Nor-
man tong.

The maner for the trial of causes in controuersie, was deuised in such sort as is yet vsed. Twelve ancient men (but most commonlie vnlearned in the lawes) bring of the same countie where the sute lay, were appointed by the iudges to go together into some close chamber, where they should be shut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they should agree vpon the condemnation or acquitting of the prisoner, if it were in criminall causes; or vpon deciding in whom the right remained, if it were vpon trial of things in controuersie. Now when they were all agreed, they came in before the iudges, declaring to what agreement they were growne: which done, the iudges opened it to the offenders or lutors, and withall gaue sentence as the qualitie of the case did inforce and require. There may happilie be (as Polydor Virgil saith) that will mainteine this maner of proceeding in the administration of iustice by the voices of a iurie, to haue bene in vse before the conquerors daies, but they are not able to proue it by any ancient records of writers, as he thinketh: albeit by some of our histories they should seeme to be first ordeined by Ethelred or Egelred. Wholbeit this is most true, that the Norman kings themselves would confesse, that the lawes deuised and made by the Conqueror were not verie equall; insonmuch that William Rufus and Henrie the sonnes of the Conqueror would at all times, when they sought to purchase the peoples fauor, promise to abolish the lawes ordeined by their father, establish other moze equall, and restore those which were vsed in S. Edwards daies. The like kind of purchasing fauor was vsed by king Stephen; and other kings that followed him. But now to the matter, king William having made these ordinances to keepe the people in order, set his mind to enrich his cofers, and therupon caused first a tribute to be leuied of the commons; then the abbeies to be searched, and all such monie as any of the Englishmen had laid vp in the same, to be kept. Besides all this, he seized into his hands their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon kings of the land, and spared not so much as the towels and plate dedicated to sacred vses. All this did he (as some write) by the counsell of the earle of Hereford.

Matters to
be tried by a
iurie of 12.
men.

Math. Paris.
Math. West.
Wil. Mal.
Wil. Thorne.
Abbeys sear-
ched.
Polydor.
Simon Dun.

Shortlie after betwixt Casser and Whitstuntes, a great synod was holden at Winchester by the bishops and cleargie, where Crmensted the bishop of Sion or Sitten, with two cardinals John and Peter sent thither from pope Alexander the second, did sit as cheefe commissioners. In this synod was Stigand the archbishop of Canturburie deprived of his bishoprike, for three speciall causes.

Wil. Thorne.

Polydor.
Sim. Duncl.

Stigand arch
bishop of Can-
turburie de-
prived.

First, for that he had wrongfullie holden that bishoprike, whilst the archbishop Robert was li-
uing.

2 Secondlie, for that he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his investiture unto Canturburie, which he ought not to haue done.

3 Thirddie, for that he had receiued the pall at the hands of pope Benedict the tenth, whom the cardinals, as one not lawfullie elected, had deposed.

Howbeit, manie writers burthen king William (who was present at this synod) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the end he might place a stranger in his roome. For as he had roted out the English nobilitie, and giuen auaie their lands & liuings to his Normans; so meant he to turne out the English cleargie from bearing any office of honor within the realme, which meaning of his did well appeare at his counsell, wherein diuers bishops, abbats, and priors were deposed, and Normans preferred to their places. Stigand after his depriuation was kept in perpetuall prison at Winchester, till he died, and yet (as some write) the same Stigand was an helper vnder hand for king William to attaine the crowne.

Regemarus
bishop of
Thestford
was one that
was deposed.
Simon Dun.
Matt. Paris.

Thomas a
canon of Bay-
eux made
archbishop
of York.
Lanfranke
consecrated
archbishop of
Canturburie.
March. Westm.
hath the eight
Real. of Hanc,
but Wil. Mal.
and Eadmerus
the fourth
Real. of Sep-
tember.

1071

Anno Reg. 5.
Wil. Mal.
Eadmerus.

Wil. Malin.

In the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, the king being at Windsor, gaue the archbishopricke of York to one Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and to Walhelme one of his chaplins he gaue the bishopricke of Winchester. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was abbat, he made him archbishop of Canturburie, who was consecrated there in the feast of S. John Baptist, in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 1071. The foresaid Thomas was the five and thientith bishop that had gouerned in that see of York, & Lanfranke the thre & thirtieth in the see of Canturburie. But per long, betwixt these two archbishops there rose great contention for the primasie of their churches, in so much that the archbishop of York appealed to Rome, where they both appeared personallie before pope Alexander, in whose presence Lanfranks cause was so much fauoured, that not onelie the foresaid Thomas, but also Remigius the bishop of Dochester were for reasonable causes depriued of their crosiers and rings: and Lanfranke at their humble request was a meane to the pope for them in the end, that they might be restored to their stauces, which was accordingly obtained. For when the pope heard Lanfranke declare in their fauour, how necessarie their seruice might be to the king, in the establishment of his new gotten kingdome, he said to Lanfranke; Well, loke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrie, and therefore consider what is expedient to be done therein: their stauces which they haue surrendered, there they be, take them, and dispose them as you shall thinke most profitable for the aduancement of the christian religion in that countrie. Whereupon, Lanfranke toke the stauces, and deliuered them to the former possessours, and so were they in the popes presence restored to their former dignities. One cause why Thomas was depriued (as some writers saie) was, for that he had holpen duke William toward his iourne into England when he came to conquer it, for the which pleasure to him then shewed, the duke promised him a bishopricke, if ener he obtained victorie ouer the English: an other cause, for that he was a priests sonne. Now, when the pope vnderstood the full ground of their contention to be for the primasie of the two sees, Canturburie and York, and had heard what could be alledged on both sides, he remitted the determination thereof to the king and bishops of England, that by the histories and records of the land, the matter might be tried, iudged and ordered.

Wherefore at their coming home, and after long debating and discussing of the cause (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth moze at large) at a synod

holden at Windsor, in the yeare 1072. sentence was giuen on Lanfranks side, so that in all things concerning religion and the faith of holie church, the archbishop of York should be euer subiect to the archbishop of Canturburie, and come with all the bishops of his prouince to what place soeuer the archbishop of Canturburie should summon any counsell within the realme of England. Moreover, when anie elected bishop of Canturburie was to be consecrated, the archbishop of York (for the time being) should come to Canturburie, and consecrate him there. And if the archbishop of York was to be installed and consecrated, then should he come to Canturburie, or to what place it should please the archbishop of Canturburie to assigne, and there to be confirmed of him, taking an oth with profession of due obedience vnto the higher see. Now, as the said Thomas of York did yeld obedience to Lanfranke of Canturburie, so likewise the elect bishop of Glasgow in Scotland named Spichaell, was some after consecrated of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of York, and made an oth of obedience vnto the said archbishop, as to the primate of all Scotland: and after him Lothar the bishop of S. Andrewes did the like, by commandement of Malcolme the third of that name king of Scotland, and Margaret his wife, who thought good by this recognisance of obedience and dutie, so to prouide against further inconvenience to come, that hereafter, one of the bishops of their realme should not take vpon them to consecrate an other: or do any thing contrarie to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that might be prejudiciall to the authoritie of the archbishop of York, at whose appointment those and the like things were accustomed to be done. In this controuersie (or the like) it is left written, that in a court held at Rome (the time is not mentioned) the pope perceiuing the strife betwene these two prelates to be but for the highest place or primasie in the church; he solemnlie gaue sentence by decree, that the see of York should haue in title *Primas Angliae*, & Canturburie *Primas totius Angliae*, which titles do yet remain to them both.

But to leaue this, and to speake of other things which chanced in the meane time that this controuersie depended betwixt the two archbishops, I find that Edwin and Murchar earles of Merthia and Northumberland, hauing of late obtained pardon for their former misdemeanors, & reconciled to the king, began now so much to dislike the state of the world againe, as euer they did before. For perceiuing how the Englishmen were still oppressed with thraldome & miserie on ech hand, they conspired, & began a new rebellion, but with verie ill success, as shall hereafter appeare. The king vnderstanding of their dealings, and being not onelie armed throughlie with temporal force, but also endued with the spiritvall power of his archbishop Lanfranke (who aided him in all that he might, for the suppressing of those rebels) wasked the countie exceedinglie, where he vnderstood that they had gotten anie releefe, minding vtterlie to vanquish them with sword, fire, and hunger, or by extreme penurie to bring them vnder. They on the other part make as stout resistance; and perceiuing that it stood them vpon, either to vanquish or to fall into vtter ruine, they raise a mightie strong host, and make Edgar Etheling their capteine, a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole hope of the English nation was reposed, as appeareth by this his accustomed by-word, Edgar Etheling Englands dearling. Amongst other noble men that were chiefe dowers in the assembling of this armie, Frederike abbat of S. Albons, a prelate of great wealth and no lesse puissance, was a principall.

The king perceiuing his estate to be now in no small

Anno Reg. 6.
1072
March. Westm.
The subiect-
on of the arch-
bishopricke of
York, to the
archbishop-
ricke of Can-
turburie.

Polydor.
The archbt-
shop of York,
acknowledged
primat of all
Scotland.

Ranulph. Ce-
stren. lib. 3. cap.
57. & lib. 7.
cap. 2.

Mar. Paris.

small danger, as in a great perplexitie what to do, in the end, he counselleth with the said Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, how he might remedie the matter; who told him that in such a desperate case, the best waie for him should be to seeke by faire words and friendly offers to pacifie the English Nobilitie, which by all meanes possible would neuer cease to molest him in the recouerie of their liberties. Whereupon he made meanes to come to some agreement with them, and so well the matter proceeded on his side, that the Englishmen being deceived through his faire promises, were contented to communion of peace, for which purpose they came also vnder the conduct of the abbat Frederike vnto Berkhamsted, where (after much reasoning and debating of the matter for the conclusion of amitie betwixt them) king William in the presence of the archbishop Lanfranke and other of his lords, took a personall oath vpon all the reliques of the church of S. Albons, and the holie euangelists (the abbat Frederike ministering the same vnto him) that he would from thenceforth obserue and keepe the good and ancient approved lawes of the realme, which the noble kings of England his predecessors had made and ordeined heretofore; but namelie those of S. Edward, which were supposed to be most equall and indifferent.

The peace being thus concluded, and the Englishmen growne thereby to some hope of further quietnesse, they began to forsake their allies, and returned each one, either to his owne possessions, or to giue attendance vpon the king. But he warlike cloyking his inward purpose, notwithstanding the vnitie lately made, determineth particularlie to assaile his enemies (whose power without doubt so long as it was vnitied, could not possible be overcome, as he thought) and being now by reason of this peace dispersed and dispersed, he thought it high time to put his secret purposes in execution: whereupon taking them at vnwares and thinking of nothing lesse than warres and sudden invasion, he imprisoneth manie, killeth diuers, and pursueth the residue with fire and sword, taking awaie their goods, possessions, lands, and inheritances, and banishing them out of the realme. In the meane time, those of the English Nobilitie, which could escape this his outrageous tyrannie, got awaie, and amongst other, Edgar Etheling fled againe into Scotland: but Edwin was slaine of his owne souldiers, as he rode toward Scotland. earle Marchar, and one Hereward, with the bishop of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Isle of Elic, in purpose there to defend themselves from the iniurie of the Normans, for they took the place (by reason of the situation) to be of no small strength. Howbeit king William endeavouring to cut them short, raised a power, and stopped all the passages on the east side, and on the west part he made a cause through the fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them, and constrained them to yeld. But Marchar, or (as others haue) Hereward, foreseeing the imminent danger likelie to take effect, made shift to get out of the Isle by boote, and so by speedie flight escaped into Scotland. The bishop of Durham being taken, was sent to the abbey of Abingdon, to be kept as prisoner, where he was so sparingly fed, that within a short space he died for hunger.

In this meane time, and whilst king William was thus occupied in rooting out the English, Malcolme king of Scotland had wasted the countries of Chetefeldale, Cleueland, and the lands of S. Cutbert, with sundrie other places in the north parts. Whereupon Gospatrike being lately reconciled to the king, made earle of Northumberland, was sent against him, who sacked and destroyed that part of Cumber-land which the said Malcolme by violence had brought

vnder his subiection. At the same time Malcolme was at Wieremouth, beholding the fire which his people had kindled in the church of Saint Peter to burne by the same, and there hearing what Gospatrike had done, he took such displeasure thereat, that he commanded his men they should leaue none of the English nation aliue, but put them all to the sword without pittie or compassion, so oft as they came to hand. The bloudie slaughter which was made at this time by the Scots, through that cruell commandement of Malcolme, was pittifull to consider, for women, children, old and yong, went all one way: howbeit, manie of those that were strong and able to serue for iudges and slaues, were reserved, and carried into Scotland as prisoners, where they remained manie yeares after; in so much that there were few houses in that realme, but had one or mo English slaues and captiues, whom they gat at this unhappie boiage. Miserable was the state of the English at that time, one being consumed of another so vnnaturalie, manie of them destroyed by the Scots so cruellie, and the residue kept vnder by the king so tyrannicallie.

But to returne to the purpose in hand, king William hearing of all these things, was not a little moued at the same, but chafelie with Malcolme king of Scots, for that his countrie was the onelie place wherein all the mal-contents of his realme had their refuge. Wherefore, thinking to reuenge the losse of his subiects, and to bring that realme also vnto his subiection, he went thither with an huge armie, about the middle of August, where he first invaded the bounds of Galloway, because he heard how the English were lately fled thither. But after he had wearied his souldiers in vaine pursuit of them (who kept themselves in the mountaines and marres grounds) he gaue ouer the enterprise, and drey towards Lothian, where king Malcolme lay with all his power, & sundrie English fugitiues, with whom he determined by battell either to end his trouble, or else to lose his life. Now as both the kings with their armies were ready to encounter, Malcolme began to doubt somewhat of the fiercenesse of the battell, because he saw the great puissance and ready willes of the English and Normans to fight, whereupon he sent an harrold to king William to treat of peace, wherewith he was content at the last (though with much adoe) and so a vnitie ensued betwixt them, vpon these conditions; namelie, that king Malcolme should doe homage to king William for the realme of Scotland, and therevpon deliuer sufficient hostages: and that on the other side, king William should pardon all the English outlawes in Scotland which then rebelled against him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirneseth. After this, king William returned into England, where he perlong took the earledome of Northumberland from Gospatrike, and gaue it to Waltheof the sonne of Steward; because of right it seemed to descend vnto him from his father, but chafelie from his mother Alfredda, who was the daughter of Alzed sometime earle of that countrie.

At the same time also the king caused a castell to be built at Durham, and returned to London, where he receiued auertisement that his subiects in Normandie toward the parties of Angiew had begun a rebellion against him. Wherevpon with all speed he leuied an armie, wherof the most part consisted of English (whose seruice he liked rather in a forren countrie than in their owne) and sailed ouer into Normandie, where he easilie subdued his enemies by the valiance of the English, whom from thenceforth he began somewhat to fauour and better thinke of than before. Yong Edgar also grew in berie good credit

A bloudie commandement executed vpon the English by the Scots.

Polydor.

March. Paris.

H. Hunt.

The king of Scots did homage to king William for Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The kings justice.

San. Higa.
H. Hunt.
March. Paris.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
March. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was so stubbornhearted, that after he knew he should remaine in perpetual prison, he refused his meate, and so yned him selfe to death.

credit with him, for though he had twice broken his oath of allegiance, and run to the Scots as a rebell, yet now of his owne motion, returning to the king and craving pardon, he was not onelie received, but also highly honoured and preferred in his court.

Count earle
now
Newcastle.

The yere 1074. three monks of the prouince of Mercia, purposing to restore religion after their manner within the prouince of Northumberland, came into Porke, and required of Hugh Fitz Waldrick (then thirde of the shire) to haue safe conduct vnto Doncaster, which afterwards hight Newcastle, and so is called to this day. These monks, whose names were Aldwin, Alfwine, and Kemfired, comming vnto the foresaid place, found no token or remanent of any religious persons, which sometime had habitati-
on there for all was defaced and gone: whereupon, after they had remained there a while, they remoued to Jarrowe, where finding the ruines of old decayed buildings and churches, pertaining in times past to the monks that there inhabited, they had such assistance at the hands of Walkher bishop of Durham, that at length, by the diligent trauell and sute of these monks, thre monasteries were newlie founded and erected in the north parts, one at Durham, an other at Porke, and the third at Whitby. For you must consider, that by the inuasion of the Danes, the churches and monasteries throughout Northumber-
land were so wasted and ruined, that a man could scarce find a church standing in all that countrie, as for those that remained, they were couered with brime or thatch: but as for any abbey or monaste-
rie, not one was left in all the countrie, neither did any man (for the space of two hundred yeres) take care for the repairing or building vp of any thing in decaye, so that the people of that countrie wist not what a monke ment, and if they saw any, they won-
dered at the strangenesse of the sight.

Anno Reg. 9.
1075

Rafe Earle of
Cambridge.
Matth. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
A rebellion
raised against
R. William.

Whilest the king remained thus in Normandie, Roger earle of Hereford (contrarie to the kings mind and pleasure) married his sister vnto Rafe earle of Cambridge, or (as other haue) Northfolke, and withall began a new conspiracie against him. Amongst other also of the associates, earle Walteof the sonne of earle Siward was one, who afterward mistrusting the successe of this deuise, first vttered it to archbishop Lanfranke, and by his aduice sailed ouer into Normandie, and there disclosed the whole matter to king William: but in the meane time, the other two earles, namely, Hereford and Cambridge had so farre proceeded in the matter, that they were vp in armour. Holobert, Wolstan bishop of Worcester, and Egelwine abbat of Evesham, with the wife of Worcester & Walter Lacie, so resisted the earle of Hereford, that he could not passe the Seuerne to ioune with the earle of Cambridge. On the other side, Edo the bishop of Bayeux, and Gessrey the bishop of Constances pursued the earle of Cambridge so narrowly with an other armie, which they had gathered of the English and Normans, that they constrained him to flee into Britaine, whereby the rebellion was verie much appeased.

John Pike.

Anno Reg. 10.
1076

H. Hunt.
Earle Walte-
of beheaded.

In the meane time, the king vnderstanding by earle Walteof how the matter went in England, came ouer with all speed out of Normandie, & within a short space brought the residue of the conspirators into such a feare, that they were scattered and put to flight, without attempting anie further exploit or conspiracie against him. Manie of them also were apprehended and put to death, among whom Roger and Walteof were most famous. And though Walteof (as ye haue heard before) disclosed the treason, yet to the end he should offend no more hereafter, he was beheaded at Winchester by the kings commandement, and his bodie hauing bene first buried

in the same place where he suffered, was after conueied vnto Crowland, and there more honorable interred.

This earle Walteof or Walbent was sonne (as ye haue heard) to Siward the noble earle of Northumberland, of whose valure in the time of R. Edward the confessor ye haue heard. His son the foresaid Walteof in strength of bodie and hardinesse did not degenerate from his father, for he was tall of personage, in sinewes and muscles verie strong and mighty. In the slaughter of the Normans at Porke, he shewed proofe of his prowesse, in striking off the heads of manie of them with his owne hands, as they came forth of the gates single one by one: yet afterwards, when the king had pardoned him of all former offenses, and receiued him into fauour, he gaue to him in marriage his niece Judith the daughter of Lambert earle of Lens, sister to Stephen erle of Albermarle, and with hir he had of the kings gift, all the lands and liberties belonging to the hono-
r of Huntingdon: in consideration whereof, he assigned to hir in name of hir dower, all the lands that he held from Trent southward. She bare by him two daughters, Maude and Alice. We find, that he was not onlie earle of Northumberland, but also of Northampton and Huntingdon.

Carle dome of
Huntingdon.

The countesse of Cambridge or Northfolke (as other haue) wife of earle Rafe, being fled into the cite of Norwich, was besieged in the same by the kings power, which pressed the cite so sore, as it was forced for verie famine to yeeld; but yet by composition; namely, that such as were besieged within, should depart the realme, as persons abjured and banished the land for ever. This was the end of the foresaid conspiracie. At this verie time the Danes being confederate with these rebels, and by them solicited, set forth towards England vnder the leading of Cnuto, sonne to Sueno, and earle Haco, and (un-
looked for) arriue here in England with two hundred sailes. But hearing that the ciuill tumult was ended, and seeing no man readie either to countenance or encourage them in their enterpryse, they sailed first into Flanders, which they spoiled, and after into their owne countrie, with little desire or will to come againe into England. King William also vnderstanding that they were thus departed, passed ouer into Britaine, and there besieged the castell of Doll that belonged to Rafe earle of Cambridge or Northfolke: but by the comming of Philip
French king, king William being vnprouided of sufficient vittels for his armie, was constrained to raise his siege, although with great losse both of men and horses.

Matth. Paris.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

On the 27. daie of March was a generall earthquake in England, and in the winter following a frost that continued from the first of Nouember vntill the middle of Aprill. A blasing starre appeared on palme sundae, being the sixteenth daie of Aprill, about six of the clocke, when the aire was faire and clere.

Anno Reg. 11.
1077
Matth. Paris.
An earth-
quake, a long
frost, a comet.

About the same season, pope Gregorie perceiving that married priests did choose rather to run into the danger of his curse, than to forsake their wives, meaning to bryde them by an other prouiso, gaue commandment by his bull published abroad, that none should heare the masse of a married priest.

Married
priests.

King William after his coming from the siege of Doll, remained a certeine time in quiet, during which season, Lanfranke the archbishop called a synod or councell of the cleergie at London, wherein amongst other things it was ordeined, that certeine bishops should be remoued from small dioceses to cities of more fame, whereby it came to passe, that Chichester, Exeter, Bath, Salisbury, Lincoln & Chester

Anno Reg. 12.
1078.
Polydor.
A synod holden at London.
Bishops remoued.

Chester were honozed with new fairs and palaces of bishops, whereas before they kept their residence at Selleswey, Barton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorchester and Lichfield.

Woolstan.

At this tyme also Woolstan bishop of Worcester was present, whom Lanfranke would haue depofed for his insufficiencie of learning; as he colourable pretended, but indeed to pleasure the king, who saine would haue placed a forman in his roome: but (as they saie) by a miracle which he presentlie wrought, in causing his crozier staffe to sticke fast in the toime of saint Edward (to whom he protested and said he would resigne it, for that he obtained the same by his gift) he did put the king and the archbishop into such feare, that they suffered him still to enjoy his bishopricke without any further veration. These things with other touching a reformation in the church and cleargie being handled in this counsell, it was sone after dissolved.

Anno Reg. 13.

1079

Marth. Paris.

Marth. West.

In the yeare following, king William led a mighty armie into Wales, and subdued it, receiuing of the rulers and princes there their homages and hostages. About the same time, Robert the kings eldest sonne, a right worthy personage, but yet as one of nature somewhat unstable, entred into Normandie as a rebell to his father, and by force took diuers places into his hands. Which he did by the practise of Philip the French king, who now began to doubt of the great puissance of king William, as foreseeing how much it might prejudice him, and the whole realme of France in time to come. Wherefore to stop the course of his prosperous successe, he deuised a meane to set the sonne against the father. True it is that king William had promised long afore to resigne the government of Normandie vnto the said Robert his sonne. Whereupon the young man, being of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the sinister counsell of his adherents, seeketh to obtaine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he should attaine by curtesie. King William hereof aduertised, was not a little moued against his disobedient sonne, and cursed both him and the time that euer he begat him. Finally, raising an armie, he marched towards him, so that they met in the field. As sone as the one came in sight of the other, they encountred at a place called Archenhaie, and whilst the battell was at the hottest, and the footmen most busied in fight, Robert appointed a powder of horsemen to beake in vpon the rearward of his enimies; & he himselfe following after with all his might, chanced among other to haue a conflict with his owne father, so that thrusting him through the arme with his lance, he bare him beside his horse, and ouerthrew him to the ground. The king being saue, called to his men to remount him. Robert perceiuing by his voice that it was his father, whom he had vnhozied, speedilie alighted, and took him vp, asking him forgiveness for that fact, and setting him vp on his owne horse, brought him out of the prease, and suffered him to depart in safetie. King William being thus escaped out of that present danger, and seeing himselfe not able to resist the puissance of his enimies, left the field to his son, hauing lost many of his men which were slaine in battell and chase, besides a great number that were hurt and wounded, among whom his second sonne William surnamed Rufus or Red, was one; and therefore (as some write) he bitterlie cursed his son Robert, by whom he had sustained such iniurie, losse, and dishonour. Howbeit, other write, that for the curtesie which his sonne shewed, in relieuing and helping him out of danger, when he was cast off his horse, he was moued with such a fatherlie affection, that presentlie after they were made friends, the fa-

Simon Dun.

Marth. Paris.

The sonne ouerthreweth the father.

Simon Dun.

Marth. Paris.

The father and the sonne made friends.

ther pardoned his sonne all his former offenses, and thereupon found him euer after more tractable and obedient than before.

After this battell, king William being thus accorded with his sonne, returned with him into England, and immediatlie sent him against Malcolm king of Scotland, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixt king William and his sonne, had done much hurt by forraies vpon the English borders, wasting all Northumberland euen to the riuier of Tyne. Howbeit, when he heard that Robert approached with his armie towards him, he retired into Scotland. Robert Curthose then lodged with his armie vpon the banks of the riuier of Tyne, where he began the foundation of a castell, whereof the towne of Newcastell did after take both beginning and name, for before this season it was called Doncastell.

Anno Reg. 14.
1080

Simon Dunc.

The foundation of Newcastell vpon Tyne, which before that season was called Doncastell.

Simon Dun.

About the same time, Ddo the bishop of Bayeux was sent to Northumberland, to reuenge the death of Waltheb bishop of Durham, whom not long before the people of Northumberland had slaine in a tumult. The occasion of his death grew by the death of one Liulfus, a noble man of those quarters, and derelic beloued of the people, because he was descended of honorable parentage, and had married the ladie Alghis daughter vnto earle Alered, and sister to Almeda the mother of earle Matcof.

This Liulfus, a man of great possessions through England, now that the Normans ruled in all places, quietlie withdrew himselfe vnto Durham, and grew into such familiaritie and credit with the bishop, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would do nothing without his aduice. Whereat Leofwin the bishops chapline conceiued chenuie (for that he was not so often called to counsell as before) that in the end he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whom the bishop had committed the rule of the earldome) to murder the said Liulfus by night in his manors place not farre from Durham. Whereof the bishop hauing vnderstanding, and knowing that the matter would be grieuoullie taken of the people, sent out letters and messengers into the countrie, offering to purge himselfe of the slaughter of this man, according to the order of the canon lawes: howbeit he did nothing lesse. Among other things concerning his purgation, he said that he had banished Gilbert and others, (who had committed the murder) out of Northumberland. Verbpvpon the malice of the people was kindled against him. For when it was knowne that he had receiued the murderers into his house, and fauoured them as before, they stomached the matter highlie: insomuch that when by the trauell of those that went to and fro betwixt the bishop and the king, folks of Liulfus, a daie was appointed, on the which the bishop should come to farther communication with them at Gateshead; he repaired thither according to his promise, but refusing to talke with them abroad, he kept himselfe still within the church, and sent forth such of his counsell as should commune with them. But when the people that were there gathered in great numbers, had signified in plaine words that he should either come forth and shew himselfe amongst them, or else that they should fire the place where he sat: he caused Gilbert to go forth vnto them first, whom they slue, and his partakers also that issued out of the church with him for his defence. But when the peoples furie was not so quenched, the bishop himselfe casting the skirts of his gowne ouer his face, came likewise forth, and was immediatlie slaine of the people. After this, they set the church on fire, because Leofwine the bishops chapline and others were yet within, and refused to come

Note the fe-
quels of the
neglect of us-
age in the
Anno Reg.

come forth: howbeit in the end, being compelled by the rage of the fire to come out, the said Leofwine was also slaine and hacket in peces (as he had well deserved) being the ringleader of all the mischief.

¶ Thus maie we see what followed of the neglecting of iustice in the bishop: for if he had either banished Gilbert and other his complices (accordinglie as he pretended to do) or otherwise had sene due punishment executed against them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded so far as it did: for they could not persuade themselves, but that the bishop was guiltie and priuie to Leofus death, sith he had receiued the murderers into his house, the verie same night in which the fact was done, and kept them still about him, which his bearing with them cost him his owne life. But now to the historie.

When bishop Odo was come into those parties to reuenge the bishops death with an armie (as we haue said) he soze afflicted the countrie, by spoiling it on euerie side with great crueltie. Here king William placed and displaced diuerse rulers ouer the Northumbers: for first he appointed one Copsi to haue the rule of that countrie, in place of Harchar who before had held the same. This Copsi expelled Mulse the sonne of earle Eoulse brother to earle Alred, which Mulse was substitute vnto the earles Eoulse and Harchar, who although he was driuen out of his gouernement by Copsi, yet recouering his forces againe, he sene the same Copsi as he entred into the church of Newburne. But within a few moneths after, the same Mulse (as he ran with his horse against a therse) was thrust through the bodie with a spear, which the therse held in his hand, and so died. Then Gospatrike was assigned by king William to haue the gouernement there: whose mother Aldgitha was daughter to Athred sometime earle of Northumberland begotten vpon Elfgina the daughter of king Egfred.

Some write, that Gospatrike purchased the earles dome of king William, and so held it, till the king toke it from him againe, and then gaue it vnto earle Waltes of Waldeue. Next after him Walkher the fozrsaid bishop of Durham had the whole administration committed to him, but (after he was slaine as ye haue heard) one Alberike ruled that countrie, and lastlie, Robert Bulzay a right noble personage (for his wisdom and valiance highlie renowned with all men) was created earle of Northumberland, and gouerned the people of those parties in such politike and wise order, that during his time, it is hard to saie, whether his quietnesse or the obedience of the people was greater.

In like manner, after the fozrsaid Walkher, one William was created bishop of Durham, who was the originall founder of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford, and by whose assistance, the monkes gaying both for riches, ease, and possessions, found the means to displace the secular priests of the colledge of Durham, that they might get into their monies, as they did indeed some after, to their great gaine and aduantage. But to returne againe to the course of the historie. Shortlie after the reuenge of the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, the fozrnamed bishop Odo the kings brother was suspected of some vnruth and sinister dealing, wher vpon he was sent as a banished man into Normandie, or rather (as other write) committed to prison, where he remained, not as a clerke, but as a baron of the realme; for he was both bishop and earle of Bent.

The king hauing at length obtained some rest from wars, practised by sundrie meanes to enrich his coffers, and therefore raised a tribute through out the whole kingdom; for the better leuieing whereof, he appointed all the subiects of his realme to be num-

bred, all the cities, towne, villages, and hamlets to be registred, all the abbies, monasteries and priories to be recorded. Moreover, he caused a certificat to be taken of euerie mans substance, and what he might dispend by the yeare; he also caused their names to be written which held knights fees, & were bound therby to serue him in the wars. Likewise he toke a note of euerie poke of oxen, & what number of plow lands, and how manie bondmen were with in the realme. This certificat being made & brought vnto him, gaue him full vnderstanding what wealth remained among the English people. Herevpon he raised his tribute, taking six shillings for euerie hide of land through out this realme, which amounted to a great masse of monie when it was all brought together into his Exchequer. ¶ Here note by the waie, that an hide of land containeth an hundred acres, and an acre containeth fortie perches in length, and foure in breadth, the length of a perch is sixtene foot and an halfe: so that the common acre should make 240. perches; & eight hides or 800. acres is a knights fee, after the best appoyued writers and plaine demonstration. Those therefore are deceiued, that take an hide of land to containe twentie acres (as William Lambert hath well noted in his *De prisio Anglorum legibus*) where he expoundeth the meaning of the old Saxon termes pertaining to the lawes.

But to proceed & come, a little after the temporals dealing, to some of the spirituall affaires. It hapned about the same time, that when king William had finished the rating of his subiects, that there rose a strife betwixt Thurstane abbat of Glaffenburie a Norman, and the monkes of that house. One cause thereof was, for that the abbat would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine song or note for the seruice which pope Gregorie had set forth, and to haue vsed an other kind of tune deuised by one William of Felcampe: beside this, the said abbat spent and wasted the goods that belonged to the house, in riot, lecherie, and by such other insolent meanes (withdrawing also from the monkes their old accustomed allowance of diet) for the which they first fell at alteration in words, and afterwards to fighting. The abbat got armed men about him, and falling vpon the monkes, slue thre of them at the high altar, and wounded xviij. Howbeit the monkes for their parts plaied the pretie men with formes and candlesticks, defending themselves as well as they might, so that they hurt diuers of the abbats adherents, and droue them out of the quier.

In the end, complaint hereof was brought to the king, by whose iudgement the matter was so ordered, that Thurstane lost his come, and returned vnto Caen in Normandie from whence he came, and the monkes were syped abroad into diuerse houses of religion through the realme, Glaffenburie being replenished with more quiet persons, and such as were supposed readier to prae than to quarrell, as the other did: yet is it said, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurstane obtained the rule of that abbey againe for five hundred pounds.

Where be which write, that the numbring of men and of places, the valuation of goods and substance, as well in castell as readie monie, was not taken till about the xix. yeare of this kings reigne (although the subsidie afore mentioned was gathered about two yeares before of euerie hide of land as ye haue heard) and that the certificat hereof being inrolled, was put into the kings treasure at Winchester, in the xix. yeare of his reigne, and not in the xviij. But in what yeare soeuer it was, and howsoeuer the writers agree or disagree herein, certaine it is, that the same was created, to the great greife and impenishment of the people, who soze lamented the unreasonab-

Plow land.

Geruafus
Tilberienfis.
(The true de-
finition of a
hide of land.

Sim. Duncl.

Copsi.

Gospatrike.

Robert Buzay
earle of
Northumbers
land.

The founda-
tion of vni-
uersitie col-
ledge in Ox-
ford.

Anno Reg. 15.

1081

Anno Reg. 16.

1082

Odo sus-
pended and ba-
nished.

Anno Reg. 17.

1083

Anno Reg. 18.

1084

Wil. Malm.

Simon Dun.

Thurstane ab-

bat of Gla-

ffenburie.

William of

Felcampe.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

haue two

slaine & hurt.

hurt.

Matt. Westm.

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

The Conquerour
sought to keepe the
English men low.

Polydor.

The forrests
seized into the
kings hands.
Matth. Paris.

New forrest.

Matth. Paris.
An earth-
quake.

Polydor.

Simon Dun.
1085
A rumor spread
of the coming
of the Danes.

Anno 20.

1086

Matth. West.
1087
A note taken
to be true to
the king.

Great sick-
nes reigning.
Shireen of
castell.
Matth. West.

orable estate whereinto they were brought, and hated the Normans in their hearts to the verie death. Whobest, the more they grudged at such tolles, tallages, custumes, and other impositions, wherewith they were pressed; the more they were charged and overpressed. The Normans on the other side with their king perceiving the hatred which the English bare them, were fore offended, and therefore sought by all meanes to keepe them vnder. Such as were called to be iustices, were enemies to all iustice; whereupon greater burdens were laid vpon the English, insomuch that after they had bene robbed and spoiled of their goods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturallie (as they do vnto this daie) they take great pleasure in hunting of deere, both red and fallow, in the woods and forrests about without restraint, king William seizing the most part of the same forrests into his owne hands, appointed a punishment to be executed vpon all such offenders; namely, to haue their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penall lawes (a pestilent policie of a spitefull mind, and sauozing altogether of his French slauierie) he deuised meanes how to breed, nourish, and increase the multitude of deere, and also to make roime for them in that part of the realme which lieth betwixt Salisburie and the sea southward: he pulled downe townes, villages, churches, & other buildings for the space of 30. miles, to make thereof a forrest, which at this daie is called *Netu forrest*. The people as then fore bewailed their distress, & greatlie lamented that they must thus leaue house & home to the vse of sauage beasts. Which crueltie, not onelie most all men liuing here on earth, but also the earth it selfe might seeme to detest, as by a wonderfull signification it seemed to declare, by the shaking and roaring of the same, which chanced about the 14. yeare of his reigne (as writers haue recorded.) Where be that suppose how the king made that part of the realme waste and barren vpon a policie, to the intent that if his chance were to be expelled by ciuill wars, & he compelled to leaue the land, there should be no inhabitants in that part of the Isle to resist his arriual vpon his new returne.

But to go forth with our purpose. About the same time, a rumor was spread in England that Suenne king of Denmarke meant to invade England with a puissant armie, hauing the assistance of the earle of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. Whereupon king William being then in Normandie, retained a great power of French souldiers, both archers and footmen, which together with his Normans he brought ouer into England in haruest season, & meaning to disburthen himselfe of the charge of their keeping, he caused their finding and wages to be borne by the lords and peers of the realme, by the shirifs of shires, and other officers. Whobest, when he vnderstood that the Danes changed their purpose, and would not hold on their iourneie, he dismissed part of his power, and sent them home againe, keeping the residue all the winter with him in England, readie for his defense, if anie rebellion or other necessitie should befall.

The same yeare, he kept his Christmasse at Glocestre, and made his sonne Henrie knight at Westminster in Whitsunweeke insuing. Shortly after, calling together aswell lords spirituall as temporall, he caused them all to sweare fealtie to him and his heires after him in the possession of this kingdome.

About this season, the people in all places were pitifullie plagued with burning feuers, which brought manie to their end: a murren also came to their castell, whereof a wonderfull number died. At the same time (which is more maruellous) came fowles,

as hens, geese, & peacocks, forsaking their owners houses, fled to the woods and became wild. Great hurt was done in manie places of the realme by fire, and speciallie in London, where vpon the 7. daie of Julie a sudden flame began, which burnt Pauls church, and a great part of the citie downe to the verie ground.

Now when king William had taken the oth of fealtie and loialtie of all his lords, Edgar Etheling, who was reconciled vnto his fauour (as you haue heard) obtaining licence of him to depart the realme for a season, sailed into England with two hundred souldiers: of whose acts there and returne into England I spare to speake, because I find little or nothing of moment recorded. And now king William, who hauing brought the Englishmen so lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge masse of money, where some after he fell sicke, so that he was constrained to keepe his bed longer than he had bene accustomed to do, whereat Philip the French king in iesting maner said, that king William his cousine laie now in childbed (alluding belike to his big bellie, for he was verie copulent) and withall added; Wh what a number of candels must I prouide to offer vp at his going to church! certaine I thinke that 100000. will not suffice, &c. This trumping speech so moued the king, that he made this answer: Well, I trust when I shall be churched, that our couline shall be at no such cost, but I will helpe to find him a thousand candels my selfe, and light them for, to some of their paines, if God grant me life. Which promise he bound with an oth, and in deed performed. For in Julie next insuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were most flourishing, and readie for the sickle, he entred France with a great armie, set fire on manie of their cities and townes in the westside of that countrie, & came at last to the citie of Auant, which he burnt with the church of our ladie, and an ankresse inclosed in the wall thereof as an holie closet, for the force of the fire was such as all went to wrecke. In this heat king William toke such a sicknesse (which was likewise aggravated by the fall of an horse as he rode to and fro, because he was not able to trauell on foot about his palace by reason of his discale) that cost him his life; so that when he had ordeined his last will, and taken order for the state of things after his decease, he departed this life on the 9. day of September, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1087. and 74. (as Polydor saith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie about 51. yeres, and reigned ouer England 20. yeres, ten moneths, and 28. daies (as all writers do report.)

Not long before his death, he released his brother Ado bishop of Bayeux out of prison, Marchar earle of Northumberland, and Wilmotus the sonne of king Harold, or (as some say) his brother. Whereouer he repented him (as some say) when he lay on his deathbed of his cruell dealing with the English, considering that by them he had attained to such honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and scepter of a kingdome: but whether he did so or not, or that some monke deuised the excuse in fauour of the prince: surelie he was a puissant prince, and though his time was troublesome, yet he was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe, if a man shall consider that in a strange realme he could make such a conquest, and so easily and readilie assure the same to his heires, with new lawes, orders, and constitutions (which are like for euer to endure) he would thinke it a thing altogether void of credit. Yet so it was, & so honourable were his doings in the sight of the world, that those kings, which succeeded liethens his death, begin their account

Pauls
church burn-
ed.
Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 21.

Wil. Malm.
Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Ran. Higd.

He invaded
France.

Gemeticensis.
The citie of
Auant burnt
by W. William.
Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

King William
departed this
life.

Simon Dun.
Matth. West.
The fix. of
his age hath
Wil. Malm.

He set all pri-
soners at li-
bertie saith
Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renewed the state of the realme, and instituted an other forme of regiment, in attaining whereof he did not so much pretend a rightfull challenge by the grant of his cosine king Edward the Confessor, as by the law of armes and plaine conquest, than the which (as he supposed) there could be no better title.

He bare but
two lions or
rather leop-
ards as some
thinke.

Whereupon also those that haue sithens succeeded him, vse the same armes as peculiar to the crowne of England, which he vsed in his time; namelye, three li. ns passant gold in a field gewels (as Polydor writeth) the three floure delices were sith that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reason of his claime to the crowne of France, whereof hereafter ye shall heare. Among other greivances which the English susteined by the hard deling of the Conquerour, this is to be remembred, that he brought Jewes into this land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie.

Polydor.

There be that write, how the inconstancie of the English people by their oft rebellions occasioned the king to be so rough and rigorous against them; whereas (of his naturall disposition and proper inclination) he was rather gentle and courteous than sharpe and cruel. But sith he continued his extremitie euen to his last daies, we may rather beleue, that although from his childehood he shewed signs tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie; yet by following the wars, and practising to reigne with sternesse, he became so inured therewith, that those peaccable vertues were quite altered in him, and in maner clearely quenched. He was inuend with a certeine stoutnesse of courage and skill in feats of warre, which good hap euer followed: he was free from lecherous lusts, without suspicion of bodilie vices, quicke of wit, desirous of honor, painefull, watchfull, and able to tolerate heat and cold, though he were tall of stature, and verie grosse of bodie.

Toward the end of his daies he wearied verie deuout, and became desirous to aduance the state of the church, inasmuch that he builded three abbeies in three seuerall places, endowing them with faire lands and large possessions, one at the place where he hauy quitted king Harold, five miles from Hastings, which he named Battell, of the field there fought: the other at Celby in Northeshire: and the third in Normandie at Caen, where his wife Quene Maud had builded a nunnery, which Maud died in the yere 1084. before the decease of the king hir husband.

After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephens church; but before it could be committed to the ground, the executors were constrained to agree with the lord of the soile where the church stood, which (as he said) the king in his life time had in turlouslie taken from him, and gaue him a great summe of monie to release his title.

By this we may consider the great miserie of mans estate, in that so mightie a prince could not haue so much ground after his death as to couer his dead carps, without doing iniurie to another. This also may be a speciall lesson for all men, and namelye for princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, doe not regard what wrong they offer to the inferiour sort.

The said king William had by Maud his wife the daughter of Balduine earle of Flandres, fourte sonnes, Robert surnamed Curthose (unto whome he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard who died in his youth, William surnamed Rufus, to whom he gaue by testament the realme of England, and Henrie surnamed Beauclerke for his cunning, knotwledge and learning, unto whom he bequeathed all his treasure and moueable goods, with the possessions that belonged to his mother. Besides these

Hen. Marle.

fourte sonnes, he had also by his said wiffe five daughters, Cecillie, who became a nunne; Constance, who was married to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, who was giuen in marriage to Stephan earle of Blois (of whom that Stephan was boine which reigned after Henrie the first) Adelliza, who was promised in marriage to Harold king of England (as before you haue heard) but she died yer the was married either to him, or to any other, and so likewise did the fifth, whose name I cannot reherse.

But to conclude, though king William held the English so binder foot, that in his daies almost no Englishman bare any office of honor, or rule in his time, yet he somewhat fauoured the citie of London, and at the earnest sute of William a Norman then bishop of that see, he granted vnto the citizens the first charter, which is written in the Saxon tongue, scaled with greene wax, and expessed in viij. or ix. lines at the most, cremplified according to the copie, and so printed, as followeth.

John Rous.

Williem king grets Williem Bisceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghware binnen London Francisce, & Englis frendlice, & Ickiden coy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, yeget weeran on Eadwerds daege kings. And ic wille yeet aelc child by his fader yrsume, aester his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet acnig man coy acnis wrang beode. God coy heald.

Wilhelmus rex saluat Wilhelmum Episcopum, & Godfridum Portegrefum, & omnem Burghware infra London Frans. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notum facio, quod ego volo quod vos sitis omni lege illa digni qua fuistis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quod omnis puer sit patris sui heres post diem patris sui. Et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Dem vos saluet.

But howsoever he vsed the rest of the English, this is recorded of some writers, that by his rigorous proceedings against them, he brought to passe that the countrie was so rid of theues and robbers, as that at length a maid might haue passed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not haue met with any misdoer to haue bereft hir of the same: a thing right strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reigne there were such routs of outlawes and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be safely possessed of their owne houses, were the same neuer so well fortified and defended.

Math. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

Among manie lawes made by the said William, this one is to be remembred, that such as forced any woman, should lose their genitals.

In this kings daies also liued Osmond the second bishop of Salisburie, who compiled the church service, which in times past they commonlie called after Salisburie vse.

Salisburie
dic.

The vse of the long bowe (as John Rous testifieth) came first into England with this king William the Conquerour: for the English (before that time) vsed to fight with arcs and such hand weapons: and therefore in the oration made by the Conquerour before he gaue battell to king Harold, the better to encourage his men, he told them they should encounter with enemies that wanted shot.

Shooting.

In the yere of our Lord 1542. Monsieur de Castris bishop of Baieulx and abbat of Saint Etienne in Caen, caused the sepulchre of this William to be opened, wherein his bodie was found whole, faire and perfect, of lins, large and big, of stature and personage, longer than the ordinarie sort of men: with a copper plate fairlie gilt, and this epitaph thereupon ingrauen:

Qui rexu rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Canonenses virtute contudit enses,
Imperijq; suilegibus applicuit,

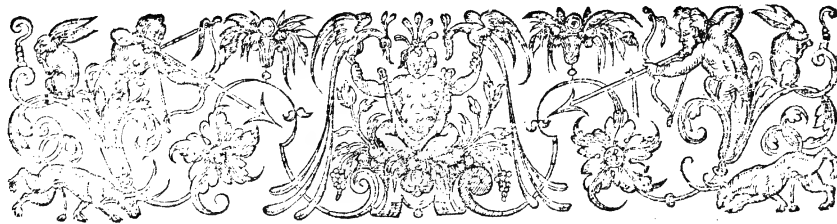
Res

*Per magnam parua iacet hac Guilielmus in urna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domini,
Ter septem gradibus se valuerat atq. duobus
virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic oly: that is;
Who ouer Normans rough did rule,
and ouer Britons bold
Did conquest stoutlie win, and con-
quest woone did stronglie hold:
Who by his valure great the fa-
tall vprores calmd in maine,*

Thus far William Conquerour.

And to obeie his powers and lawes,
the Manceaux did constraîne:
This mightie king within this lit-
tle vault intoomed lies,
So great a lord sometime, so small
a roome dooth now suffice.
When three times seuen and two by iust
degrees the sunne had tooke
His wonted course in Virgos lap,
then he the world forlooke.

W. Patten
collecteth this
to be the 23.
after the sun
was in Virgo:
which is the
6 of September



William Rufus or William the Red.

1087.
Anno Reg. I.



Polydor.
Sim. Duncl.
March. Paris.

William, surnamed Rufus
or William the Red, second
sonne to William Conque-
rour, began his reigne ouer
England the ninth of Sep-
tember, in the yeare 1087.
about the 31. yeare of the em-
perour Henrie the fourth, and
the 37. of Philip the first,
king of France, Urbane the second then gover-
ning the see of Rome, and Malcolme Canmore
reigning in Scotland. Immediatlie after his fa-
thers deceasse, and before the solemnitie of the fune-
rals were executed, he came ouer into England
with no lesse speed than was possible, and following
the counsell of Lanfranke archbishop of Cantuar-
rie (in whome he reposed all his trust) he sought to
win the fauour of the Peers and Nobilitie of the
realme by great and liberrall gifts. For although
there were but few of the homeborne States that
bare rule in the land at this season; yet those that re-
mained, and whome his father in extreme sort had
wronged, he verie gentlie entertained, promising
them not onlie to continue their good lord and soue-
reigne, but also to make more sauourable ordina-
ces than his father had left behind him; and further-
more to restore the former lawes and liberties of the
realme, which his said father had abolished. Thus by
faire words and policie he obtained his purpose.
Whobeyt sone after he forgot himselfe, and impu-
ned Marchar and Wilnot, whom he had brought o-
uer with him from Normandie, being set at liber-
tie by his father.

Sim. Duncl.
Marchar and
Wilnot.

Lanfranke
had fauoured
him euen of a
child.
March. Paris.
William Con-
querour crow-
ned the 26. of
September.
Polydor.
His beauti-
full monu-
ment.

The Nobles at the first wished rather to haue had
the elder brother duke Robert to haue gouerned
them: whobeyt by the aide onelie of the said Lan-
franke, whose auctoritie was of no small force a-
mongst all the lords of the land, this William (ac-
cording to his fathers assignation) was proclaimed
and crowned at Westminister on the 26. of Sep-
tember (being Sunday, the 6. kalends of October)
and the 11. indiction, as the best writers do report.
After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he went
to Winchester, where he found great treasure which
his father had laid by there for his owne vse; this he
freely spent in large gifts, and all kind of princelie

largesse. He set verie manie prisoners at libertie,
& did many other things to benefit the people, where-
in the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did
not a little preuaile. For he perceiued that there was
in the king a variable mind, an vnstable nature, and
a disposition to lightnesse and follie. Wherefore he
tooke oftentimes the more paines in perswading him
not onelie to liberrallitie (which is none of the least
vertues in a prince) but also to vse a discret and or-
derlie behauiour in all his doings. Moreover, he
sticked not to put him in feare of an euill end, and
troublesome regiment likelie to insue, if he did giue
himselfe to vice and wilfulnesse, & neglect the charge
thus by the prouidence of GOD committed to his
hands. After this maner did the said prelat trauele
with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it
were hearkening to his admonitions, and set forth
by the waie what his brother Robert did, whilst
William Rufus his brother was occupied in such
wife as you haue heard.

It happened that this Robert was abroad in Ger-
manie, when king William his father died (whither
he went to raise a power, to the intent he might there
by obtaine the possession of Normandie, which he
trusted to enioy in his fathers life time) where he re-
ceiued newes of his death, he hasted straightwaies in-
to Normandie, and there being iustlie receiued,
was peaceablie proclaimed duke of that countie,
with great gladnesse and shouting of the people.

After this, considering with himselfe how vnsu-
perable a thing it was for him, that his yonger bro-
ther should possesse the crowne of England, which of
right (as he said) belonged vnto him, by reason of
his age; he determined with all expedition to passe
the seas with an armie, and recouer that into his
hands, which his father had giuen from him, partly
(as it is thought) for his wilfulnesse and disobedience
towards him, and partly also because he doubted that
if he should leaue it vnto him, he would through his
too much gentlenesse and facilitie, giue occasion to
the English to resume strength, and thereby to reuolt.
Wherefore he iudged his yonger brother the fittest
William (a man of a rougher nature) the master of
the swaine for the gouernement.

As duke Robert was thus moued by his owne
desire to bereane his brother of the dominion of Eng-
land,

1088

1088

land, so he was not a little incensed therunto by such of the English Nobilitie and Normans, as came daily ouer vnto him out of the realme, complaining of the present state of the world, as those that mistaked of the whole manner of regiment vied in the beginning of the reigne of his brother William. His uncle Ddo also (then bishop of Baſeour) furthered the matter all that he might. This Ddo was at first in great estimation with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length for enuie that the archbishop Lanfranke was preferred before him, he conspired against him, who understanding thereof, committed him forthwith to prison, where he remained, till the said prince then lieng on his death-bed, released and restored him to his former libertie. When the king was dead, William Rufus took him backe into England, supposing no lesse but to haue had a speciall friend and a trustie counsellor of him in all his affaires. But per long after his coming thither, he fell againe into the same offense of ingratitude, wherof he became culpable in the Conquerors daies: for perceiving that Lanfranke was so highlie esteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partlie suspecting that Lanfranke had bene cheefe causer of his former imprisonment, he conspired with the rest against his nephew, and thereupon wrote sundrie letters ouer vnto duke Robert, counselling him to come ouer with an armie in all hast, to take the rule vpon him, which by his practise should easilie be compassed.

Do the bishop of Baſeour conspireth against his nephew William Rufus.

The castell of Rochester.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. The bishop of Couſance taketh the town of Bath.

Hugh Grandmoull. Hen Hunt. Wil. Mal. The earle of Shrewsburie

Worcester assailed.

23. shop wolsan.

Duke Robert being thus animated on all sides, and yet wanting sufficient monie to the furniture of this iourne, engaged a portion of his duchie of Normandie, as the countie of Constantine to his youngest brother Henrie, for a great sum of gold, and therewith returned answer to the foresaid bishop, that he should prouide and loke for him vpon the south coast of England, at a certeine time appointed. Hereupon Ddo fortified the castell of Rochester, & began to make fore wars against the kings friends in Kent: he procured others of the complices also to do the like in other parts of the realme; and first on the west part of England, where Geoffrey bishop of Consans with his nephew Robert de Howbray earle of Poymoutherland setting forth from Wilsow, came toward Bath, which towne they took and sacked, and likewise Berkley, with a great part of Wiltshire, and brought the spoile and booties backe to Wilsow, where they had a castell stronglie fortified for their more safetie. In like maner Roger de Wygod, departing from Southwich, with great forraies overrode and robbed all the countie about, and couered such riches as he had gotten into the said citie. In like sort did Hugh de Grandmoull at Leicester, spoiling and waſking all the countie about him.

The earle of Shrewsburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welshmen set forth from Shrewsburie, and with him were William bishop of Durham the kings household chapline, Barnard of Peterburgh, Roger Lacie, and Wase Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers together, invaded the countie, and with fire and sword did much hurt where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards coming to Worcester, they assaulted the citie, & terran the suburbs, & set the same on fire. For the citizens shutting fast the gates of their citie (though with the sudden coming of the enemies they were somewhat afraid) made valiant resistance: and consulting their gods, their wiues, and their children into the castell, got them to the walles and places of defense, to repell & beat backe the enemies. Among them in the towne was bishop Wolsan, whom the citizens would haue compelled to go into the castell

for his surer safeguard, but he refused it.

At length it chanced that the enemies (continuing the said siege) began to war negligent, and ranged abroad in the countie, little regarding watch and ward about their campe; whereupon the English within the citie took this oportunitie, being moued thereto with the comfortable exhortation of bishop Wolsan, and sailing forth of the towne did set on their enemies with great fiercenes, whome they got at such aduantage, that they slue and took that daie about five hundred men (as Henrie of Huntingdon recordeth.) For the English bearing a continuall mallice in their hearts against the French and Normans, did now their best to be fullie reuenged of them, vpon so conuenient an occasion offered. Those that escaped by flight, hid themselves in the next townes, making such shifts for their liues as the present necessitie could minister.

They slue five hundred, and chased the residue as faith Simon Duncl.

Whilest the realme was thus troubled on eche side, archbishop Lanfranke sendeth writeth, and admonisheth all the kings friends to make themselves ready to defend their prince. And after he understood that they were assembled together for that purpose, he counselleth the king to march into the field with them speedilie, to repress his enemies. The king following his counsell, first appointed his nauie to scowle and keepe the seas, and to withstand (if it were possible) the arrivall of his brother by faire words. Also he reconciled Roger de Mountgomerie earle of Shrewsburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promises to the English, that he would out of hand giue and restore vnto them such fauourable lawes as they would wish or desire. Whereouer he commanded all vnjust imposts, tolles and tallages to be laid downe, and granted free hunting in the woods, chafes and forrests. All which grants and promises he kept not long, though for the time he greatlie contented the people with such a shew of good meaning towards them. This done, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the sedition began, and first coming to the castell of Tunbridge, he compelled capteine Gilbert to yeld vp the fortreſſe into his hands. Then went he to Horne castell, where he heard saie Ddo was (but the report was untrue, for he had betaken himselfe to the castell of Pemsey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he passed forth vnto Pemsey, and besieged the castell there a long season, which the bishop had stronglie fortified.

The diligence of the archbishop Lanfranke.

The great curtelie shewed to the Englishmen by Wil. Rufus. Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.

During this time, and about the fiftieth daie after the beginning of the siege, word was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, and minded with all possible speed to come to the succour of the bishop, and of other his friends, whom he and his power had not a little assisted. ¶ Here authors varie: for some report that duke Robert came not ouer himselfe at the first at all, but sent a part of his armie, with a certeine number of ships, which encountering with the kings fleet, were discomfited. Others write that duke Robert hearing of the losse of his men, came after himselfe, and landed with a mightie armie as before, which is most likelie. And certeinlie (as Gemeticen, affirmeth) he might easilie as then haue recovered England from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, considering that Cusface earle of Bullongne, Ddo bishop of Baſeour, and the earle of Mortaigne, with other lords of Normandie that were passed to England, had already taken Rochester, and diuers other castels in the prouince of Canturburie, keeping the same a certeine time, still looking that he should haue come ouer to their aid, which he deferred to do, till they were constrained by siege and lacke of necessaries succor to returne into Normandie, leauing those places which they had won vnto the king, and that to

H. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Gemeticensis. Cusface earle of Bullongne.

Mayon Dun.

their great bishopric. But howsoever it was, the king still continued the siege before Hereford castle, till Wdo (though want of victuals) was glad to submit himselfe, and promised to cause the castle of Rochester to be delivred: but at his coming thither, they within the citie suffered him to enter, and straightwaies laid him fast in prison. Some iudge that it was done under a colour by his owne consent.

Rochester besieged by the king.
Anno Reg.
Polydor.
1089

There were in Rochester a sort of valiant gentlemen (the flower in manner of all Normandie) with Eustace earle of Bolougne, and manie gentlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defend the place against the king: who hearing what was done, came with his armie and besieged the citie of Rochester on each side so sharpe, that they within were glad to deliver it up into his hands. Thus lost bishop Wdo all his livings and dignities in England, and so returned into Normandie, where under duke Robert he had the cheefe government of the countie committed unto him.

The bishop of Durham expelled.

After this he overcame divers of his enemies some by force and some by subtle meanes. Notwithstanding this, there yet remained the bishop of Durham, one of the cheefe conspirators, who withdrew himselfe into the citie of Durham, there to lie in safety, till he saw how the world would go: but being therein besieged by the king, who came thither personally, he was at length forced to surrender the citie, and yield himselfe: whereupon also he was expelled the land, with diverse of his complices. But twelvemonths after, he was called home againe, and restored to his church, wherein he lived not long, but died for sorrow, because he could not cleare himselfe of offence in the said rebellion, albeit that he laboured most earnestly so to do, that he might thereby have attained to the kings favour againe.

Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie departed this life.

Whilist these things were thus in hand, the archbishop Lanfranke fell sicke and dieth, in the 19. yeare after his first entering into the government of the see of Canturburie. This Lanfranke (as should seme) was a wise, politike, and learned prelate, who whilist he lived, mollified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, instructing him to forbear such wild and outrageous behaviours as his youthfullnesse was inclined unto: and moreover persuaded the English to obey the same king as their loiall prince, whereby they should occasion him to be their good lord and king, not using them rigorously as his father had done. So that Lanfranke could not well have bene spared in the time of the rebellion, without great danger of subverting the state of the commonwealth. He builded two hospitals without the citie of Canturburie, for the releefe of poore people and strangers, the one of S. John, the other at Sparbaldone. He advanced the church of Rochester from foure secular clerkes, to the number of fiftie monkes: he repaired Christes church in Canturburie, and the abbey of S. Albons, whereof he made one Paule that was his nephew abbat, which Paule governed that house by his uncles assistance greatlie to the advancement thereof, as well in temporall as spirituall preferments, as it was then indged. Likewise the said Lanfranke was verie fortunate in the government of his church and see of Canturburie, recovering sundrie portions of lands and rents alienated from the same before his daies, insomuch that he restored to that see 25. manors. For amongst other, whereas Wdo the Bishop of Bayeux, who also was Earle of Kent, bearing great rule in England under his nephew king William the Conquerour, had usurped diverse possessions which belonged to the see of Canturburie, and had seized the franchises appertaining to the same Lanfranke, into his owne hands, by suite and earnest travail he recovered the

March. Westm.
Paule abbat
of S. Albons.

Eadmerus.

same, and being impleaded about that matter by the said Wdo, he so defended his cause, that in the end (though with much woo) he had his will, and so remained in quiet possession of his right after that so long as he lived, without any trouble or vexation concerning the said possessions and liberties.

Whereas also not onlie Walkhem the bishop of Winchester, but diverse other bishops in England were in mind to have displaced monkes out of their cathedrall churches, and to have brought canons into their houses, Lanfranke withstood them, and would tolerate no such dislocation: an act at that time so well liked, that he was highlie commended for the same. After Lanfrankes death, the king began greatlie to forget himselfe in all his dealings, insomuch that he kept many concubines, and was verie cruell and inconstant in all his doings, so that he became an heauie burthen unto his people. For he was so much addicted to gather goods, that he considered not what pertained to the maiestie of a king, insomuch that nothing tending to his gaine, and the satiffing of his appetite, was esteemed of him unlawfull, sith he measured all things by the uncontrolled rule of his roialtie, and considered nothing what so high an office required. He kept the see of Canturburie foure yeares in his hands, to see who would give most for it, in the meane time taking the profits thereof, and making the uttermost of the same that by any meanes could be devised.

Lanfranke praised for holding with the monkes.

The king given to sensual lust and covetousnesse.

The like he used when other benefices and abbeies were vacant, and furthermore that little which the prince spared, his officers and farmers, no lesse covetous than he, converted to their advantage: so that what by the king, and what by his procurators, the church of England was now sore charged and siced of hir wealth. Diverse of hir prelates in like manner were not a little offended, to see their mother so spoiled of hir treasure and livelihood, insomuch that they practised a redresse: and to begin withall, complained of the king to pope Urban: but he was so busied with other troubles of his owne nearer home, that he could have no time to seeke meanes how to redresse enormities a far off, whereby the lands and goods belonging to the church here in England were still wastfullie spent and consumed by the king and others, to whom he gave or let them forth to farme at his owne pleasure, and to his most commotie.

March. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Matt. Paris.

But albeit the prince was of such a disposition by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admonish vs that there is no man of so evil an affection, but that sometime he dealeth uprightlie, though it be by hap or other extraordinary motion. It chanced that an abbeie was void of an abbat, wherein were two monkes verie courteous persons about the rest, and such as by scraping and gathering together, were become verie rich, for such (saith Polydor) in those daies mounted to preferment. These two appointed to go together to the court, each hoping at their coming thither to find some meanes that he might be made abbat of that house. Being thus agreed, to the court they come, and there offer verie largelie to the king to obtaine their sute: who perceiuing their greedy desires, and casting his eyes about the chamber, espied by chance an other monke (that came to beare them companie, being a more sober man, and simple after his outward appearance) whom he called unto him, and asked what he would give him to be made abbat of the foresaid abbeie. The monke after a little pause, made answer, that he would give nothing at all for any such purpose, since he entered into that profession of mere zeale to despise riches & all worldly pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie serve God in holinesse & puritie of conversation. Saiesst thou so, quoth

Si

quoth the king, then art thou even he that art worthy to gouerne this house: and straightwaie he bestowed the house upon him, iustlie refusing the other two, to their open infamie and reproch.

Matt. Paris.
Anno Reg. 3.
1090

Simon Dun.
warres betwixt the king
and his brother Robert.

Anno Reg. 4.
1001
Gemeinheits.
The peace concluded.
Simon Dun.
Math. West.
Simon Dun.

Gemeinheits.

Sim. Dunel.

But to returne to our historie. After the expulsion of the bishop of Durham, and other of his adherents, the king passed ouer into Normandie, purposing to depriue his brother of that dukedome, and being arrived there, he besieged and toke S. Valerie, Albemarle, and diuerse other townes and castles, wherein he placed a number of his best souldiers, the better to mainteine warre against his foresaid brother. Whereupon also the said Robert sent vnto the French king for aid, who came downe at his request with a noble armie, and besieged one of those castles which king William had lately wonne; howbeit by such means as king William made, in sending to the French king an huge summe of monie, he raised his siege shortly & returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt king William and the duke his brother, but yet verie dishonorable to the said Robert: for it was accorded, that king William should retaine & still intop the countie of Cwe, with Herehampe, the abbacie of mount S. Michell, Eversberg, and all those other places which he had wonne & gotten out of his hands in this his late boiaage. On the other side it was agreed, that king William should aid the duke to recouer all other places beyond the sea, which belonged to their father. Also, that such Normans as had lost anie of their lands & livinges in England, for taking part with the duke in the late rebellion, should be restored to the same. And furthermore, that whether soeuer of both should die first, the survivor should be his heire, and succeed in his dominions.

This peace was concluded at Caen, and that by procurement of the French king, at what time king William was verie strong in the field neare vnto Cwe. After which conclusion, they united their powers, and besieged their yongest brother Henrie in the castell of mount S. Michell, which (being situated in the confines of Normandie and Britaine) he had strongly fortified not long before for feare of assaults. But when they had lien about it by the space of all the best season, and had made manie bickerings with his men, more to their losse than lucre, they raised their siege, and voluntarilie departed. Not long after this, king William depriued Edgar Etheling of his heroe, which duke Robert had assigned vnto him, beaushing him out of Normandie for euer.

Shortly after also the aforesaid Henrie won a strong towne called Damfront, and furnishing it at all points he kept the same in his possession as long as he lived, mauer both his brethren. Thus the warres hat betwixt those three, holobest suddenly & without vpon what occasion) this Henrie was reconciled with king William and his brother Robert, so that all debates being quietted on euerie side, they were made friends and wellwillers. King William also returned into England, hauing his brother Robert in his companie, all men reioicing at their pacification and amitie, which happened in the yeare 1091. and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the end wherof, and vpon the first daie of October, a marvellous sore tempest fell in sundrie parts of England, but especiallie in the towne of Winchcombe, where (by force of thunder and lightning) a part of the steeple of the church was throwne downe, and the crucifix with the image of Marie standing vnder the rood-loft, was likewise overthrowne, broken, and shattered in peces; then followed a foule, a noisome, and a most horrible stinke in the church. On the 17. daie of the same moneth much harme was done in London with an outragi-

ous wind, the violence wherof ouerturned and rent in peces aboue five hundred houses, at which time and tempest the roose of S. Marie bolue church in cheape was also overthrowne, wherewith two men were slaine. Moreover, at Salisbury much hurt was done with the like wind and thunder, for the top of the steeple and manie buildings besides were soe shaken and cast downe. But now we will speake somewhat of the doings of Scotland, as occasion inoueth. Whilist (as yee haue heard) variance depended betwixt king William and his brother duke Robert, the Scottish king Malcolme made sore wars vpon the inhabitants of Northumberland, carrying great booties and preies out of that countie, which he invaded euen to Chester in the street. Wherefore king William, sone after his returne, gathered his power together, and sped him northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his puissance & great strength sent to him for peace, which was granted in the end.

Some writers affirme, that king William prepared a great armie both by sea and land against Malcolme; and that his nauie being abroad on the seas, was lost by tempest, and the most part of his ships drownded; that the armie by land entring into Scotland, suffered manie damages through want of vittels, and so recoiled: finaltie, that duke Robert lying on the borders with an armie in his brothers name (wherby it should appeare that the king himselfe was not there) by the helpe and furtherance of Edgar Etheling, who then serued him, Malcolme in his wars, concluded a peace betwixt his brother and the said Malcolme, vpon certeine articles, by vertue wherof certeine places in Northumberland were restored vnto Malcolme, which he had held in William Conquerours daies. Some other write in like manner, that king Malcolme did homage to king William and duke Robert that brought the said Edgar Etheling into the fauour of the king.

Whosoever the truth of the storie doth stand in this behalfe, certeine it is, that the king returned out of Northumberland into the west parts of the realme, reteining still with him duke Robert, who looked daile when he should performe such covenants as were concluded vpon betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he saw that the king meant nothing lesse than to stand to those articles, and how he did onlie protract and delaye the time for some other secret purpose, he returned into Normandie in great displeasure, and toke with him the said Edgar Etheling, of whom he aluokes made verie great account. Sone after king William returned into the north parts, and (as it chanced) he staied a few daies about Carleil, where being delisted with the situation of the towne (which had bene destroyed by the Danes two hundred yeares before) he set workemen to repaire the same (meaning to vse it in stead of a bulworke against the Scots on those west borders) which when he had fenced with walles, and builded a castell in the most convenient place thereof, he caused churches and houses to be erected for the benefit of such people as he had determined to bring vnto the same. This being done, he placed a colonie of southren men there with their wiues and children, and gaue large priuileges vnto the towne, which they intop at this daie.

¶ Here haue I thought good to aduertise you of an error in Math. West. crept in either through mislacing the matter by means of some exemplifier, either else by the authors mislacing his account of yeares, as 1072. for 1092. referring the repairing of Carleil vnto William Conquerour, at what time he made a iourne against the Scots in the said yeare 1072. And yet not thus contented; to betwaine the error more manifestlie, he affirmeth, that the king exchan-

The mightie
wind.

Anno Reg. 5.
1093

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Wil. Malin.
Sim. Dun.

The repair-
ing and new
peopling of
Carleil.

Math. West.

ged the earldome of Chester with Rafe o^r Kanulfe de Picenis, *alias* Hefchines, for the earldome of Carleil, which the said Hefchines held before, and had begunne there to build and fortifie that towne: whereas it is certeine that Kanulfe de Hefchines came to enioy the earldome of Chester by way of inheritance, as after shall appeare. For better profe thereof ye shall vnderstand, that we find by ancient records, how one Hugh Lou o^r Lupus enioied the earldome of Chester all the daies of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was sonne to Richard earle of Auranges and the countesse Emma daughter of a noble man in Normandie named Herlotwin, who married Arlet the daughter of a burgeisse in Fflais, and mother to William Conquerour. So that the said Hugh, being sisters sonne to the Conquerour, receiued by gift at his hands the earldome of Chester, to hold of him as frælie by right of the sword, as he held the realme of England in title of his crowne. For these be the words: *Tenendum sibi & heredibus ita liberè ad gladium sicut ipse (Rex) totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Earle Hugh then established in possession of this earldome, with most large priuileges and freedoms, for the better gouernement thereof, ordeined vnder him foure barons; namelie, his cousine Pigell o^r Deal baron of Halton, sir Piers Palbanke baron of Hauntych, sir Cusace * baron of Hatwasse, and sir Warren Meron baron of Shipbroke. Pigell held his baronie of Halton by seruite, to lead the Clauitgard of the earles armie when he should make any iourne into Wales; so as he should be the foremost in marching into the enemies countrie, and the last in comming backe: he was also constable and marshall of Chester. From this Pigell o^r Deal, the Ladies that were earles of Lincolne had their originall. When earle Hugh had gouerned the earldome of Chester the terme of 40. yeares, he departed this life, in the yeare 1107. He had issue by his wife Armetrida, Richard the second earle of Chester after the conquest; Robert, abbat of Saint Edmundburie; and Dtnell, tutor to the children of king Henric the first. Moreover, the said earle Hugh had a sister named Margaret, that was married to John Bohun, who had issue by hir, Kanulfe Bohun, otherwise called Hefchines, which Kanulfe by that meanes came to enioy the earldome of Chester in right of his mother (after that earle Richard was downed in the sea) and not by exchange for the earldome of Carleil, as by this which we haue already recited may sufficientlie be proued.

Now to returne where we left. After that king William Rufus had given order for the building, fortifying, and peopling of Carleil, he returned southwards, and came to Gloucester, where he fell into a greuous and dangerous sicknesse; so that he was in despaire and doubt of his life: wherefore he repented him of his former misdoeds, and promised (if he escaped that dangerous sicknesse) to amend and become a new man. But when he had his health, that promise was quickelie broken, for his doings which were so bad and wicked before his sicknesse, being compared with those which followed after his recovery, might haue bene reputed god and sufferable.

Moreover, whereas he retained and kept in his hands the bishopricke of Canturburie the space of foure yeares, he now bestowed it vpon Anselme, who was before abbat of Becchellouin in Normandie; and for certeine abbies which he had held long time in his possession, he ordeined abbats: by meane whereof all men (but especiallie the spiritualtie) began to conceiue a verie good opinion of him. The yere where in Anselme was thus elected, was from the birth of our Saviour 1093. on the first of March, being the

first fundaie in Lent (as Eadmerus recordeth.) Furthermore he gaue the see of Lincolne (being void by the death of bishop Remigius) to his counsellour Robert Bluet; but afterward repenting himselfe of such liberalitie, in that he had not kept it longer in his hands towards the enriching of his coffers, he deuised a shift how to wipe the bishops nose of some of his gold, which he performed after this maner. He caused the bishop to be sued, quarelinglie charging him that he had wrongfullie vsurped certeine possessions, together with the citie of Lincolne, which appertained to the see of Poike. Which although it was but a forged cauallation, and a shamefull buttruff; yet could not the bishop be deliuered out of that trouble, till he had paid to the king five thousand pounds. And as he dealt with the spiritualtie, so he caused diuerse of the probilitie to be put to greuous fines, for transgressing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer so little. He also caused the archbishop Anselme to paie him a great summe of monie, vnder colour of a contribution which was due in Lanfrankes daies, though it was certeinlie knowne that Lanfranke had paid it. Thus grew king William from time to time more sharpe and rigorous to his subiects, so that whosoever came within the danger of the lawes, was sure to be condemned; and such as would plaie the promoters and giue informations against any man for transgressing the lawes, were highlie rewarded.

In this first yeare there chanced such an excessive raine, and such high floods, the riuers overflowing the low grounds that lay nere vnto them, as the like had not bene seene of many yeares before; and afterwards insued a sudden frost, whereby the great streames were congeled in such sort, that at their dissoluing o^r thawing, manie bridges both of wood and stone were borne downe, and diuerse water-milles rent vp and caried awaie.

Furthermore, king William perceiuing that by his cruell and conetous gouernment, sundrie of his subiects did dallie steale out of the realme, to liue in foreine countries, he published a proclamation, charging that no man should depart the realme without his licence and safe-conduct. Whereof it is thought, that the custome rose of forbidding passage out of the realme, which oftentimes is vsed as a law, when occasion seruet. Some after, he went against the Welshmen, whom he vanquished in battell nere to Beckknocke, and slue Rees their king, who had done much hurt within the English borders, when he was their incamped. This Rife o^r Rees was the last king that reigned ouer the Welshmen, as authors affirme: for afterwards, though they oftentimes rebelled, yet the kings of England were reputed and taken as supreme gouernors of that part of the Island. Moreover, to haue the countrie the better in quiet, he did cut downe their woods, and builded manie castles and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were somewhat tamed, and trained in due time to obedience, though not at the first, nor in the daies of sundrie of his successors.

Having thus finished his iourne into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Gloucester to see the king, and to common with him of sundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realms, as he returned homewards: but because king William disdained to enterteine him in such pompous maner as he expected and made account of; and forsomuch as he did not at the verie first admit him to his presence, the said Malcolme returned into Scotland in great displeasure, and immediatlie raising a power, entred into England, destroying the country vnto Alnewike castell, where he was so cruictoned with an ambushment laid by Robert earle of Hereford.

Foure barons, Pigell o^r Deal, Piers Palbanke, * Cusace whose surname we find not. Warren Meron.

The Ladies.

John Bohun.

Anno Reg. 6.

1093
Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Math Paris.
The king being sicke promised amendment of life.
Polydor.
Eadmerus.

Anselme elected archbishop of Canturburie.

Eadmerus.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.
Robert Bluet.
et L. Chancelor elected bishop of Lincolne.

Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

A proclamation that none should depart the realme.

Ran. Higd.
Rees king of Wales slain.

Wil. Thorne.

Malcolme king of Scots cometh to Gloucester.
Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

R. Malcolme invadeth England.

Simon Dun.

thamberland, that he and his eldest sonne Edward were slaine. At which mishap his whole host being utterly discomfited, fled out of the field, with the losse of manie, whereof some were slaine, and some taken by pursute. Thus came king Malcolme to his end (by the iust prouidence of God) in that prouince whiche he had wasted and spoiled at five severall times, as first in the daies of king Edward, when earle Tostie was gone to Rome; the second time, in the daies of William Conquerour, when he spoiled Cleueland; thirdlie, in the same Conquerours daies, whilest bishop Walkher possessed the see of Durham, at that time all the countrie was spoiled and forraied, even to the river of Tyne; fourthlie, about the fourth or fift yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which time he entered the land as farre as Chester in the street, whilest king William was in Normandie; the fift time was now, when he lost his life on saint Wices day, by the hands of a verie valiant knight named Morkell. King Malcolme being thus surprised by death, his bodie was buried at Tinnmouth (as in the Scottish histories more plainlie appeareth) where also ye may find, how the sonnes of king Malcolme were aided by king William Rufus to obtaine the crowne of Scotland, whereunto they were interested; whereas otherwise by the force and practise of their uncle Donald they had bene kept from the scepter and crowne of the kingdome.

Ran. Higd.
Anno Reg. 7.
1094
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Death & murder
of cattell.
Strange
wonders.
Mich. Paris.
Polydor.

Simon Dun.

This yeare England and Normandie were forevered with mortalitie both of men and beasts, insomuch that tillage of the ground was laid aside in manie places, by reason whereof there folowed great dearth & famine. Manie grizelie and hideous sights were seene also in England, as hosts of men fighting in the aire, flashes of fier, stars falling from heauen, and such like strange wonders. About this time new occasions of breach of amitie grew betwixt the king and his brother Robert, who accused him of perjurie, for not observing the articles of the last peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purposed to saile over into Normandie, and so came unto Hastings, about the first of Februarie, where he sojourned for a time, and caused the church of Battell abbey to be dedicated in the honour of S. Martin. He deprivd Herbert bishop of Hereford of his bishopps staffe, because he meant to have stoline away secretly to Rome, and there to have purchased absolution of pope Urban for his bishopricke, which he had bought of the king for himselfe; and likewise for the abbacie of Winton, which he had purchased for his father, paying for them both a thousand pounds.

King William
gallie ouer
into Norm.
mandie.

Wars betwixt
the king and
his brother.

Math. West.

After this, about midlent he passed over into Normandie with an armie, purposing to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battell, that thereby he might rather grow to some certaine point of losse or lucre, than to stand ever upon uncertainties, whether to have peace or war, that he must be constrained to be at all times in a readinesse to defend himselfe. But after he was come into Normandie, & had forraied part of the countrie once or twice, he fell to a parole with his brother duke Robert, & in the end descended to put the matter in compromise to the arbitrement of certaine graue persons, whose iudgement the king reiected, because they gaue not sentence on his side. Whereupon both parts prepared for war afresh, insomuch that the king persecuting how his brother was aided by the French king, and that his power was to weak to withstand them both, he sent his commission into England for the levying of 20. thousand men, commanding that they should be sent over unto him into Normandie by a daie, which was diligently performed. But as they were come together about Hastings, readie to enter a shipboard, immediatlie cometh the kings lieutenant with a

countermand, and signifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and spare them for that iourne, would that euerie of them should giue him 10. shillings (as Matt. Paris hath, or 20. shillings as others haue) towards the charges of the war, and thereupon depart home with a sufficient safeconduct, which the most part were better content to do, than to commit themselves to the fortune of the sea, and bloudie successe of the wars in Normandie. In deed king William changing his mind, was now determined to end the matter with monie, and not with the sword, as it afterward appeared: for by bribing of king Philip, in whome duke Robert had reposed his whole trust, he concluded peace upon such articles and conditions as he himselfe required.

Having dispatched his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England, where he happened to meet with new and more dangerous wars: for the Welshmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accustomed maner begin to invade the English marches, taking botties of cattell, destroying the countries, killing and spoiling many of the kings subjects, both English and Normans. After this (waxing proud of their good successe) they besieged the castell of Mountgomerie, where though the garison made stout resistance for a time, yet in the end the enimie finding shift to overthrow the walles, entred perforce, and slue all that they found within. Wherewith though king William was offended when he heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter as then, being troubled with a conspiracie netolie kindled against him by Robert earle of Poorthumberland, who upon displeasure conceived against him (because he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good seruice shewed in the killing of Malcolme king of Scotland) refused to come unto him being sent for by letters, and herewith began to practise with certaine other Noble men of that countrie, how to depose king William. But per he could bring anie peece of his purpose to passe, the king having advertisement of his attempt, first appointed his brother the lord Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith foloweth himselfe; and coming to Petercastell, where the most part of his complices were assembled, he surprised them yer they could haue time to provide for their safetie. That done, he went to Tinnmouth, and in the castell took the earles brother there, and after came to Banbourgh castell, which the said earle with his wife and children did hold for their better safeguard and defense.

Polydor.

A peace concluded betwixt
the king and
his brother
Robert.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
The welsh-
men invade
England.

The castell of
Mountgomerie
won by the
welshmen.

Anno Reg. 8.
1095
Robert earle
of Poorthum-
berland refus-
eth to come to
the king.

Matth. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Maluoin a
fortresse built
against Ban-
bourgh.

Polydor.

Banbourgh
reited to the
king.

C. 11.

in

Simon Dun-
the earle of
Glouc.

Arch. Durk.

King William
unwillingly
willing.

The king re-
turneth out of
Wales with
dishonour.
Eadmerus.
Dungherbach
king of Ire-
land.

The counsell
of Clermont.

The iourne
into the holie
land.
Gundrayde
Wulfstan.

Anno Reg. 9.
1096.
Hen. II. &
Wil. Thome.
Simon Dun-
the subditie.

in example to others. The earle himselfe was conue-
ed to Winchester castle, and there committed to prison.

Some write that the meaning of the earle and
his complices, amongst whom was William earle
of Clare, his renouncing his allegiance to Robert
duke of Normandie, was become the kings man)
was to haue displaced the king from his roiall
throne, and to haue set by his sonne William de Al-
bemarke, whom he had begotten of his concubine.
But whatsoeuer their purpose was, after that the
king had quieted his countrie in the north parts, he
bent all his force against the Welshmen, who the
yeare before had destroyed and ouerthrowne the ca-
stell of Youngomerie, and slaine the Normans that
laie there in garison to defend it, whereat he was ve-
rie much offended, & therefore entering into Wales,
he began to spoile and wast the countrie. For he saw
that the Welshmen would not ioine in battell with
him in the plaine field, but kept themselves still a-
loose within the woods and marishes, and aloft vpon
mountaines: albeit oftentimes when they saw ad-
uantage, they would come forth, and taking the En-
glishmen and Normans at vnawares, kill manie,
and wound no small numbers, he still pursued them
by hills and dales, though more to the losse of his
owne people than the hurt of the Welshmen, who
easilie eschewed the danger of battell, and still at the
straites and comber some passages distressed manie
of their enemies: whereby the king at length percei-
ning that he could not preuaile against them, ceased
further to follow on with his purposed voyage, and
therewith returned home, not without some note of
dishonour.

About the same time Dungherbach king of Ire-
land, with the clergie and people of the cite of Du-
blin, elected one Samuell a monke of S. Albons, an
Irish man home, to the gouernement of the church
and bishops see of Dublin, and (according to the an-
cient custome) presented him by sufficient letters of
testimonie vnto Anselme archbishop of Cantur-
burie, to be consecrated of him, who (according to
their request) did so, and receiued from him a promise
of his canonically subiection, after the old vsuall ma-
ner, hauing foure bishops (suffragans to the see of
Canturburie) ministering to him at that consecra-
tion.

In like maner, pope Urban calling a counsell at
Clermont in Auerngne, exhorted the christian prin-
ces so earnestlie to make a iourneie into the holie-
land, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saracens
hands, that the said great and generall iourneie was
concluded vpon to be taken in hand; wherein manie
noble men of christendome went vnder the leading
of Godfrey of Bullion, and others, as in the chroni-
cles of France, of Germanie, and of the holie land
doth more plainlie appeare. There went also among
other diuers noble men forth of this reline of Eng-
land, speciallie that worthilie bare the surname of
Beauchamp. Robert duke of Normandie minding
also to go the same iourneie, and wanting monie to
furnish and set forth himselfe, mortgaged his duchie
of Normandie to his brother king William, for the
summe of ten thousand pounds. About this time an-
other occasion was offered vnto king William, to
laie a new payment vpon his subiects, so greuous
and intolerable, as well to the spirituallie as the
temporalitie, that diuerse bishops and abbats, who
had already made away some of their chalices and
church iewels to paie the king, made now plaine an-
swer that they were not able to helpe him with any
more. Vnto whom on the other side (as the report
went) the king said againe: Haue you not I beseech
you) coffins of gold and silver full of dead mens
bones: meaning the shynes wherein the reliques of

saints were inclosed. Which (as his words seemed to
import) he would haue had them conuert into mo-
nie, therewith to helpe him in that need, iudging it
no sacrilege, though manie did othertwise esteeme
it, considering (as he pretended) that it was gathered
for so godlie an vse, as to mainteine warres against
Infidels and enemies of Christ.

The archbishop Anselme toke the worth of two
hundred markes of silver of the iewels that belong-
ed to the church of Canturburie (the greater part of
the couent of monks twinkling thereat) towards the
making vp of such payment as he was constrained
to make vnto the king towards his aid at that time.
But because he would not leaue this for an example
to be followed of his successours, he granted to the
church of Canturburie the profits and reuenues of
his manour of Petteham, vnto the vse of the same
church for the terme of seauen yeares, which amount-
ed to the summe of thirtie pounds yearelie in those
daies.

Thus king William seeking rather to spoile the
realme of England, than to preserue the roiall state
thereof, after he had gotten together a great masse
of monie, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there de-
liuering vnto the duke the ten thousand pounds a-
foresaid, was put in possession of the duchie, to enioy
the same, and the profits rising thereof, till the said
ten thousand pounds were paid him againe: or (as
some write) it was couenanted that in recompense
thereof, the king should enioy the profits for terme
onelic of thre yeares, and then to restore it with-
out any further interest or commoditie. This done,
he returned againe into England.

Now duke Robert setteth forward on his iourneie,
in companie of other noble men, towards the holie
land. In which voyage his valorous hart at all affaires
(when any seruice should be shewed) was most mani-
festlie perceiued, to his high fame and renowne a-
mong the princes and nobilitie there and then as-
sembled.

About the same time, the citizens of Waterford
in Ireland, perceiuing that by reason of the great
multitude of people in that cite, it was necessarie
for them to haue a bishop, obtained licence of their
king and rulers to erect in their cite a bishops see,
and besought them that it might please them to write
vnto Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie their
pimate, to haue his consent therein, so as it might
stand with his pleasure to institute and ordeine such a
one bishop, to haue gouernement of their church,
as they should name, knowing him to be a man of
such learning, knowledge, discretion, and worthines,
as were fit for the same. Wherevpon were letters
sent by messengers from Dungherbach king of
Ireland vnto Anselme, informing him of the whole
matter: wherein one Malchus was commended
and presented vnto him to be admitted and consecra-
ted, if he thought good. These letters were subscribed
with the hands, not onelic of king Dungherbach,
but also of his brother duke Dermeth, bishop Du-
nald, Aidman bishop of Methe, Samuell bishop of
Dublin, Ferdinachus bishop of Lagina, or Let-
nister, and many others both of the spirituallie and
temporalitie.

Anselme considering their request to be full and
necessarie, granted to fulfill their desires, and so vpon
examination had of the man, and taking of him his
oath of obedience, according to the maner, he conse-
crated the same Malchus, and so ordeined him to rule
the church of Waterford as bishop. This was done
at Canturburie the 28. day of October, Rafe bishop
of Chichester, and Gundulfe bishop of Rochester hel-
ping Anselme in the consecration as ministers vnto
him in that behalfe. The said Malchus was a monke,
and

Eadmerus.

Polydor.

The duchie of
Normandie
mortgaged to
king William.

Eadmerus.

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 10.
1097.
Eadmerus.
Waterford in
Ireland made
a bishopricke.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie pri-
mate of Ire-
land.

Dungherbach
king of Ireland.

Malchus
consecrated
bishop of wa-
terford.

and sometime under Walthelme bishop of Winchester.

But to the purpose, king William after his returne into England, remembryng what damage he had suffeyred two yeres before at the hands of the Welshmen, determined eynes to invade their countrie, and therefore doubling his power, cometh into the marches, pitcheth his field, and consulteth with his capteines what order he were best to use in that his enterpryse, for the taming of his enemies. The Welshmen hearing of the kings approach, and that his armie was farre greater than the last which he brought into their countrie, fell to their wonted policie, and got them into the woods, there to lie in wait, trusting more to the advantage of starting holes, than to their owne force & puissance.

When the king understood their practise, he set armed men in divers places, and builded towlers and fortifications to defend him and his, because he durst not assaie to enter into wild and wast grounds where he had bene hindred and damnyfied before that time, hoping by this meanes in stopping up the waies and passages of the countrie, to bring the rebels to more subjection. But when this policie was found by proofe to wearie the kings followers rather than to hurt the enemies, which straieng up and downe in the woods intrapped oftentimes the Normans and English, in taking them at advantage, the king without bringing his purpose to any good effect, departed home into England. After this, he sent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotland, that he might place his cosine Edgar the sonne of king Malcolme in the government of that kingdome, and expell his uncle Duffinald, who had usurped the same.

King William, being still inflamed with ire, for that he could not have his will, determined with continuall warres to wearie the rebellious stomachs of the Welshmen: and therefore was first to set upon them of Anglesey, which being an Ile environed with the sea, was ever a refuge for them when they were sharpelie pursued. This enterpryse was chieflie committed unto Hugh earle of Shrewsburie and Arundell, and to Hugh earle of Chester, who at their first coming wan the Ile, and tempered the victorie with great crueltie and bloudshed, putting out the eyes of some, cutting off the noses, the armes, or hands of others, and some also they gelded. Howsoever (as authors write) the said earle of Shrewsburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, saving his hounds within it for the night time, but in the morning he found them all raging wood. How true so ever this report is I wote not, but thortlie after they had executed in manner as before is said) such strange kinds of crueltie in that Ile, it chanced that a naue of rowers came thither from the Isles of Orkney, whose chiefe admiral was named Magnus, who incountring with the said earle of Shrewsburie, shot him into the eie with an arrow, which part of his body remained bare and unarmed, so that by & by he fell downe dead out of his ship into the sea. When Magnus beheld this, he said scornfully in the Danish tongue, *Zeit loupe*, that is; Let him leape now: the English neuertheless had the victorie at that time (as some write) and overcame their enemies with great slaughter and bloudshed. Not long after, the earle of Chester going over to Wales, with long and continuall warres tired and fumed the wild Welshmen, who for a good while after durst not shew their faces.

The king being thus at quiet and without warre in all places, began now to set his mind on building, and first caused new walles to be made about the towler of London, and also laid the foundation of Westminster hall, which though it be a verie large

and roomthie place, yet after it was finished at his returne out of Normandie, he came to view it, and held his court therein with great pompe and honor. He repented that he had made it no larger, saieing; it was to little by the halfe, and therefore determined to have made a new, and that this other should have served but for a dining chamber. A diligent searcher (saith Matthew Paris) might yet find out the foundation of the hall, which he had purposed to build, stretching from the Thames side unto the common street. But though those his buildings were great ornaments to the realme, yet because he took by monie by extortion of his subjects towards the charges of the same, he was evil spoken of; the report being spread, that he should take them in hand but onelie vnder a colour to spoile his subjects, in gathering a far greater summe than the expenses of them did amount unto. About the same time that king William beganne these buildings, he went over into Normandie, to understand in what state that countrie stood.

About the same time also, or rather two yeres before; to witt 1097. nere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamsted in Barkshire, a well or fountain flowed with blood, in manner as before it used to flow with water, and this continued for the space of thre daies, or (as William Malm. saith) fifteene daies together.

After the king had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, & was returned into England (as he was making provision to ride forth on hunting) a messenger came suddenly unto him, bringing word, that the cite of Mans was besieged, and like to be surprised. The king was then at dinner, meaning first to make an end thereof, and after to take advice in that matter: but being repowred by the messenger, for that to the great danger of his subjects which were besieged he passed not to make delays, rather than to go and succour them with all speed, he taketh the mans blunt speech in so good part, that he called straightwaie for masons to breake downe the wall, to the end he might passe through the next way, and not be driuen to step so farre out of his path, as to go forth by the doores: and so without any long aduancement taken in the cause, he rode straightwaie to the sea, sending his lords a commandement to follow; who when they came in his presence, counselled him to staie till his people were assembled. Howbeit he would not giue care to their aduice in that point, but said; Such as love me, I know well will follow me, and so went a shipboard, setting apart all doubts of perils; and yet was the weather verie darke, rough and cloude, insomuch that the maister of the ship was afraid, and willed him to tarrie till the wind did settle in some quiet quarter: but hee commanded to hoist up sailes, and to make all speed that could be for life, encouraging the shipmaister with these words, that he neuer heard as yet of any king that was drowned.

Thus passing the seas, he landed in Normandie, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans. When those which held the siege before the cite, heard of his approach, they brake up their campe and departed thence: howbeit, the capteine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be earle of Mans, was taken by a traine, and brought before the king, who tested at him, as though he had bene but a foole and a coward. Whereupon, the said Helias kindled in wrath, boldlie said unto him; Whereas thou hast taken me prisoner, it was by mere chance, and not by thy manhood: but if I were at libertie againe, I would so use the matter with thee, that thou shouldst not thinke I were a man so lightlie to be laughed at. So should (saith the king) Well then I giue

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Math. Paris.

Polydor.

The king goeth over into Normandie.

Finchamsted
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. West.
Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.

Wil. Malm.

The sailing of king William Rufus.

Mans deliuered from an assaige.

Helias.

The king effectually murthereth the Welshmen.
Polydor.

The Welshmen with draw into the woods.
H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.
R. Houed.

Anno Reg. 11.
1098

Math. Paris.

Gyral. Cam.

Hugh earle of Shrewsburie
dame.

Rad. ex Guido.
de Colman.

Anno Reg. 12.
1099

Hen.Hunt.
Polydor.

Marriage be-
tween the king
and the arch-
bishop An-
selme.

The clergie
out of order.

Marth.Paris.

A thousand
markes de-
manded of
Anselme.

Eadmerus.

" giue thee thy libertie, and go thy waies, doe euen the
" worst that lieth in thy power against me, for I care
not a button for thee. Helias being thus set at liber-
tic, did nothing after (to make anie account of) a-
gainst the king, but rather kept himselfe quiet. How-
beit some write, that he was not taken at all, but es-
caped by flight. To proceed, king William being
returned into England, and puffed vp with pride of
his victories, and now seeing himselfe fullie deliue-
red from all troubles of warre, began after his old
manner to spoile and wast the countrey by unreason-
able exactions, tributes and painments.

Whereupon fell a great controuersie betwene An-
selme and the king, who pretended a reproch of cruell
surcharging of his commons with subsidies, lones,
and unreasonable fines: but the chiefe cause was,
for that he might not call his synods, nor correct the
bishops, but all to be done as the king would. The
king also challenged the inuestiture of prelates, and
indeed soe taxed both the spiritualtie and temporall
tie, spending the monie vpon the reparations and
buildings of the Towre, & Westminster hall, as is
before remembred. Besides this, his seruants spoiled
the English of their goods by indirect meanes:
but especiallie one Maſe sometime chaplaine vnto
William the Conquerour, & at this time the kings
proctor and collector of his taskes and subsidies was
so malicious & couctous, that in stead of two taskes,
he would leuie three, pilling the rich, and potoling the
poore, so that manie through his cruell dealing were
oftentimes made to forfeit their lands for small of-
fences: and by his meanes also diuerse bishoprikes
were bought and sold as other kinds of merchand-
ises, whereby he was in singular fauour with the
king. The clergie also were vſed verie ſtreightlie,
and (as I suppose) not without good cause; for ſuerlie
in those daies it was far out of order, not onelie in
couctous practises, but in all kinds of worldlie
pompe and vanitie: for they had by busshed and bea-
ded perukes, long side garments verie gorgeous,
gilt girdels, gilt spurs, with manie other vnſemelie
disorders in attire. To be short, the contention grew
so hot betwixt the king and Anselme, who would also
haue corrected such vices in the clergie (as some
write) that in the end the archbishop was quite cast
out of fauour. There are which alledge the verie first
and originall occasion of their falling out to be, for
that the archbishop denied to paie a thousand markes
of silver at his request: in consideration of the
kings great beneuolence shewed in preferring him
to his see, whereas the archbishop iudged the offense
of simonie, to rest as well in giuing after his promo-
tion receiued, as if he had bidden him aforehand, and
therefore refused to make anie such payment: but
yet (as Eadmerus writeth) he offered him five hun-
dred pounds of silver, which would not be receiued,
for the king was informed by some of his counsell,
that the archbishop (in consideration of his bound-
ous liberalitie extended towards him) ought rather
to giue him two thousand pounds, than five hundred,
adding, that if he would but change his counte-
nance, and giue him no frendlie looks for a while, he
should perceiue that Anselme would ad to the first
offer, other five hundred pounds. But Anselme was
so far from being brought to the kings lure with
such fetches, that openlie to the kings face he told
him, that better it should be for his maiestie to re-
ceiue of him a small summe granted of him with a
free and franke hart, so as he might helpe him eff-
sones with more, than to take from him a great
deale at once, without his good will, in such sort as if
he were his bondman. For your grace (saith he) may
haue me, and all that is mine, to serue your turne
with frendlie beneuolence: but in the waie of serui-

tude and bondage you shall neither haue me nor
mine. With which words the king was in maruel-
lous choler, and therewith said in anger: Well then,
get thee home, take that which is thine to thy selfe,
that which I haue of mine thou shalt trust will suffice
me. The archbishop being on his knees, rose here-
with and departed, reioicing in his mind that the
king had refused his offer, whereby he was deliuered
out of suspicion to haue bribed the king, and giuen
him that monie in waie of reward for his prefer-
ment to the miter, as of malicious men would hap-
pilie haue bene construed. Whereupon being after
laboured to double the summe, he utterly refused,
and determining rather to forsake the realme than
to commit such an offense, made suit to the king for
licence to go to Rome to fetch his pall of the pope.
The king hearing the pope named, waxed maruel-
lous angrie: for they of Rome began already to de-
mand donations and contributions, more impu-
dentlie than they were hitherto accustomed. And as
it chanced, there was a schisme at that time in the
church, by reason the emperor Henrie had placed a
pope of his owne aduancing (namely Wibeth arch-
bishop of Rauenna) against pope Urban: for the em-
perour maintained that it belonged to his office on-
lie to elect and assigne what pope it pleased him.

King William therefore conceived displeasure
against Urban, who withstood the emperours pre-
tense, and alledged by the like, that no archbishop or
bishop within his realme should haue respect to
the church of Rome, nor to anie pope, with whom
they had nothing to doe, either by waie of subiection,
or otherwise; sith the popes wandered out of the steps
which Peter trode, seeking after bribes, lucre, and
worldlie honor. He said also that they could not re-
taine the power to lose and bind, which they sometime
had, since they shewed themselves nothing at all to
follow his most vertuous life and holie conuerſation.
He added furthermore, that for himselfe, sithens the
conuerſion of the realme to the christian faith, he had
as great authoritie, franchises and liberties within
the same, as the emperor had in his empire. And
what hath the pope then to doe (quoth he) in the em-
pire, or in my kingdome touching temporall liber-
ties, whose dutie it is to be carefull for the soule of
man, and to see that heresies spring not by, which if
the prelates of the prouince be not able to reforme,
then might the pope doe it, either by himselfe or his
legats. Again, by reason of the schisme, & for the dis-
pleasure that he bare pope Urban, he asked Anselme
of which pope he would require his pall, sith he was so
hastie to go to Rome for it: Where to Anselme anſwe-
red, that he would require it of pope Urban. Which
words when the king had heard, he said, I haue not
as yet admitted him pope: adding further that it
was against the custome vſed either in his or his fa-
thers time, that anie man within the realme of Eng-
land should name or obte anie man for pope, with-
out the kings licence and consent, saing moreover,
that if the said Anselme would ſeeke to take that pre-
rogatiue and dignitie from him, it should be all one,
as if he should go about to take awaie from him his
crown, and all other roſall dignitie. Wherevnto
Anselme answered, that at Rochester (before he was
consecrated bishop) he had declared his mind there-
in, and that being abbat of Becheſloun in Nor-
mandie, he had receiued Urban for pope; so that
whatſoeuer chanced, he might reuolt from his obedi-
ence and subiection.

The king being the more kindled herewith, pro-
tested in plaine words, that Anselme could not keepe
his faith and allegiance towards him, and his obedi-
ence also to the see of Rome, against his will and
pleasure. But (to conclude) this matter went so far
in

Marth. Paris.

The king
could not as-
side to heare
the pope na-
med.

Eadmerus.
The kings
demand to
Anselme.

A counsell at
Rockingham
in Rutland-
shire.

in controuersie betwixt the king and the bishop, that a counsell was called at Rockingham in Rutlandshire, and there in the church within the castell, the matter was earnestlie decided, and much adoe on euerie side, to haue constrained Anselme to renounce his opinion, but he would not. Wherefore it was then deuised, that if he would not agree to the kings pleasure, they would by and by see if they might by any meanes deprive him: but Anselme still held hard, and could not be feared by all these threats; and in like manner to iudge of an archbishops cause, the other bishops concluded that they had no authoritie.

Moreover, while the matter was in consultation among the bishops, another of the kings counsell that was a knight, came before Anselme in place where he sat almost alone, to looke for an answer by them from the king, which knight kneeling downe before the archbishop, spake these words vnto him: "Reuerend father, your humble children beseech your Grace not to haue your heart troubled with these things which you heare; but call to remembrance that blessed man Job, vanquishing the diuell on the dunghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had overcome in paradise. Which words the archbishop considering with a frendlie countenance, perceiued that the minds of the people remained on his side, whereof both he and such as were about him, were right ioyfull and greatlie comforted, hauing hope (according to the scripture) that the voice of the people was the voice of God. When the king understood all these things, he was maruelouslie disquieted in mind, and therefore perceiuing that the bishops and other of his counsell had promised more than they could performe, he blamed them for it: vnto whom the bishop of Durham that was the chiefe doer in this matter, framed this answer: He spake so faintlie (quoth he) and so colddie at the first, that he seemed not to haue any store of wit or wisdom.

Finallie, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the said bishop of Durham, alleging that they could not well overcome him by arguments, so long as he grounded his opinion in such sort vpon the scripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter; The best way therefore (said he) shall be, to compell him by force, either to agree to the kings mind, or else to deprive him of his ring and staffe, and after banish him the realme. But the lords of the counsell allowed not the bishops words herein. Well (saith the king) and what other way will you thinke good, if this like you not: so long as I may liue, I will not surelie suffer any to be my pēre within my realme: and if you knew his cause to be so good, why did you suffer me to commende this aduice against him: go your waies therefore, and take aduice together, for by Gods face (for that was his oth) if you condemne him not at my will, I will reuenge my selfe vpon you. Neuerthelesse, when he was informed, that because he was an archbishop, they had no power to iudge or condemne him, though his cause proued neuer so euill, which they could not perceiue so to be; he told them yet they might at the leastwise renounce their obedience to him, and forsake his companie, which they said they might do. Then do it (saith the king) with speed, that he may (when he shall see himselfe abandoned, and despised of all men) repent that he hath followed Urban, and neglected me his soueraigne lord and master. And that ye may do it the more safelie, first of all I deprive him of the suertie and allegiance which he may pretend to haue of me within all my dominions, and from hence forth I will haue no affiance in him, nor take him for an archbishop.

The bishops would faine haue persuaded Anselme to haue shewed himselfe conformable to the

kings pleasure, and therefore toke paines with him earnestlie in that behalfe, but all would not serue. He answered indeed verie courteously, but his benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior things he were neuer so much disquieted. The king perceiuing him to stand stiffe in his opinion, said vnto his lords; His words are euer contrarie to my mind, and I will not take him for my friend, whosoever doth fauour him. I shall therefore require you that be pēres of my realme, to renounce all the faith and friendship which you beare him, that he may see what he hath gained by that allegiance, which (to the offending of my person) he obserueth to the apostolike see. Whereunto the lords answered; As for vs, we were neuer his men, and therefore we cannot abiure any fealtie which we neuer acknowledged. He is our archbishop, and hath rule in matters pertaining to christian religion within this land, for which cause we that are christians may not refuse his authoritie whilst he remaine here on earth, because he is attainted with no blemish of any heinous crime, which may constrain vs otherwise to do. The king restrained and dissembled his wrath, least he should prouoke them to further displeasure by speaking against their reason.

The bishops were sore abashed herat, and diuent to a shewd pinch. Now then, not long after, the king required to know of euerie of them apart, whether they vtterlie renounced all manner of subiection and obedience vnto Anselme without any condition intermitted, or else that onelie which he did pretend by authoritie of the pope: the bishops making answer diuerslie herevnto, the king appointed those to sit downe by him as faithfull subiects, who acknowledged that their renuntiation was absolutelie made, without intermitting of any condition: as for the other, who protested that they renounced their subiection and obedience vnto him onelie in that which he presumed vpon in the behalfe of the pope, he commanded them to go aside, and to remaine in a corner of the house to heare the sentence of their condemnation pronounced.

Wherefore being put in a marvellous feare, they withdrew themselves aside, but yet straightwaies they deuised a shift wherewith they had bene well acquainted before, as followeth. They presented to the king a great masse of monie to appease his wrath, and so thereby were restored to his fauour. Anselme notwithstanding was obstinate in his opinion, so that in the end, the sentence touching this controuersie betwixt him and the king, was respited till the octaues of Pentecost next ensuing. All this was notified well enough to the pope, who vied the matter with such moderation, that by secret aduertisements giuen, he toke awaie from his brethren all rigorous waies of proceedings, saing;

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

But yet the kings enmitie towards Anselme was openlie declared, and that chéfelie for the deniall of the monie which he demanded; but at length he got it, though not with any free hart or goodwill of the archbishop: insomuch that the king reputed him gillie of treason. Within a few daies after, Walter bishop of Alba, bringing to him his pall, verie wiselie reconciled the pope and the king. Notwithstanding all this, Anselme could not purchase the kings goodwill to his contentment, though he wiselie dissembled for the time: so that when the bishop of Alba should returne to Rome, he made sute for licence to go with him. Neuerthelesse, the king offered him, that if he would desist from his purpose, and sweare vpon the euangelists neither to go to Rome, nor to appeale in any cause to the popes court, he might and should liue in quietnesse free from

The bishops
dauen to their
shifts how to
shape an an-
swer.

The meane to
pacifie the king.

The stiffness
of Anselme in
withstanding
the kings
pleasure.

Math. Paris.

The king re-
nounceth the
archbishop for
his subiect.

10. Chron.

from all danger: but if he would not be so contented, he might and should depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither againe. For surelie (saith he) if he go, I will seize the archbishoprike into mine owne hands, and receiue him no more for archbishop.

F. Blon.

Anselme here with departing from the court, came to Canturburie, declaring openlie what had bin said vnto him, and immediatlie sought to flee out of the realme in the night, providing for himselfe a ship at Dover. But his purpose being reuealed to the king, one William Clarelwaist the kings seruant was sent after him, and finding him readie to depart, took from him all that he had, & gaue him a free passport out of the land. Anselme repairing to Rome, made vnto pope Urban a greuous information against the king, declaring into what miserable state he had brought the Realme, and that for want of assistance in his suffragans it laie not in him to reforme the matter.

Math. Paris.
Anselme coming to Rome
complaining of the king.

Ranulph bishop of
Chichester.

Indeed we find not that any of the bishops held with Anselme in the controuersie betwixt him and the king, Ranulph bishop of Chichester excepted, who both blamed the king, and rebuked all such bishops as had refused to stand with Anselme, and fauoured the king in cases concerning the foresaid variance. Moreover, the same bishop of Chichester withstood the king and his officers in taking fines of priests for the crime of fornication; by reason of which presumption, the king became sore offended with him, & found meanes to suspend many churches of his diocesse. Whereat in the end, the bishop demeaned himselfe in such wise, that he had his owne will, and his church doores were opened againe, which had bene stopped vp before with thornes. Besides this, the king was contented, that the said bishop should haue the fines of priests in crimes of fornication within his diocesse, and enjoy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall so euer he was vnto the see of Chichester, true it is (as Polydor writeth) that he let out diuers abbeies, and the bishoprike of Winchester and Salisburie, with the archbishoprike of Canturburie vnto certaine persons that farmed the same at his hands for great summes of monie, in so much that (beside the said sees of Canturburie, Winchester, and Salisburie, which at the time of his death he kept in his hands) he also receiued the profits of eleuen abbeies which he had let out, or otherwise turned to his most aduantage.

Robert Lo-
fange.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Malm.

Robert Lo-fange, of some called Herbert, that some time had bin abbat of Ramsey, and then bishop of Ely, by gift of a thousand pounds to the king (as before we haue heard) repented him, for that he was iudged by the king, who after he had bewailed his offense, went to Rome, and did penance for the same in all points as the pope enioined him. Which being done, he returned into England, removing per long his see from Ely to Norwich, where he founded a faire monastrie of his owne charges, and not of the churches goods (as some say) wherein is a doubt, considering he was first an abbat, and after a bishop.

Stephan War-
king a monk.

About this time, by the meanes of Stephan War-king a monk of Shireborne, an Englishman, the order of Cisterciens or white monkes had his beginning within the countrie of Burgongne, as witnesseth Ranulph the monk of Chester: but other writers (as Jacob. Philippus) say that this Stephan was the second abbat of that place, and that it was founded by one Robert abbat of Molinense, in the yeare of Grace 1098. This order was after brought into England by one called Walter Speke, who founded the first abbey of that religion within this reline at Kiuall, about the yeare of Grace 1131.

Anno Reg. 13.
1100

But to returne againe to the king, who still con-

tinued in his wilfull couetousnesse, pulling from the rich and welthie, to waste and spend it out in all excesses, baine riot, and gifts bestowed on such as had least deserued the same. And yet he was warned by manie strange wonders (as the common people did descant) to refraine from these euill doings: for the Thames did rise with such high springs and tides, that manie towne were drowned, and much hurt done in places about London, and elsewhere. Diuerse rare things happened also at the same time, which I passe ouer. But the king hearing hereof, did nothing regard those which were so bold as to tell him that they were euident significations of some vengeance to followe thereupon.

The kings
laushy prodigalitie.

Strange
wonders.

A dreame.
Math. Paris.
Wil. Malm.

The king also himselfe on a night as he slept & dreamed, thought that the beines of his armes were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance. Likewise, he was told by Robert Fitz Hammon, that a monke should dreame in his sleepe, how he saw the king gnaw the image of Christ crucified with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite awaie the legs of the same image, Christ with his feet should spurne him downe to the ground, inso much that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, and such abundance of smoke, that the aire was darkened therewith. But the king made a iest of these and the like tales; he is a right monke (saith he) and to haue a peece of monie, he dreameth such things, giue him therefore an hundred shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our person. Nevertheless, the king was somewhat moued herewith in the end, and doubted whether he should go into the New forest to hunt on Lammes day (as he had purposed) or no, because his friends counselled him not to trie the truth of dreames to his owne losse and hinderance. Whereupon he forbore to go forth before dinner, but when he had dined and made himselfe merrie with receiuing more drinke than commonlie he used to doe, as broad he got him into the forest with a small traine: amongst whom was one sir Walter Tirell a French knight, whom he had retained in seruice with a large stipend.

This sir Walter chanced to remaine with the king, when all the rest of the companie was dispersed here and there, as the manner in hunting is. Now as the sunne began to draw lowe, the king perceiuing an hart to come along by him, shot at the same, and with his arrow stroke him; but not greatly hurting him, the beast ran awaie. The king, to marke which way the hart toke, and the manner of his hurt, held vp his hand betwene the sunne and his eyes; who standing in that sort, out came another hart, at whom as sir Walter Tirell let driue an arrow, the same by glancing stroke the king into the breast, so that he neuer spake word, but breaking off so much of the arrow as appeared out of his bodie, he fell downe, and giuing onelie one groane, immediatlie died, without more noise or mouing. Sir Walter running to him, and perceiuing no speech nor sense to remaine in him, straitwaies got to his horse, and riding awaie, escaped and saved himselfe: for few there were that pursued him, euerie man being amazed at the chance, some departing one waie, and some another, euerie one for his owne aduantage and commoditie, as the time then serued. The dead bodie of the king was straightwaies carried to Winchester, and there buried the morrow after, which was the second day of August, the pere of our Lord 1100. To this end came king William, after he had reigned almost 13. yeares, and liued 43. and somewhat more.

Sir Walter
knight.

The king
died.

Wil. Malm.

This prince, altho: he euill reported of by writers for the couetous taking of his subjects, and retetning of ecclesiasticall liuing in his hands; yet was he

he endued with manie noble and princelie qualities. He had good knowledge in feats of warre, and could well awake with bodilie labour. In all his affaires he was circumspect: of his promise, trustie; of his word, steadfast; and in his wars no lesse diligent than fortunate. He gave to the monkes called *Monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, the great new church of S. Saviour of Bermondsay, and also Bermondsie it selfe. He founded a goodlie hospitall in the citie of Poike, called S. Leonards, for the sustentation and finding of the poore as well breden as fillers. To wards souldiers and men of warre he was verie liberall, and to enrich them, he passed not for taking from farmers and husbandmen what soever could be gotten. He was indeed of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the beginning of his reigne, doubting some troubles, he had assembled manie men of warre for his defense, there was nothing that they could aske which he would denie them, in so much that his fathers treasures were some consumed, by reason whereof he was put to his shifts to provide more. For though substance wanted to shew his liberallitie, yet there failed not in him a mind still to be bountifull, with continuall use of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, so that to furnish himselfe with monie and necessaries, he was put to extremities unbefitting a king; and to bestow his beneuolence vpon some, he spared not to impoverish others. For in such sort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall; and in such wise stout of courage, as proud withall; and in such manner seuer, as he seemed cruell and inextorable. But what meanes he used to make his best of benefices and spirituall linings, partly appereth before.

The liberall
heart of king
William.

Jewes.

In deed such was his condition, that who soeuer would giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without respect, whether their sute was reasonable and allowable or not, in so much that it is said of him, that being in Roan on a time, there came to him diuerse Jewes who inhabited that citie, complaining to him, that diuerse of their nation had renounced their Jewish religion, and were become christians: wherefore they besought him, that for a certeine summe of monie which they offered to giue, it might please him to conserne them to abiure christianitie, and turne to the Jewish law againe. He was contented to satisfie their desires, and so receiving the monie, called them before him, & what with threats, and putting them other wise in feare, he compelled diuerse of them to forsake Christ, and returne to their old errors.

There was about the same time a yong man a Jew, who by a vision appearing vnto him (as is said) was conuerted to the christian faith, and being baptised, was named Stephan, because S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the vision, as by the same he was informed. The father of the yong man being sore troubled, for that his sonne was become a christian, and hearing what the king had done in such like matters, presented to him 60 marks of silver, conditionally that he should inforce his sonne to returne to his Jewish religion. Whereupon was the yong man brought before the king, vnto whom he said; Sirra, thy father here complaineth that without his licence thou art become a christian: if this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of thy nation, without aint more adoe. To whom the yong man answered, Your grace (as I gesse) doth but test. Therewith the king being moued said, What thou dunt hill knowe, shuld I tell with thee? Get thee hence quicklie, and fulfill my commandement, or by S. Lukes face I shall cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head. The yong man nothing abashed here at, with a constant

voice answered, Trulie I will not do it, but knowe for certeine, that if you were a good christian, you would neuer haue offered aint such words, for it is the part of a christian to reduce them againe to Christ which he departed from him; & not to separate them from him, which are ioined to him by faith. The king herewith confounded, commanded the Jew to auaunt & get him out of his sight. But his father perceiving that the king could not persuaide his sonne to forsake the christian faith, required to haue his monie againe. To whom the king said, he had done so much as he promised to do, that was, to persuaide him so far as he might. At length, when he would haue had the king to haue dealt further in the matter, the king (to stop his mouth) tendered backe to him the one halfe of his monie, & retained the other to himselfe.

An answer of
a good Jew.

A pectie deni-
sion.

King William
suspected of
infidelitie.

Radmerus.

Praseng to
saints.

His stature,
whereof he
toke his sur-
name Rufus.

Wil. Malm.

Conentrie
church ioined
to the see of
Chester.

Moreouer, to increase the suspicion which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he caused a disputacion to be kept betwixt the Jewes & the christians, promising that if the Jewes ouercame the christians in argument, he would be a Jew: but the Jewes being ouercome, and receiving the foile, would not confesse their errors, but alledged, that by factions (and not by reason) they were put to the worse. Howbeit, what opinion soeuer he had of the Jewes faith, it appereth by writers that he doubted in manie points of the religion then in credit. For he liked not to protest openly, that he belaeued no saint could profit aint man in the Lords sight, and therefore neither would he nor aint other that was wise (as he affirmed) make intercession, either to Peter, or to aint other for helpe.

He was of stature not so tall as the common sort of men, red of haire, whereof he toke his surname Rufus, somewhat big of bellie, and not readie of tong, speciallie in his anger, for then his vtterance was so hindered, that he could scarcelie shew the conceits of his mind: he died without issue, and bled concubines all the daies of his life. I find that in apparell he loued to be gaie and gorgeous, & could not abide to haue aint thing (for his wearing) esteemed at a small valure. Whereupon it came to passe on a morning, when he should pull on a new paire of hose, he asked the grome of his chamber that brought them to him what they cost: Thre shillings saith he; Why thou horse son (said the king) doth a paire of hose of thre shillings price become a king to weare? Go thy waies, and fetch me a paire that shall cost a marke of silver. The grome went, and brought him another paire, for the which he paid scarcelie so much as for the first. But when the king asked what they stood him in, he told him they cost a marke: and then was he well satisfied, and said; Hea marie, these are more fit for a king to weare, and so drew them vpon his legs.

In this kings daies John bishop of Welles ioined the monasterie of Bath vnto his see, and repairing the same monasterie, began to inhabit there in the yere 1094. The church of Conentrie was in like sort ioined vnto the see of Chester by Robert bishop of that diocesse. Wlstan bishop of Worcester died about the same time, and Anselme having purchased bulles of pope Paschall, wherein was contained an admonition vnto king William to desist from his greuous oppressing of the church, and to amend his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, and by the waie heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Chester in this kings daies builded the abbey of Chester, and procured Anselme (afterwards archbishop of Canturburie) to come ouer from Normandie, that he might direct the same abbey, and place such religious persons as were necessarie and conuenient for so good a foundation.

Long

Long it was per Anselme would come ouer, because he doubted to be had in suspicion of an ambitious desire in seeking to be made archbishop of Canturburie. For it was talked that if he went ouer into England, he should surely be elected before he returned into Normandie. But at length so it chanced, that the foresaid Hugh earle of Chester fell sicke, and despairing of life, sent with all speed to An-

selme, requiring him most instantlie to come ouer to him lieng in extremitie of sicknesse; adding, that if he passed not the soner, it would be to late, whereof he would after repent him. Then Anselme, for that he might not faile his friends in such necessitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the abbeie, according as it seemed best to him for the establishment of religion there.

Thus farre William Rufus.



Henrie the first, yoongest sonne to WWilliam the Conquerour.



Anno Reg. I.
1100.

Henrie the yoongest sonne to William the first, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the first of that name that ruled here in England, & for his knowledge in god literature surnamed

Beauclerke, was admitted king by the whole assent of the lords and commons, and began his reigne ouer England the first of August, in the yeare after the creaton of the world 1067. after the birth of our Saviour 1100. and 44. of the emperor Henrie the fourth, Paschall the second then governing the see of Rome, which was about the 51. yeare of Philip the first of that name king of France, and in the beginning of the reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was consecrated and crowned at Westminster, the first daie of August, by Thomas archbishop of Doerke, and Maurice bishop of London, because at that time Anselme archbishop of Canturburie was exiled. This prince had aforehand trained the people to his humor, and being, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceiue a maruelous euill opinion of his brother duke Robert, persuading them mozeouer, that the said duke was likelie to proue a sharpe and rigorous gouernour, if he once obtained the crowne and dominion of the land. Mozeouer, he caused to be reported for a certeine truth, that the same Robert was already created king of Jerusalem. And therefore considering that the kingdome of Palestine (as the rumor ran) was of greater reuenues than that of England, there was no cause why they shuld staie for him, who would not willinglie leaue the greater for the lesser. By which means the Nobilitie and Commons were the soner persuaded to decline from the election of the said Robert, and to receiue his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the other side ceased not to promise mountaines, till his enterprise toke effect; and then at leisure paid some of them with molhils: as by the sequelle of the storie shall more at large appere.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the

crowne, considered furthermoze with himselfe, that hereafter, when his eldest brother Robert should returne, and vnderstand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himselfe to haue had much wrong, and bene verie euill dealt withall, sith that as well by birthright, as also by agreement made with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, and thereupon would not faile but make earnest claime against him. Wherefore per he should come home out of the holie land (where he then remained) the king studied by all possible meanes how to gratifie all the states of his realme, & to plant in their hearts some god opinion of him. And first of all he reformed such things as his brother had left verie preiudiciall to the estate of the church, setting the same free which before was sore oppressed. And furthermoze, somewhat to relieue the common-wealth, he promised to restore the lawes of god king Edward, and to abolish or amend those which by his father and brother were already ordained to the hurt & preiudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yee haue heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. Mozeouer, he placed in the see of Winchester, one William Gifford, a graue and discret person, and also ordained monkes of honest reputation to be abbats in certeine abbeis which had bene long void, and in the hands of William his brother: in like maner he remitted certeine payments which his brother and predecessor had caused to be raised by waie of taxes and customes. Besides this, on the 8. daie of September, he committed Rafe bishop of Durham to the Tower of London, by whose lewd counsell his said brother being seduced, had in his life time done manie oppressions to his people. He ordeined also that one length of measuring should be used through this realme, which was a yerd, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme. Panie other things he redressed, to the contentation and commoditie of his subjects, who gaue God thanks that he had in such wise deliuered them out of the hands of cruell extortioners.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in to good estate, he consulted with his Nobilitie, where he might best get him a wife, and thereby leaue his lawfull

The king seeth to win the peoples fauour.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Marth. Paris.

Anselme called home.

Wil. Malm.
William Gifford bishop of Winchester.
Hen. Hunt.

Rafe bishop of Durham committed to the Tower.

Simon Dun.
The first ordaining of the yerd measure.
Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

The king seeth to win the peoples fauour.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Marth. Paris.

Rafe bishop of Durham committed to the Tower.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

lawfull companie keeping with concubines: which demand was not unlikelie at all. Whereupon they considered that Edgar king of Scotland had a sister named Spau, a beautiful ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a professed nunne in a religious house, to the end she might avoid the stormes of the world, and lead her life in more securitie after her fathers deceasse. This gentlewoman, notwithstanding her vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he sent ambassadoys to his brother Edgar, requesting that he might haue her in marriage. But she refusing superstitiously at the first to breake her professed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, sent new ambassadoys to moue the case in more earnest sort than before, in so much that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambassage, set the abbess of the house (where then she abode) in hand to perswade her, who so effectually and diuersly telling her how necessarie, profitable, & honorable the same should be both to her countrie and kinred did so preuaile at the last, that the yong ladie granted willingly to the marriage. Whereupon she was transported into England, and wedded to the king, who caused the archbishop Anselme to crowne her quene on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a Sundaye, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

¶ It should seme by Eadmerus, that she was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by her mother, and placed amongst nunnas against her will (as she professed to the whole world) at such time as archbishop Anselme refused to solemnize the marriage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occasion remoued, whereupon euill disposed men would haue surmised illenouice, and reported the worst. Howbeit whether she were professed, or veiled onelie, loth she was to consent at the first (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that she was coupled with the king in marriage, she proued a right obedient wife.

About this season the archbishop of Lienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended to be legat ouer all Britaine, which was strange newes vnto England, and greatly wondered at (as Eadmerus saith) of all men. For it had not bene heard of in England before that time, that any person should supplie the popes come, except the archbishop of Cantuarie. And so he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exercise any legantine authoritie. Not long after, the king sent ambassadoys to Rome, about a suit which he had against the archbishop Anselme, for that he denied not onelie to doe him homage, but also would not consecrate such bishops and ecclesiasticall gouernours as he undertooke to inuest. Touching which matter no small trouble arose, as hereafter shall appere.

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertisement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatly displeased in his mind, and meant with all speed to assaile if he might recouer it out of his hands.

¶ We read, that when christian princes had wone Hierusalem, they met together in the temple to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrey, in which conuent duke Robert was chosen before all the residue to be king there, by reason of a miracle (as some haue last recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the sudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the same in his hand, standing in the church before the altar amongst other on Easter euen: so as thereby it should be thought he was appointed among all the residue to be king, and so was

nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him: whereupon after that daie he neuer greatly prospered in anye businesse which he toke in hand: as some doe gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anye such matter, but declare, that Geoffrey of Bolongne was by the generall consent of all the princes and capitaines there elected king, as in the description of that voiage more plainelie appereth. But now to returne from whence I haue digressed.

¶ When the same was blowne into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuers which desiring innouations, delighting in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, signifying to him, that if he would make hast, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who vsurped it by an vniust title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Wherewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterprise, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earnest to make hast about this businesse: in so much as, where he would not seme at the first to esteeme greatly of the offer made to him by the Englishmen, who had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the English Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the seruice of the christian common-wealth against the infidels, they would suffer him to be in such wise defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to dissemble with them for a time, than to commit the successe of his affaires and person to their inconstancie; shortly after being set on fire, and still encouraged by the persuation of Rafe bishop of Durham (who by a wonderfull tuicke shift, about the first of Februarie had broken out of prison) with all speed possible he gathered an armie, purposing out of hand to passe ouer with the same into England, and to hazard his right by dent of sword, which was thus by plaine iniurie most wickedly detained from him.

King Henrie in the meane time vnderstanding his meaning, assembled likewise his power, and rigged forth a great number of ships, appointing them to lie in a readinesse to stop his brothers coming to land if it might be. He himselfe also lodged with his maine armie nere the towne of Hastings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert also meaning to set forward, sent certeine of his ships before, to chuse some convenient place where he might land with his armie: which ships by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet abstaining from battell, they recouered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, signifying from point to point how they had sped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of so gentle a nature that he beleued he should win their good wills, with whom he should haue any thing to doe, passed forward, and approaching to the kings nauie, vsed such mild persuations, that a great part of the souldiours which were aboard in the kings ships, submitted themselues vnto him, by whose conduct he arrived in Portsmouth haven, and there landed with his host, about the beginning of August. Now when he had rested a few daies & refreshed his men, he toke the way towards Winchester, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arrival of his enemies, as also of the reuolting of his

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 2.

Duke Robert is solicited to come into England to claim the crowne.

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

In the kal. of februarye.
R. Hunt.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Duke Robert arrived at Portsmouth.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

The archbishop of Lienna the popes legat.

He is not receiued as legat.

1011

Rin. Higd.
Duke Robert chosen king of Hierusalem.

of
m:
he
n.
or:
the
int.

Wil. Malin.
Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Thorne.
Math. West.
Geruafius
Dorober.

Simon Dun.
Robert de
Belesme earle
of Shrews-
burie.

Stafford
waied.

Arundell ca-
stell besieged.

Widgenozth
besieged.

Anno Reg. 3.

The earle of
Shrewsburie
banished the
realme.

A synod of
bishops.
Eadmerus.

subjects, raised his campe, and came to lodge nere unto his enemies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purposed to do. They were also in manner ready to haue joined battell, when diuers noble men that ought good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds so vnnaturall discord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henrie (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) should now enioy the same, yielding and paying pœrelie vnto duke Robert the summe of iii. M. marks. Prouided, that whose hap of the two it shold be to suruiue or outliue, he should be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agrément. Conditionallie also, that those English or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, should be pardoned of all offenses that could be laid vnto them for the same by either of the princes. There were twelue noble men on either part that receiued corpesall othes for performance of this agrément, which being concluded vpon in this sort, duke Robert, who in his affaires shewed himselfe more credulous than suspicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feast of S. Michaele, and then shewing himselfe well contented with the composition, returned into Normandie. In the second yeare of this kings reigne, the Quene was deliuered of hir daughter Maude or Mathild, so called after hir owne name, who afterward was emperesse, of whom yee shall heare by Gods grace anon in this historie.

The king being now rid of foreen trouble, was shortly after disquieted with the seditious attempts of Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, sonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the castell of Bridgenozth, and an other castell in Wales at a place called Caircoue, and furnished the towne of Shrewsburie, with the castels of Arundell & Tickerhill (which belonged to him) in most substantiall manner. Moreover he sought to win the fauour of the Welchmen, by whose aid he purposed to defend himselfe against the king in such vnlawfull enterprises as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkling thereof about he went, straitwaies proclaimed him a traitor, wherevpon he got such Welchmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entered into Staffordshire, which they forsaied and wasted exceedingly, bringing from thence a great bootie of beastes and cattell, with some prisoners, whom they led forthwith into Wales, where they kept themselves as in a place of greatest safetie.

The king in the meane time with all conuenient speed raised a power, first besieging the castell of Arundell, and then planting diuerse battillions before it, he departed from thence, and sending the bishop of Lincoln with part of his armie to besiege Tickerhill, he himselfe went to Bridgenozth, which he encircled about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: so that what with gifts, large promises, and fearefull threatnings, at the last he allured to his side the sickle Welchmen, and in such wise won them, that they abandoned the earle, and toke part against him. Wherevpon the king within 30. daies subdued all the townes and castels (which he held) out of his hands, and banished him the realme, and shortly after confined his brother Arnold for his traitorous demeanour vnto an end.

After this, at the feast of saint Michaele, Anselme archbishop of Canturburie held a counsell at Westminister, whereat were present the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Worcester, Chester, Bath, Norwich, Rochester, and two other bishops latlie elected by the king,

namelie, Salisburie and Hereford: the bishop of Exeter was absent by reason of sickness.

At this counsell or synod, diuers abbats and priors, both French and English, were deputed of their promotions and benefices by Anselme, because they had come vnto them other wise than he pretended to stand with the decrees of the church; as the abbats of Persy, Ramsey, Evesham, Peterborough, Middleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Ely, and others.

The chiefest cause of their deposing, was, for that they had receiued their inuestitures at the kings hands.

Diuers constitutions were made by authoritie of this counsell, but namelie this one.

1 That priests shold no more be suffered to haue wiues, which decree (as saith Henrie of Huntingdon) seemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilest diuers of those that coueted to professe such cleannesse and puritie of life as pleased their powers to obserue, might haplie fall into most horrible uncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almighty.

2 That no spirituall person shold haue the administration of any temporall office or function, nor sit in iudgement of life and death.

3 That priests shold not haunt alehouses, and further, that they shold weare apparell of one manner of colour, and shewes after a comelie fashion: for a little before that time, priests vsed to go verie vncomelie.

4 That no archdeaconies shold be let to farme.

5 That euerie archdeacon shold at the least receiue the orders of a deacon.

6 That none shold be admitted to the orders of a subdeacon, without profession of chastitie.

7 That no priests sonnes shold succeed their fathers in their benefices.

8 That monks and priests which had forsaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) shold be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profession againe.

9 That priests shold weare broad crownes.

10 That no tithes shold be given but to the church.

11 That no benefices shold be bought or sold.

12 That no new chappels shold be builded without consent of the bishop.

13 That no church shold be consecrated except provision were first had to the maintenance of it and the minister.

14 That abbats shold not be made knights or men of war, but shold sleepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houses, except some necessitie moued them to the contrarie.

15 That no monks shold inioyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for those of whose soules they had cure.

16 That no monks shold be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

17 That monks shold not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands.

18 That no monks shold receiue any parsonages, but at the bishops hands, nor shold spoile those which they did receiue in such wise of the profits and reuenues, that curats which shold serue the cures might thereby want necessarie provision for themselves and the same churches.

19 That contracts made betwene man and woman without witnesses concerning marriage shold be void, if either of them denied it.

20 That such as did weare their heare long shold be neuertheless so rounded, that part of their eares might appere.

21 That kinnsfolke might not contract matrimony

Abbats & priors imprisoned.

Math. Park.

The cause why they were deputed.

Eadmerus. Marriage of priests forbidden.

Hen. Hunt.

Decrees instituted in this counsell.

Against priests that were alehouse hunters.

Archdeacons.

Subdeacons.

Priests sons.

Priests to wear crowns. Tithes.

Benefices.

New chapels.

Consecration of churches.

Monks.

Farmes.

Parsonages.

Contracts.

wearing of haire.

Surnall.

Fond woꝝ:
shipping of
men.The curſe to
be read euery
ſundae.S. Bartholo-
mees by
Smithfield
founded.
Smithfield
ſometimes a
common laie-
ſhall & a place
of execution.

Anno Reg 3:

Polydor.
The king be-
ſtoweth bi-
ſhopthys.
Math. Paris.

Sim. Danel.

Anſelme reſu-
ſeth to confe-
crate the bi-
ſhops inueſted
by the king.

nie within the ſeuenth degre of conſanguinitie.

22 That the bodies of the dead ſhould not be buried but within their pariſhes, leaſt the prieſt might loſe his dutie.

23 That no man ſhould vpon ſome new raſh deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the biſhops authoritie, which hath bene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

24 That there ſhould be no more buſing and ſelling of men uſed in England, which was hitherto accuſtomed, as if they had bene kine or oren.

25 That all ſuch as committed the filthie ſinne of Sodomitrie ſhould be accuſed by the decre of this counsell, till by penance & confeſſion they ſhould obtaine abſolution. Prouided that if he were a prieſt or any religious perſon, he ſhould loſe his benefice, and be made incapable of any other eccleſiaſticall preferment if: he were a laie man, he ſhould loſe the prerogative of his eſtate. Prouided alſo that no religious man might be abſolued of this crime, but at the biſhops hands.

26 That euery ſundae this curſe ſhould be read in euery church.

The king alſo cauſed ſome neceſſarie ordinances to be deuised at this counsell, to moue men to the leading of a god and bright life.

About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of ſaint Bartholomeus by Smithfield was begun by Kaier one of the kings muſicians (as ſome write) who alſo became the firſt prieſt thereof. In thoſe daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was alſo the appointed place of execution, where felons and other malefactors of the lawes did ſuffer for their miſdeeds.

In this third yeare of king Henries reigne the queene was deliuered of a ſonne called William.

When the earle of Shrewſburie was baniſhed (as ye haue heard) the ſtate of the realme ſeemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietneſſe: ſo that king Henrie being aduanced with good ſucceſſe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any manner of waie. Holobet herein he ſomewhat diſpleaſed the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he toke vpon him both to nominate biſhops, and to inueſt them into the poſſeſſion of their ſees: amongſt whom was one Kemelid, biſhop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Kemelid or Kemeline did afterwards reſigne that biſhoprike to the king, becauſe he was perſuaded he had greatly offended in receiuing the ſame at a temporall mans hands.

Tridie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but alſo other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the ſame ſeaſon, challenged this right of inueſting biſhops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predeceſſors, with out all preſcription of time, as they alledged, which cauſed no ſmall debate betwixt them and the ſpiritualtie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more eaſilie appeare.

Holobet Anſelme the archbiſhop of Canturburie more earneſt in this caſe than any other, would not admit nor conſecrate ſuch biſhops as were nominated and inueſted by the king, making no account of their inueſture: and further he toke vpon him to admoniſh the K. not to violate the ſacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of chriſtian religion ſo lately decreed concerning thoſe matters. But ſo far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he ſtood the more ſtiffe in his challenge. And where Thomas the archbiſhop of Porke was not long before departed out of this tranſitorie life, he

gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as ſome writers report) more deſirous of honoz than was requiſite for his calling, and willed him in deſpite of Anſelme to conſecrate thoſe biſhops whom he had of late inueſted. This Gerard therfore obteing his commandement, did conſecrate them all, William Giſſford biſhop of Wincheſter excepted; who reſuſed to be conſecrated at his hands, wherevpon he was deſpried and baniſhed the realme. The archbiſhop Anſelme alſo was quite out of fauour, for that he ceaſed not to ſpeake againſt the K. in reſpouing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paſchall, and to ſtand to his decre and determination: alſo, that ſuch as he had placed in any biſhoprike, ſhould haue licence to go to Rome to plead their cauſes, whether he promiſed thoſe to ſend his ambadaours, and ſo he did: appointing for the purpoſe, Herbert biſhop of Dorwich, and Robert biſhop of Lichfield, being both of his priue counsell, and William Warlewast, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commiſſion.

After them alſo folowed Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie, Gerard archbiſhop of Porke, & William the elect of Wincheſter, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of intertainment. But Anſelme was highlie honozed aboue all the reſidue, whoſe diligence and zeale in deſe of the ordinances of the ſee of Rome, he well enough underſtood. The ambadaours in like maner declaring the effect of their meſſage, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuerſie begun betwene the king and Anſelme, & with good arguments went about to proue the kings cauſe to be lawfull. Vpon the other ſide, Anſelme and his partakers with contrarie reaſons ſought to confute the ſame. Wherevpon the pope declared, that ſich by the lawes of the church it was decreed, that the poſſeſſion of any ſpiritual benefice, obtained otherwiſe than by meanes of a ſpiritual perſon, could not be good or allowable; from thenceforth, neither the king nor any other for him, ſhould challenge any ſuch right to appertene vnto them.

The kings ambadaours hearing this, were ſomewhat troubled in their minds: wherevpon William Warlewast burſt out and ſaid with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: Whatſoeuer is or may be ſpoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be preſent ſhould well underſtand, that the king my maſter will not loſe the inueſtitures of churches for the loſſe of his whole realme. Vnto which words Paſchall himſelfe replieng, ſaid vnto him againe: If (as thou ſaiest) the king thy maſter will not forgo the inueſtiture of churches for the loſſe of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I ſpeake it before God, that for the ranſome of his head, pope Paſchall will not at any time permit that he ſhall enioie them in quiet. At length by the aduiſe of his counsell, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and cuſtomes, which his predeceſſors had vſed and enioied: but as for the inueſtitures of biſhops, he would not haue him in any wiſe to meddle withall: yet did he confirme thoſe biſhops whom the king had already created, leaſt the reſuſall ſhould be occaſion to ſolue any further diſcord.

This buſineſſe being in this maner ordered, the ambadaours were licenced to depart, who receiuing at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbiſhop of Porke his pall, they thoſtly after returned into England, declaring vnto the king the popes decre and ſentence. The king being ſtill otherwiſe perſuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleaſed with this matter. Long it was per he would giue ouer his claime, or yeld to the popes

D. y. iudge

Gerard inueſted archbiſhop of Porke.

W. G. ſtord biſhop of Wincheſter.
Math. Paris.
Wil. Thorne.
Polydor.

Polydor.

I 102
Anno Reg. 4.
Ambadaours ſent to Rome.

Anſelme goeth alſo to Rome.

Radmerus.
The ſaieing of wil. warlewast to the pope.

The popes answer to him

Polydor.

iudgement, till that in proceſſe of time, ouercome with the earneſt ſute of Anſelme, he granted to obvie the popes order hercin, though (as it ſhould appeare) right fore againſt his will.

Wil.Malm.

In this meane time, the king had ſeiſed into his hands the poſſeſſions of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and baniſhed Anſelme, ſo that he ſtaied at Lions in France for the ſpace of one yeare and ſoure moneths, during which time there paſſed manie letters and meſſages to and fro. The pope alſo wrote to king Henrie in verie courteous maner, exhorting him to call Anſelme home againe, and to releaſe his claime to the inueſtitures of biſhops, whereunto he could haue no right, ſith it appertained not to the office of any tempoꝛall magiſtrate: adding furthermoze, if the king would giue ouer that vngodlie and vſurped cuſtome, that he would ſhew ſuch frendlie fauour in all things, as by the ſufferance of God in any wiſe he might be able to perſorme, and further would receiue not onelie him, but alſo his yong ſonne William (whom latelie it had pleaſed God to ſend him by his vertuous wiſe queene Maude) into his proteccion, ſo that who ſo euer did hurt either of them, ſhould be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

The pope ſorteth courteouslie to the king.

In one of the letters which the ſaid pope wrote vnto Anſelme (after that the king was contented to renounce the inueſtitures aforeſaid) he willed Anſelme, according to the promiſe which he had made, to aſſiſte as well from ſinne as from penance due for the ſame, both the king and his wiſe queene Maude, with all ſuch perſons of honour as in this behalfe had travelled with the king to induce him to be agreeable to his purpoſe.

I 104
The earle of Mellent.

Anno Reg. 4.

The king perſuaded to renounce his title to the inueſtiture of prelates.
Eadmerus.

Duke Robert cometh into England to viſit his brother.

Moreouer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Ruiners (who had counſelled the king to ſtand ſtoutlie in the matter, and not to giue ouer his title of ſuch inueſtitures, ſith his anceſſors had vſed them ſo long a time before his daies, by reaſon whereof, in renouncing his right to the ſame, he ſhould doe a thing greatly prejudiciall to his roiall eſtate and princelie maiestie) were now earneſt labourers to agree the king and the pope, in ſo much that in the end the king was perſuaded by Anſelme and them to let go his hold, reſigning the inueſtitures with ſtaffe and ring; notwithstanding that, he reſerued the right of elections, and ſuch other roialties as otherwiſe appertained to his maiestie, ſo that ſuch biſhops as had done homage to the king, were not diſabled thereby, but quietlie permitted to receiue their iuriſdictions.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to ſee his brother: who through the ſugred words and ſweet entertainment of the king, releaſed the perelie tribute of 3000. markes, which he ſhould haue had out of the realme vpon agreement (as before ye haue heard) but cheſelie indeed at the request of the queene, being inſtruted by hir husband how he ſhould deale with him that was knowne to be free and liberall, without any great conſideration what he preſentlie granted.

Wil.Malm.
Factionous perſons prauiſe to ſet the two brethren at variance.

The earle of Poꝛtaine.

Now hauing bene here a certeine time, and ſolaced himſelfe with his brother and ſiſter, he returned into Normandie, where ſhortlie after he began to repent him of his follie, in being ſo liberall as to releaſe the ſoreſaid tribute: wherevpon he menaced the king, and openlie in his reproch ſaid that he was craftilie circumvented by him, and ſatlie comened. Wuerſe in Normandie deſired nothing more than to ſet the two brethren at ſquare, and namely Robert de Beſelme earle of Shrewſburie, with William earle of Poꝛtaine: theſe two were baniſhed the realme of England. The earle of Shrewſburie for his rebellious attempts (as before you haue heard) and the earle of Poꝛtaine left the land of his owne willfull and ſtubboꝛne mind, exiling himſelfe onelie

vpon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earledome of Poꝛtaine in Normandie, and the earledome of Cornuwall in England, he made ſute alſo for the earledome of Bent, which his vnkle Mo ſometime held. Now becauſe he was not onelie denied of that ſute, but alſo by order of lawe had certeine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfullie deteined, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both againſt thoſe places which the king held, and alſo againſt other that belonged to Richard earle of Cheſter, who was then vnder the kings tuition and gouernement by reaſon of his minozitie.

Richard earle of Cheſter.

The threatning words of duke Robert comming at the laſt to king Henries eares, cauſed him ſortly with to conceiue verie ſore diſpleaſure againſt the duke, in ſo much that he ſent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great reſiſtance, did much hurt in the countrie, by fetchyng and carieyng ſpoiles and pretes. Againe, the Normans rather fauoured than ſought to hinder the enterpriſe of king Henrie, becauſe they ſaw how duke Robert with his ſolliſh prodigalitie and vndiſcreet liberalitie had made a waie all that belonged to his eſtate; ſo that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne poſſeſſion, Roan onelie excepted, which he alſo would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue conſented to his ſond motion.

A power of men ſent into Normandie.

Gemeſſenſis.

Now king Henrie hearing of the good ſucceſſe of his men, paſſed ouer himſelfe ſone after with a mighty armie, and with little adoe toke Curcuor (as others haue) Baieur and Caen, which cities when he had furniſhed with ſufficient garriſons of men, he reſpaſſed the ſea into England, becauſe the winter approached, and the weather wared troubleſome for ſuch as late in the field. Herevpon duke Robert conſidering how vnable he was (by reaſon that his people failed him at need) to reſiſt king Henrie, ſith the Normans alſo, and they of Aniou, toke part with the ſaid king, he thought good to late armour aſide, and to paſſe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this preſent danger. But at his arriual here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Poꝛthampton: wherefore he haſted thither, and comming to him, made earneſt ſute for peace, beſeechng the king in reſpect of brotherlie loue to grant the ſame; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to conſider at leaſt wiſe what appertained to his accuſtomed gentleneſſe, and to thinke with himſelfe that warre betwixt brethren could not be maintained without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obtained againſt his owne fleſh. Wherefore he required him not to reſuſe peace, frendſhip, and voluntarie benenolence, ſith he was now ready to render all that euer he had into his hands.

I 105
The king paſſeth ouer to Normandie.
Anno Reg. 6.
Simon Dun.
Gemeſſenſis.
Polydor.

I 106
Anno Reg. 7.

The king nothing moued herewith, but as one that diſdained to make a direct answer, murmured certeine things with himſelfe, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and vnſtable mind, or as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the bittermoſt. Duke Robert alſo, abhorring and vtterlie deteſting this his brothers pride, ſtreightwaies returned home, purpoſing with himſelfe to trie the hazard of warre, ſith he ſawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Wherevpon he provided for warre with all his power, ſeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him ſmall leſure thereto, who followed him continually with a new ſupplie of ſouldiours, deſiring nothing more than to get him within his danger.

The brethren depart in diſpleaſure.

As Henrie paſſeth into Normandie to purſue his brother.

Some

They come in
battell.

Some after, both the brethren approaching nere together, ech of them pitched their campe within the sight of other, preparing themselves to giue battell with princelie stomache. The king surmounting the duke his brother in number, first bringeth forth his men in order of battell, and straightwaies the duke likewise, both being ready to trie the matter by dint of sword. Then the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets sounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings souldiers trusting too much in their owne force, by reason of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and assailed their enemies on ech side verie disorderlie: but the Normans being wiselie ordered and instructed by their duke, kept themselves close together: so that the kings battell, which had without order kept forth to assaile them, finding sturdie resistance, began now to resolt or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but also William earle of Mortaigne pressed forward amongst their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Whereupon the king, when he perceived how his men began to shrink, cried vpon them to staie, and withall commanded his horsemen to breake vpon the flanks of his enemies battell: which they did, with such violence that they disperised the same, and caused the enemies to scatter. Wherewith also the kings footmen, together with the horsemen invaded the Normans afresh, who neuertheless resisted a while, till being compassed about in manner on euerie side, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few diuise in sunder by a multitude, are assailed on all sides. The king then having vanquished his aduersaries, followeth the chase, and maketh great slaughter of them, though not without some losse of his owne: for the Normans despairing of safetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their pursuers.

The Normans
come vpon
the king.

The earle of
Mortaigne.

Radmerus.
W. Crispine.
W. Ferrers.
Robert de
Coutenille.
The number
slaine.

Gemeitenensis.

Duke Robert and the earle of Mortaigne fighting most manfully in the verie pcease of their enemies, were taken, or (as other saie) betrayed, and deliuered into their enemies hands: beside which twaine, William Crispine, William Ferrers, Robert Coutenille the elder, with foure hundred men of armes, and to the number of 10. thousand footmen were taken. As for the number that were slaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certeinie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in those daies was soer fought, nor with greater bloodshed either in Normandie, or elsewhere.

Gemeitenensis theweth besides, that king Henrie was offered with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for waisting his revenues with such riotous demeanour as he vsed, so that he left himselfe nothing but the title of Roan, which he had not passed to haue giuen away also, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their consent. The king (I saie) taking displeasure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and assuming a mightie power, first besieged Baieur, & then halfe destroing it, he took it by force. After this he took Caen also, and then besieged a castell called Tenechbay pertaining to the earle of Mortaigne, during which siege his brother Robert, and the said earle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chase him out of the countrie. But the punishment of God fell so vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their friends with them, as Robert de Coutenille, William de Crispine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as prisoners. & Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloodshed, for he lost not a man: as for his aduersaries, there died in the field not past thyr score persons.

Wil. Malm.

This seemeth also to agree with that which Wil.

Malmesburie writeth: for he saith, that king Henrie with small adoe brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troope of men came against him then lodging nere the said castell of Tenechbay. The earle of Mortaigne was also taken, but the earle of Shrewsburie escaped by flight, notwithstanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practise some priue conspiracie against the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the same Wil. Malm. affirmeth) vpon a saturdaye, being the daie of S. Michael *In gloria*, and (as may be thought) by the prouident iudgment of God, to the end that Normandie should be subdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares passed, king William the Conquerour first set foot on land at Hastings, when he came out of Normandie to subdue England. Neither doth Simon Dunelmensis varie in any thing from Gemeitenensis touching the conclusion of this businesse, and the taking of duke Robert.

These wars being thus finished, and the countrie set in quiet, which through the mere folie of duke Robert was wonderfullie impouerished, the king received the heies of all the towne and castles that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Mortaigne, and furnished the same with garisons to be kept for his behoefe. Having thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechelent, where archbishop Anselme then remained, whom by mediation of friends he receiued to fauour againe, and sending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himselfe.

Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortly committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the space of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warrior, & comparable with the best capitaines that then liued, had he bene somewhat more warie and circumspect in his affaires, and therewithall constant in his opinion. His worthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie achieved against the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and sundrie writers, to his high commendation and long lasting praise. It is said also, that he was after his taking once set at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forswear the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auide within the space of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But because he was perceiued to practise somewhat against the king, he was effones taken againe, and having his eyes put out, committed to prison, where finally worn through age and griefe of mind, he ended his miserable life. ¶ The forme of banishing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confessor, and remained as a law in vse till these our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to escape the punishment of death due for their offenses. By a latter custome it was also deuised, that they should beare a crosse in their hand, as a signe that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place take where they sought for succour.

But duke Robert (as it should appere by that which others write) found no such fauour, saue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forests, parks, and chases nere the place where he was appointed to remaine; so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horse, and with all post hast rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped: howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue and cry, and at length ouertooke him in a newe, where he had laid his horse vpon the belie in a quauemire. Then being brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison, aduertising the king of his demeanour:

Dij.

Where:

Robert de
Belesme.

The 27. of
September
1106.

Simon Dun.

Maith. West.

1107
Anselme re-
turneth home.

Duke Robert
prisoner in the
castell of Card-
diff.

Gemeitenensis.

Polydor.

Maith. West.

whereupon he commanded that the sight of his eyes should be put out, but so, as the ballies of them should remaine unbroken, for the avoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glasse twinkles should take hurt.

In his returne out of the holie Land, he married one Sibell, the earle of Conuersans sister in Puglia, his father hight Roger or Gessrey (as some booke haue) and was nephew to Robert Guythard duke of Puglia, and by hir had issue one sonne named William afterwarde earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Here must I leaue duke Robert, and speake somewhat of Anselme the archbishop, who shortly after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Paschall, wherein Anselme was authorized to dispose and order things as should seeme to him most expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the English clergie consisted of preests sonnes, he committed to his discretion the order to dispense with them; namely, that such as were of commendable life and sufficient learning, might be admitted to the ministerie, as the necessitie of time and state of the church should require. The pope also by the same letters gave Anselme authoritie to absolve Richard the prior of Clee, upon his satisfaction permitted, and to restore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Clee, if the king thought it conuenient.

About the calends of August, in this yeare 1107, the king held a counsell of bishops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his palace at London, where in the absence of Anselme, the matter touching the inuestitures of churches, was argued upon for the space of thre daies together, and in the end because the pope had granted the homages of bishops and other prelates to the king, which his predecessor Urban had forbidden, together with the inuestitures; the king was contented to consent to the popes will in forbearing the same. So that when Anselme was come, the king in presence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thenceforth no bishop nor abbat should be inuested within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other side it was granted againe by Anselme, that no person elected into the prelacie, should be deputed of his consecration for doing his homage to the king.

These things thus ordeied, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inuestiture of staffe or ring. About this time, Anselme consecrated siue bishops at Canturburie in one day, archbishop William to the see of Winchester, Roger that was the kings chancellor to Salisbury, William Warlewast to Crecster, Remaline the quenes chancellor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamorgan in Wales.

About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an inundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beseeching the king to haue some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the riuer of Alward: but within foure yerres after, they were remoued into a corner by the sea side in Wales, called Penbroke-shire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the unquiet Welshmen.

It should appeare by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelic as came ouer about that time by reason their countrie was ouerslowne with the sea (as ye haue heard) but of other also that arrived here long before, euen in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the

friendship of the quene their countrewoman, at thens which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them: whereupon king Henrie deuised to place them in Penbroke-shire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercenesse of the Welshmen. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe: for after they were settled there, they valiantlie resisted their enemies, and made verie sharpe warres upon them, sometimes with gaine, and sometimes with losse.

In the yeare 1108, Anselme held an other synod or counsell, whereat in presence of the king, and by the assent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

1 That preests, deacons, and subdeacons should liue chastlie, and keepe no women in their houses, except such as were nere of kin to them.

2 That such preests, deacons, and subdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the counsell holden at London, had either kept their wines, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus saith, there was no small number) they should put them quite away, if they would continue still in their preesthood.

3 That neither the same wines should come to their houses, nor they to the houses where their wines dwelled: but if they had any thing to say to them, they should take two or thre witnesses, and talke with them abroad in the street.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accused of breaking this ordinance, he should be driuen to purge himselfe with six sufficient witnesses of his owne order, if he were a preest: if a deacon, with foure: and if a subdeacon, with two.

5 That such preests as would forgo seruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wines) should be deputed of their benefices, and not suffered to come within the quire.

6 That such as contemptuously kept still their wines, and presumed to say masse, if being called to satisfaction, they should neglect it, they should then be excommunicated. Within compasse of which sentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were comprised, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie, and also the punishment by the censures of the church, if they transgressed the ordinance.

7 That euerie archdeacon should be swayne, not to take any monie for fauouring any person transgressing these statutes: and that they should not suffer any preests, whom they knew to haue wines, either to say masse, or to haue any vicars. The like oth should a deane receiue. Provided that such archdeacons or deanes as refused this oth, should be deputed of their romes.

8 That preests, who leauing their wines, would be content to serue God at the altar, should be suspended from that office, by the space of foure daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to serue for them: and after, upon performance of their imposed penance by the bishop, they might returne to their function.

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertised of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his sonne Lewis, surnamed Crassus might happlie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, failed ouer into Normandie, to see the countrie in god order, and the towines, castles, and fortresses furnished accordingly as the doubtfull time required. Now after he had finished his business on that side, he returned into England, where he met with ambassadours sent to him from the emperor Henrie. The effect of whose message was, to require his

John Pike.

Richard prior of Clee.

1107

Polydor. Ran. Hugd.

Flemings coming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

Wil. Malm.

1108
A counsell.
Sim. Duncl.
Eadmerus.
Anno Reg. 9.

Preests are sequestred from their wines.

Archdeacons and canons.

Archdeacons to be swayne.

Penance.

Polydor.
Philip king of Fran. dead.Lewis le gros
K. of France.

Embassadoys
from the em-
perour.

And the
kings daugh-
ter fianced
unto the em-
perour.

Radmerus.
The death of
Gerard arch-
bish. of Yorke.
Thomas the
kings chap-
leine succeeded
in that see.

The doubt of
Anselme.

Anselme writ-
eth to the
pope.

The popes
answer to
Anselme.

The archbi-
shop of Yorke
refuseth to
come unto
Canturburie
to be con-
secrated.

Loke in the 9.
page, and the
first colunne,
of the debate
between Tho-
mas of Yorke
& Lanfranke
of Cantur-
burie.

1010

his daughter And in marriage unto the said em-
perour, whereunto (though she was not then past five
yeares of age) he willingly consented, and shewing
to the ambassadoys great signes of loue, he caused
the espousals by waie of procuracion to be solemn-
ized with great feasts and triumphs. This being en-
ded, he suffered the ambassadoys honored with great
gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

About this time Gerard archbishop of Porke died,
whom one Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded,
who for lacke of monie to furnish his iourne, and for
other causes (as in his letters of excuse, which he wrot
to Anselme it doth appere) could not come to Can-
turburie for to be consecrated of him in so short a
time as was conuenient. But Anselme at length
admonished him by letters, that without delay he
should dispatch and come to be consecrated. And
whereas Anselme understood that the same Thomas
was purposed to send unto Rome for his pall, he
doubted, least if the pope should confirme him in his
see by sending to him his pall, he would haplie re-
fuse to make unto him profession of his due obedi-
ence. Therefore to preuent that matter, Anselme
wrote to pope Paschall, requiring him in no wise to
send unto the nominated archbishop of Porke his
pall, till he had (according to the ancient customes)
made profession to him of subiection, least some trou-
blesome contentions might thereof arise, to the no
small disquieting of the English church. He also ad-
uertised pope Paschall, that because he permitted the
emperour to inuest bishops, and did not therefore ex-
communicate him, king Henrie threatened, that
without doubt he would resume the inuestitures in-
to his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well
as he; and therefore besought him to consider what
his wisdom had to do therein with speed, least that
building which he had well created, should utterly de-
caie, & fall againe into irrecoverable ruine. For k.
Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (saith he) what
order you take with the emperour.

The pope receiuing and perusing these letters,
wrote againe unto Anselme a verie frendlie an-
swer concerning the archbishop of Porke. And as
for suffering of the emperour to haue the inuesti-
tures, he signified to him that he neither did nor
would suffer him to haue them: but that hauing
borne with him for a time, he now ment verie short-
lie to cause him to feele the weight of the spirituall
sword of S. Peter, which already he had drawen out
of the scabers, therewith to strike if he did not the so-
ner for sake his horrible error & naughtie opinion.

There was another cause also that moued An-
selme to doubt of the archbishop of Porke his mea-
ning, as after it appered. For being summoned to
come and receiue his consecration at Canturburie
(as already ye haue heard) through counsell of the
canons of Porke he refused so to do: because they
informed him that if he so did, it should be greatlie
preiudiciall to the liberties of that see, whose archbi-
shop was of like authoritie in all things unto the
archbishop of Canturburie, so that he was bound
onlie to fetch his consecration and benediction at
Canturburie, but in no wise to acknowledge anie
subiection unto that see. ¶ For ye must understand,
that there was great stomaching betwixt the clergie
of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Porke, about
the metropolitane prerogative: and euer as occasion
serued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or
opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels,
they of Porke stuck not to offer their grieues, in
that (as they toke it) some iniurie was offered them
therein.

The archbishop of Porke being thus instructed by
the canons of his church, signified to archbishop An-

selme the cause why he came not at his summons.
The copie of a parcell thereof is here exemplified.
*Causam, qua differtur sacratio mea, quam nemo studio-
sius quam ego vellet accelerare, qui protulerunt, non desunt
corroborare. Quamobrem, quam periculosum & quam turpe
sit, contra consensum ecclesie, cui prefici debeo, regimen ipsius
inuadere, vestra discretio nouerit. Sed & quam formidabile
& quam sit cuiandum, sub specie benedictionis maledictio-
nem induere, &c: that is;*

10 The cause why my consecration is deferred, which
no man living would wish to be done with more
speed than I my selfe: those that haue prolonged
it, ceasse not to confirme. Therefore how dangerous
and how dishonest it should be for me to inuade the
gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule,
without consent of the same, your discretion right well
vnderstandeth. Psea and how dreadfull a thing it is,
and how much to be auoided to receiue a curse, in-
der colour of a blessing, &c.

20 Anselme hauing already written twice unto the
said Thomas archbishop of Porke about this matter,
and now receiuing this answer, could not be quiet
in mind, and thereupon taking aduice with certeine
bishops whom he called unto him, determined to send
two bishops unto the said Thomas of Porke: and so
the bishop of London (as deare to the archbishop of
Canturburie) & the bishop of Rochester (as his house-
hold chapleine) were sent to commune with him,
who met them at his manour of Southwell, where
they declared to him the effect of their message: but
he deferred his answer, till a messenger which he had
sent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was
returned, and so without any full answer the bishops
came backe againe.

The bishop of
London deare
to the archbis-
hop of Can-
turburie.
The bishop of
Rochester his
chapleine.

40 Whatbeit shortly after, there came to Can-
turburie a messenger on the behalfe of the archbi-
shop of Porke, with letters inclosed under the kings
seale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded
Anselme, that the consecration of the archbishop of
Porke might staie till the feast of Easter; and if he
might returne into England by that daie, he promi-
sed (by the aduice had therein of the bishops and ba-
rons of his realme) that he would set a direction be-
twixt them in all matters, thereof anie controuer-
sie had bene moued heretofore: or if he could not re-
turne so soone, he would yet take such order, that be-
twixt the loue & concord might remaine betwixt them.

50 When he that brought these letters required an an-
swer, Anselme answered, that he would signifie his
mind to the king, and not to his master. Immediat-
lie therefore was the deane of Winchester sent ouer
from Anselme, with a monke of Bechelouin to the
king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beseech
his maiestie, by his authoritie to provide, that no dis-
cord should rise to the diuiding of the present state of
the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he
had commanded him to grant unto Thomas the
archbishop of Porke, a time of respite; he should take
for certeine answer, that he would rather suffer him-
selfe to be cut in peces, than to grant so much as one
hours space on the said Thomas of Porke, whom
he knew already to haue set himselfe vniustlie a-
gainst the ancient constitutions of holie fathers, and
against the Lord himselfe. The messengers declared
these things to the king, and brought word backe a-
gaine at their returne, that the king had heard their
message with fauourable mind, and promised by the
power of God, to declare to the world that he com-
fessed vnitie, and not any diuision in the church of Eng-
land.

A stout prelat,

Anselme sens-
eth to the
king.

All this while Anselme was detained with long
and greuous sicknesse, and yet not forgetfull of the
obstinate dealing of Thomas of Porke, he wrote let-
ters unto him, by vertue whereof he suspended him
from

Anselme sick.

from exercising all pastorall function, till he had reformed his error, submitted himselfe to receive his blessing, and acknowledged his subiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predecessours Thomas and Gerard had done, and before them other ancientes, as custome had prescribed. Thus he charged him, upon paine of cursing, except he would renounce his archbishops dignitie: for in so doing he did grant him licence to use the office and ministerie of a priest (which before time he had taken upon him) or else not.

In the same letters he prohibited all the bishops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wise they should consecrate him, upon paine of cursing: and if he should chance to be consecrated by any stranger, that in no wise they should (under the like paine) receive him for archbishop, or communicate with him in any condition. Cuerie bishop also within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of these letters directed to him from Anselme under his seale, commanding them to behaue themselves therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the subiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March.

Notwithstanding all this, upon the 21. of Aprill ensuing, Anselme ended his life in the sixteenth yeare after his first preferment to that see, being threescore and fixtene yerres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, nere to the Alpes, in a citie called Asta, he was brought up by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbishop, was abbat of the monastierie of Becheham in Normandie.

About the same time was the bishops see of Elye created by the king, who appointed one Harue to be the first bishop there, who before had bene bishop of Bangor. Cambridgeshire was annexed to that see, which because it had of former time belonged to the see of Lincolne, the king gaue unto the bishop of Lincolne (as it were in recompense) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elye, named Richard, desirous to honour himselfe and his house with the title of a bishops dignitie, procured the creation of that bishopricke, first moving the king therein, and after persuading with the bishop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet per the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and so the said Harue enioied the roome: wherein the prouer be toke place, that One soweth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to proceed.

Shortlie after the deccasse of Anselme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbishop of Yorke. Howbeit it now that Anselme was dead, the said Legat wist not what to do in the matter, because he was appointed to deliuer the pall first and immediatlie unto Anselme, and further therein to deale (concerning the bestowing thereof) as should seme good unto him.

In the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the solemnitie of that feast, he called an assemblie of the bishops, to understand what was to be done in the matter, for the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke. Here were the letters shewed which the archbishop Anselme had (a little before his death) directed unto cuerie of the bishops as before we haue heard. Which when the earle of Melent had read, and understood the effect, he asked what he was that durst receive any such letters without the kings assent and commandement: At length the bishops advising themselves what they had to do, required Samson bishop of Worcester to declare his opinion, who boldlie spake these words: Although this man, who is elected archbishop, is my sonne, whome in times past I begot of my wife, and therefore ought

to seeke his aduancement as nature and worlde respects might moue me: yet am I more bound unto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honor: that I do beare, and by the ministerie of a bishoplike office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deserued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it should be notified unto you all, that I meane to obeie in cuerie condition the commandement contained in the letters of our father Anselme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine assent, that Thomas nominated archbishop of Yorke shall be consecrated, till he haue professed his due and canoncall obedience touching his subiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my selfe was present when my brother Thomas archbishop of Yorke, constrained both by ancient customes and inuincible reasons, did professe the like subiection unto archbishop Lanfranke, and all his successours the archbishops of Canturburie.

These words thus uttered by the bishop of Worcester, all the bishops returned together, and coming before the kings presence, boldlie confessed that they had received Anselmes letters, and would not do any thing contrarie to the tenour of the same. Whereat the earle of Melent thoke the head, as though he ment to accuse them of contempt towards the king. But the king himselfe uttered his mind, and said, that whatsoever other men thought of the matter, he suerlie was of the like mind with the bishops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anselmes curse. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Yorke should either acknowledge his subiection to the church of Canturburie, or else forgo his dignitie of archbishop: whereupon in the end he came to London, and there upon the 28. daie of Maie was consecrated by Richard bishop of London, as beane to the see of Canturburie. Then hauing the profession or protestation of his subiection to the see of Canturburie deliuered him under seale, he brake by the same, and read the wyting in maner and forme following:

Ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesie consecrandus metropolitani, profiteor subiectionem & canonicam obedientiam sancte Dorobernensi ecclesie, & eiusdem ecclesie primati canonice electo & consecrato, & successoribus suis canonice inthronizatis, salua fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & salua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas antecessor meus sancte Romane ecclesie ex parte sua professus est: that is;

I Thomas to be consecrated metropolitane archbishop of Yorke, professe my subiection and canoncall obedience unto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the same church canonically elected and consecrated, and to his successours canonically inthronized, sauing the faith which I owe unto my soueraine lord Henrie king of the English, and sauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predecessour professed on his behalfe unto the holie church of Rome.

When this wyting was read, the bishop of London toke it, and deliuered it unto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to keepe the same as a testimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbishop of Yorke consecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that see, who when he was consecrated, the popes Legate went unto Yorke, and there deliuered to the same archbishop the pall, wherewith when he was inuested, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

At the feast of Christmasse next ensuing, the king held his court at London with great solemnitie. The archbishop of Yorke prepared to haue set the crowne on the kings head, and to haue song masse afore him, because

Letters from
Anselme.

1109
Anno Reg. 10.

Augusta Praetoriana.

North. West.
The first erection of the bishopricke of Elye.
Eadmerus.

Richard prior
of Elye.

Polydor.
Eadmerus.
A legat from
Rome.

The earle of
Melent.

Samson bishop
of Worcester.

Looke in pag. 91
in both columns, where
you shall see
this matter
determined.

The protestation of the bishops to the king.

The tenour of the protestation which the archbishop of Yorke made unto the archbishop of Canturburie.

1110

Strife be-
twixt bishops.

bicause the archbishops see at Canturburie was void. But the bishop of London would not suffer it, claiming as high deane to the see of Canturburie to execute that office, and so did, leading the king to the church after the manner. Howbeit when they should come to sit downe at dinner, there kindled a strife betwixt the said two bishops about their places, bicause the bishop of London, for that he had bene ordained long before the archbishop, and therefore not onelic as deane to the see of Canturburie, but also by reason of priozitie, pretended to haue the upper seat. But the king perceiuing their manner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his house, and got them to dinner at their innes.

Anno Reg. 11.

Priests pro-
hibited to mar-
rie or keepe
women,

About the same time the cause of the mariage of priests and their keeping of women came againe in to question, so that by the kings commandement, they were more strenghtlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anselmes time. For after his deceasse, diuerse of them (as it were promising to themselves a new libertie to do that which in his life time they were constrained for against their willes to forbear) deceiued themselves by their hastie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the ecclesiasticall lawes compelled them to stand to and obeye the decre of the counsell holden at London by Anselme (as before ye haue heard) at least wise in the sight of men. But if so it be (saith Eadmerus) that the priests attempt to do worse, as it were to the condemnation and reproche of Anselmes doings, let the charge light on their heads, sith euerie man shall beare his owne burthen: for I know (saith he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their one cousins (I will not say their owne sisters and daughters) shall not suerlie escape his iudgement.

The river of
Trent dyed
bp.

About the same time manie wonders were seene and heard of. The river of Trent nere to Nottingham, for the space of a mile ceased to run the wonted course during the time of foure & twentie houres, so that the channell being dyed by, men might passe ouer to and fro drie thod.

Monsters.

A comet.
Wil. Thorne.
Math. West.

Also a sow brought forth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreover a comet or blasing star appeared in a strange sort: for rising in the east, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the course forward, but seemed to go backward, as if it had bin retrograde.

John Stow.
Robert the
kings base
son created
earle of Glo-
cester.

About this season the king married Robert his base sonne to the ladie Maude, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his said sonne earle of Gloucester, who afterwards builded the castles of Wyllow and Cardiff, with the priorie of St. James in Wyllow, where his bodie was buried.

IIII

Anno Reg. 12.

Fabian.
The citie of
Constance
taken.

The king pas-
sed into Nor-
mandie.

In the yeare following, Foulke earle of Anion, enuieng the prosperous estate of king Henrie, and lamenting the case of duke Robert, swan the citie of Constance, by corrupting certeine of the kings subjects the inhabitants of the same. Whereof king Henrie being aduertised, passed ouer into Normandie, recovered the said citie, punished the offenders, reuenged himselfe of the earle, and returned into England.

IIII 2

Anno Reg. 13.

The archbi-
shops see of
Canturburie
in the kings
hand foure
yeares.

Now, as also before, the king continued his inordinate desire of enriching himselfe, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *Sacra* of the poets *Per antiphrasin*) he pinched manie so fore, that they ceased not to speake verie ill of his doings. He did also incur the misliking of verie manie people, bicause he kept still the see of Canturburie in his hands, and would not bestow it, for that he found swatnesse in receiuing all the profits and reuenues belonging thereunto, during the time that it remained vacant, which was the space of foure yeares, or thereabouts.

In like manner, when he was admonished to place some meet man in the come, he would saie, that he was willing to bestow it, but he took the longer time, for that he meant to find such a one to prefer thereto as should not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anselme in doctrine, vertue and wise dome. And sith there was none such yet to be found, he suffered that see to be void till such could be provided. This excuse he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthe man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit not long after, he translated one Richard bishop of London to that archbishopricke, who enioieng it but a while, he gaue the same to one Rafe then bishop of Rochester, and made him archbishop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that see. He was elected at Windsoz the 26. of Aprill, and on the 16. daie of Maie installed at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feast which was holden at the same. Some after likewise he sent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Paschall by one Anselme nephue unto the late archbishop Anselme. About this time also the pope found himselfe græued, for that his authoritie was but little esteemed in England, & for that no persons were permitted to appeale to Rome in cases of controuersie, and for that (without seeking to obtaine his licence and consent) they did keepe their synods & counells about ecclesiasticall affaires, neither would obeye such Legats as he did send, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In so much that one Cono the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the priests of Normandie, bicause they would not come to a synod which they had summoned. Whereupon the king being somewhat troubled, by aduice of his counsell, sent the bishop of Excester to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter.

The kings
excuse.

IIII 4.
Anno Reg. 14.

Eadmerus.

The popes
authoritie not
regarded in
England.

The bishop of
Excester sent
to Rome.

Thurkane
archbishop
of York.

Stiles Aldane
bishop of S.
Pimian.

Floriacensis
Wigorniensis.
Worcester
burnt.
Polydor.
The welshme
nuade the ena-
glishe marshes.
Henrie en-
treth into
wales with
an armie.

Not long after this Thomas the archbishop of Poike died: after whom succeeded Thurkane, a man of a losse stomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie first began to contend with Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primasie. And though the king aduised him to stand to the order which the late archbishops of Poike had obserued, yet he would not staie the matter, sith he saw that archbishop Rafe being sicke and diseased, could not attend to preuent his doings. Thurkane therfore consecrated certeine bishops of Scotland, and first of all Giles Aldane the elect bishop of S. Pimian, who promised and took his oath (as the manner is) to obeye him in all things as his pymate.

The citie of Worcester about this season was by a casuall fire almost wholie burnt by and consumed. Which mishap, bicause that citie joined nere unto Wales, was thought to be a signification of troubles to folow by the insurrection of the Welshmen: who conceiuing hope of god speed by their god successe in the wars he had with William Rufus, began now to inuade & waste the English marshes. Whereupon king Henrie desirous to tame their hautie stomachs (bicause it was a græfe to him still to be vexed with such tumults and byrings as they daile procured) assembled a mightie armie, and went into Wales. Now bicause he knew the Welshmen trusted more to the woods and mountains, than to their owne strength, he beset all the places of their refuge with armed men, and sent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waste, & to hunt the Welsh out of their holes. The soldiours (for their parts) needed no exhortation: for remembzng the losses sustained a fore time at the Welshmens hands, they shewed well by their fresh pursute, how much they desired to be

be reuenged, so that the Welsh were slaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceived the huge slaughter, & saw that hauing thowone away their armour and weapons, they sought to saue themselves by flight, he commanded the souldiers to cresse from killing, and to take the residue that were left prisoners, if they would yeld themselves: which they did, and besought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgiue them.

Garrisons placed in Wales by H. Henrie. Floriacensis. Wigornienfis.

A subsidie raised by the king to bestowe with his daughter. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114
The sea decreased, wondrous. Wil. Thorne.

Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Marth. Westm.

1115
Anno Reg. 16.

1116
Anno. Reg. 17.

Griffin ap Rice dooth much hurt on the marshes. Polydor.

The king thus hauing banquished and overcome the Welshmen, placed garrisons in sundrie townes & castels, where he thought most necessarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Whither thowille after came ambassadours from the emperor, requiting the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and (being now virtuous & mariable) desired that she might be delivered vnto them. King Henrie hauing heard their sute and willing with speed to performe the same, raised a great tax among his subjects, rated after euerie hide of land which they held, & taking of ech one three shillings towards the payment of the monie which was conuanted to be given with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be employed in sending hir forth, he appointed certeine of his greatest piers to safe conduct hir vnto hir husband, who with all convenient speed conuied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable manner there deliuered hir vnto the foresaid emperor. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his sonne William duke of that countrie, causing the people to sweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof rose a custome, that the kings of England from thenceforth (so long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euer their eldest sonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had done this with other his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England.

In this yeare about the fifteenth daie of October, the sea so decreased and shrank from the old accustomed water-markes and coasts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue passed on foot ouer the sands and washes, for the space of a whole daie together, so that it was taken for a great wonder. It was also noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the sea used to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became so shallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namely the riuier of Thames was so lowe for the space of a day and a night, that horses, men, and children passed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and also vnder the budge, the water not reaching above their knees. Whereouer, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like manner, the Winter was verie extream cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and boone doone.

Not long after this, Griffin ap Rice toke a great price and botie out of the countries subiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings castels, because he would not restore such lands and possessions vnto him as appertained to his father Rice or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithstanding this businesse) being not otherwise troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voyage into those quarters, and first called a councell of his lords both spirituall and temporall at Salisburie on the nineteenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet state of the land. And first he sware the Nobilitie of the realme, that they should be true to him and his sonne William after his decesse. Secondlie, he appealed sundrie matters then in controuersie betwixt the

Nobles and great Piers, causing the same to be brought to an end, and the parties made friends: the diuision betwixt the archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in triall, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Thurstane would not stand to any decre or order therein, except he might haue had his whole will, so that the king taking displeasure with him for his obstinate demeanour, commanded him either to be conformable to the decre made in Lanfranks time, or else to renounce his miter, which to do (rather than to acknowledge any subiection to the archbishop of Canturburie) he seemed to be verie willing at the first, but afterwards repented him of his speech passed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, trusting by some meanes to persuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be consecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the see of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter rested long in sute, as hereafter shall appeare.

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor saith) how the bishops in those daies were blinded with couetousnesse and ambition, not considering that it was their duties to despise such worldly pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a studious endeuour for the health of such soules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembered they the simplicitie of Christ, and his contempt of worldly dignitie, when he refused to satisfie the humor of the people, who verie desirous would haue made him a king, but withdrew himselfe, and departed to a mountaine himselfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apostles, contending one with another for the primacie, forgetting the vocation whereto Christ had separated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles, but to submit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Christ their maister an example and president.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England used but seldom to call together the states of the realme after any certeine manner or generall kind of processe, to haue their consents in matters to be decreed. But as the lords of the priuie councell in our time do sit onlie when necessitie requirereth, so did they whensoever it pleased the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the first vse of the parlement to haue proceeded, which sith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, insomuch that whatsoeuer is to be decreed touching the state of the commonwealth and conseruation thereof, is now referred to that councell. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other person to be vsed for the wealth of the realme, it shall not yet be receiued as law, till by authority of this assemble it be established.

Now because the house should not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned commoners, whose proprietie is to vnderstand little reason, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings: there was a certeine order taken, what manner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sort of temporall men should be called vnto the same, and how they should be chosen by voices of free

Charlanc refuseeth to obey the kings pleasure. Eadmerus.

The the in 4

The first ble of parlements in England.

free holders, that being as attornies for their countreies, that which they confessed or denied, should bind the residue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This countreil is called a parlement, by the French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publicke assemblies.

The manner of
the parlement
in England.

The manner of their consulting here in England in their said assemblies of parlement is on this wise. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commodities both of the prince and of the people, that euery man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are appointed to sit in feuerall chambers, the king, the bishops, and lords of the realme sit in one chamber to conferre together by themselves; and the commoners called knights for the shires, citizens of cities, and burgeses of good towne in another. These choose some wise, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or speaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth those things vnto them that are to be talked of, and asketh euery mans opinion concerning the conclusion thereof. In like sort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower house in respect of their estate) he declareth it againe to the lords that sit in the other chamber called the higher house, demanding likewise their iudgements touching the same. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the consent of the more part of both those houses. Now when they haue said their minds, and yielded their confirmation therevnto, the final ratification is referred to the prince; so that if he thinke good that it shall passe for a law, he confirmeth also by the mouth of the lord Chancellor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the custome of that house.

The same order is vsed also by the bishops and spiritualtie in their conuocation houses. For the bishops sit in one place by themselves as in the higher house, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the spiritualtie in another, as in the lower house, whose prolocutor declareth to the bishops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbishop (by consent of the more part of them that are assembled in both those conuocation houses) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithstanding) the final ratification of them to the temporall houses.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in such decrees (established by authoritie of the prince, the lords spiritual and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus assembled in parlement) consisteth the whole force of our English lawes. Which decrees are called statutes, meaning by that name, that the same should stand firme and stable, and not be repealed without the consent of an other

parlement, and that vpon good and great consideration.

About this season, one Owain (whome some name prince of Wales) was slaine, as Simon Dunclun. writeth, but by whom, or in what sort, he sheweth not. In this eighteenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All halloves daie, or first of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and such a storme of haile fell, that the people were maruellouslie amazed therewith. Also on the thirteenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the mone was turned into a bloodie colour: which strange accidents fell about the midst of the night. At the same time, quene Maude, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other doings.

It chanced vpon a small occasion, that verie soze and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewis surnamed the grosse king of France: the beginning whereof grew hereby. Theobald earle of Champaigne, descended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reason of amitie that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adela the sister of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foresaid Theobald had by chance offended the said Lewis, who in reuenge made sharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be sent from his friends in the meane time valiantlie resisted him, and at length (by reason of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in such sort berced and annoied the French king, that he consulted with Baldwin earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Anjou, by what means he might best deprive king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and restore the same vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he said it did belong.

Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpose, endeouored on the other side to resist his attempts, and after he had lenied a large tribute of his subiects, passed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no small masse of monie, where ioining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purposing to follow the same euen to the vttermost. As Lewis in the meane time, supposing that all hope of victorie rested in speedy dispatch of present affaires, determined likewise to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the sudden. But after he perceived that his enemies were all in a readinesse, and verie well provided to resist him: he staied and drew backe a little while. Neuerthelesse in the end he became so desirous to be doing with king Henrie, that approaching nere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie skirmishes with the English, yet no notable exploit passed betwixt them in that yeare.

Here will I leaue the kings of England and France skirmishing and encountering one another, and shew something more of the contention that was betwene the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, to the end that their ambitious desire of worldlie hono: may in some respect appere.

About this verie time, Anselme the nephew to archbishop Anselme came againe from Rome, with free authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which seemed a thing right strange to the English clergie. Wherefore the bishop of Canturburie, to prevent other inconueniences likelie to insue, took vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderstand the popes pleasure concerning the truth and certaintie of this matter, and to require him in no wise to diminish the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogative of his see of Canturburie, which hitherto vsed to determine all causes rising in his prouince.

This said archbishop came to Rome, but finding

Simon Dun.

Theobald
earle of Cham-
paigne.
Polydor.

Hen. Hunt.

Foulke earle
of Anjou.

King Henrie
passeth ouer
into Normandie
to assist the
erie of Cham-
paigne.

The French
R. inuadeth
Normandie.

I I I 7.
Anno. Reg. 18.
Anselme the
popes Legat.
The bishop of
Canturburie
goeth to Rome.

Pope Gelasius succeeded pope Paschall

1118
Anno Reg. 19.

Calixtus the second of that name pope.

1119
Anno Reg. 20.
The two kings of England & France come battell.
King Henrie hurt in the battell.

The earle of Curcur taken prisoner.

not the pope there, he sent messengers with letters unto him, then being sicke at Benevento, and obtained a favourable answer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his setting forth forward) certifying him how he had sped in this voyage. The forsaide Anselme was also staied by the king at Roan, and could not be suffered to passe over into England all that time, till it might be understood by the returne of the archbishop, what the popes pleasure should be further in that matter. Shortly after whose repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Paschall was departed this life, and that Gelasius the second was elected in his place. This Gelasius (to avoid the dangers that might insue to him by reason of the schisme and controuersie betwixt the see of Rome, and the emperor Henrie the first) came into France, where he lived not long, but died in the abbey of Clugny, after whose decease Calixtus the second was called to the papacie.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatschip of Anselme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation of time, not onelie to call and celebrate synods for reformation of disorders in the church, but also for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuied in England (in the which point pope Paschall in his life time thought them in England verie slacke) as by the same bulles more largelie dooth appere. The archbishop of Canturburie had already staied foure or five yeares in the parties beyond the sees, about the matter in controuersie betwixt him and Thurstane archbishop of Yorke, who was likewise gone ouer to solicit his cause. But where as at the first he could not find the king in anie wise agreeable to his mind, yet when the counsell should be holden at Rheims by pope Calixt, he sued at the least wise for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant so to do, till he had promised (vpon his allegiance which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be prejudiciall to the church of Canturburie in anie manner of wise. Fewertheless, at his coming thither, he so wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing easilie done in Rome) fauoured his cause; yea, such was his successe, that the pope consecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuersie depending betwixt Thurstane and him: the archbishop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wise either to consecrate Thurstane himselfe, or grant licence to anie other person to consecrate him: for if he did, surely (for his part) he would banish him quite out of his dominion, which should not be long vndone. But now to the purpose.

In this meane time, the warres were busilie pursued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides for the space of nine houres. The forwarde on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie received sundrie stripes on his head at the hands of one William Crispine countie de Curcur, so as (though his helmet were verie strong and sure) the blood burst out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more lustilie about him, and strooke downe diuerse of his enemies, namelie the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the kings feet. Now were the kings people encouraged at the valiantie and prowesse of their king and chieftaine, so that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and setting vpon the rereward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the bitter end. There died and were taken prisoners in this conflict manie

thousands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England, recouering a towne by the waie called Nicaum, which the French king had lately woone, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchieued.

The earle of Flanders (as some write) was so wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that coming into Normandie in the yeare last past, to make warre against king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he won the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name *Aqua Nicaia*. But as he was come before the towne of Augien in the moneth of September, and assailed the same, he receiued his death wound in the head, wherevpon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Roslare the 17. daie of June.

Shortly after Foulke earle of Aniou (who before had aided the French king against king Henrie) became now kings Henries friend by alliance, marrying his daughter to William king Henries eldest sonne. But the French king (as their histories make mention) minding still to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, inuaded his countrie againe with a puissant armie, and had destroied the cite of Chartres, which belonged vnto the same earle, had not the citizens humbled themselves to his mercie: and so likewise did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperor Henrie, the erle aided the French king against the same emperor to the uttermost of his power. Some after this, the king came to an enteriue with pope Calixtus at Gisors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongst other, the king required of the pope a grant of all such liberties as his father enioied within the limits of England and Normandie, and cheslie, that no legat should haue any thing to do within England, except he required to haue one sent him for some vrgent cause.

All which matters being determined (as the state of the time present required) the pope besought the king to be good vnto archbishop Thurstane, and to restore him to his see: but the king protested that he had bowed neuer so to do whilst he lived. Wherevnto the pope answered, that he was pope, and by his apostolike power he would discharge him of that vow, if he would satisfie his request. The king to shift the matter off, promised the pope that he would take aduice of his counsell, and giue him further knowledge, as the cause required, wherevpon departing from thence, he did afterwards (vpon farther deliberation) send him this message, in effect as followeth.

Whereas he saith he is pope, and will (as he said) assaile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will restore Thurstane to the see of Yorke: I thinke it not to stand with the honor of a king, to consent in any wise vnto such an absolution. For what shall beleue an others promise hereafter, if by mine example he see the same so easilie by an absolution to be made void? But sith he hath so great a desire to haue Thurstane restored, I shall be contented at his request, to receiue him to his see, with this condition, that he shall acknowledge his church to be subiect vnto the see of Canturburie, as his predecessors haue done before him; although in fine this offer would not serue the turne.

But now to returne againe to the said princes. Not long after the departure of the pope from Gisors, Foulke earle of Aniou found means to make an agreement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes,

Andelie,
Nicaum,

Matth. Paris,
la. Moir.

The earle of Flanders wounded, he departed this life.
Foulke earle of Aniou became the king of Englands man.

The king and the pope come to an enteriue at Gisors

The popes a suitor for Thurstane.

The pope offereth to discharge the k. of his vow.

Eadmerus.
The kings answer sent to the pope.

Simon Dun.
Eadmerus.

1120
Simon Dun.
Anno Reg. 21.

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The kings of
England and
France are
accorded.
Wil. Malm.

Eadmerus.

Alexander R.
of Scots.

Eadmer In-
telmes dis-
ple.

Eadmer re-
ceiveth his
stafte from an
altar.

so that William sonne to king Henrie did homage unto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betwene them, that all those that had borne armour either on the one side or the other, should be pardoned, whose subsidies sooner they were. In like manner, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, because of the controuersie betwixt him and Thurstan archbishop of Poike, as is aforesaid.

Now shortly after his returne to Canturburie, messengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland unto him, signifieng, that where the see of S. Andzeus was void, the same king did instantlie require him to send ouer Eadmer a monke of Canturburie (of whome he had heard great commendation for his sufficiencie of vertue and learning) to be seated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the same which wrote the historie intituled *Historia nouum in Anglia*, out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the most part of our matters concerning Anselme and Rafe archbishops of Canturburie, in whose daies he liued, and was Anselmes disciple.

Archbishop Rafe was contented to satisfie the request of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obtaining the consent of king Henrie, he sent the said Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the said king Alexander, who receiued him right ioyfullie, and vpon the third daie after his coming thither (being the feast of the apostles Peter & Panle) he was elected archbishop of S. Andzeus by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the rest of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him secretly of his consecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him consecrated at the hands of Thurstan archbishop of Poike. In which case when he was informed by the said Eadmer, that no such thing needed to trouble his mind, since the archbishop of Canturburie, being primate of all Brittain, might consecrate him as reason was; the king could not away with that answer, because he would not heare that the church of Canturburie should be preferred before the church of S. Andzeus. Whereupon he departed from Eadmer in displeasure, and calling one William (sometime monke of S. Edmundsbury) vnto him, a man also that had gouerned (or rather spoiled) the church of S. Andzeus in the vacation: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleasure, whose meaning was vtterlie to remoue Eadmer, as not worthy of that roome. Howbeit, within a moneth after (to satisfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the said Eadmer, and with much adoe got him to receiue the stafte of that bishopricke, taking it from an altar whercon it laie (as if he shuld haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inuested, & went straight to S. Andzeus church, where he was receiued by the quier, the schollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull bishop.

In this meane while Thurstan nothing lacking his lute in the popes court, obtained such fauour (wherein the king of England also was greatly laboured vnto) that he wrote letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, that neither the king should permit Eadmer to be consecrated, nor the archbishop of Canturburie in any wise consecrate him if he were thereunto required. Whereupon it came to passe, that finally Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceiued that things went not as he would haue wished (for that he could not get the kings consent that he shuld be consecrated of the archbishop of Canturburie,

as it was first meant both by the archbishop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cause should moue him. In like manner king Henrie, hauing quieted his businesse in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but such publike reioicing lasted not long with him. For indeed, this pleasantesse and mirth was

changed into mourning, by aduertisement giuen of the death of the kings sons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who together with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Perch, Richard earle of Chester, with his brother Willem gouernour to duke William, and the said earle of Chester his wife the kings niece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geoffrey Kiddle, Robert Panduit, William Wigot, and diuerse other, to the number of an hundred and fourtie persons, besides fiftie mariners, toke ship at Harlesto, thinking to follow the king, and sailing forth with a south wind, their ship through negligence of the mariners (who had drunken out their wits & reason) were throwne vpon a rocke, and vtterlie perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25. of Nouember, so that of all the companie none escaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the mast, was dauen with the same to the thore which was at hand, and so saued from that dangerous shipwracke. Duke William might also haue escaped better well, if pitie had not moued him more than the regard of his owne preservation. For being gotten into the shipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the shrieking of his sister in dreadfull danger of drowning, and crieng out for succour; whereupon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the peafe of the companie that stroue to leape in with hir, that it streightwaies sank, so that all those which were already in the boat were cast awaie.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the brauified speech of William Rufus to the shipmaister, whome he emboldened with a vaine and desperate persuation in tempestuous weather and high seas to hoise up sailles; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he sinned presumptuously against God, who in due time punished that offense of his in his posteritie and kindred, euen by the same element, whose fearfulness he himselfe seemed so little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the stormes to cease; as we read Christ did in the gospel by the vertue and power of his word. Here is also to be noted the variableness of fortune (as we commonly call it) or rather the vncertaine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes doth raise by (euen in the minds of princes) troublesome thoughts, and grievous passions, to the great empairing of their quietnesse: as here we see exemplified in king Henrie, whose mirth was turned into mone, and his pleasures relished with pang of penitences, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midst of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we see the old adage verified, *Miscentur tristitia letis*; and that saying of an old poet iustified;

Sena nouerca dies nunc est, nunc mater amica.

But to returne to the historie. King Henrie being thus deuiued of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to restore that losse, shortly after, euen the 10. of Aprill next ensuing, he married his second wife named Adelicia, a ladie of excellent beautie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Louaine, and descended of the noble dukes of Lozaine, howbeit he could

Of,

neuer

King Henrie
returneth into
England.

Ran. Higd.
wil. Malm.
Polydor.
Marth. Paris.
The kings
sonnes and
his daughter
with other
nobles are
drowned by
shipwracke.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Marth. Paris.

Looke in page
23. column 2.
against the
number 60.

Hesod. in lib.
cuius. opera
& dies.

I I 2 I
Anno Reg. 22.
Eadmerus.
Hen. Hunt.
The king mar-
ried againe.

Fadmerus.

The pope writ-
teth to king
Henrie, in fa-
uour of the
archbishop
Thurstan,
& accuseth
him with the
archbishop of
Canturburie.

The welsh-
men make
stirres.
Fadmerus.
The king rat-
feth an armie
to go against
the welshmen.

The welsh-
men sue for
peace.

Howe doubt
of losse than
hope of gaine,
by the warres
against the
welshmen.

Simon Dua.
A chancell cast
from Eorke
to Lincolne.

Howham ca-
stell built.
H. Hunt.

Polydor.

1122
13. Kalends of
December.
Anno Reg. 23.

neuer haue any issue by hir. The archbishop Thurstan (after the manner of obtaining suites in the court of Rome) found such fauour at the hands of pope Calixt, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Rafe archbishop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accused them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Dorke as Canturburie from the vse of all maner of sacraments, from baptisme of infants, the penance of them that died onlie excepted: if archbishop Thurstan were not suffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of those letters) to inioy his see, without compelling him to make any promise of subiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurstan to returne into the realme, and to repaire vnto Dorke; but with condition, that he should not exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne diocesse as metropolitane, till he had confessed his obstinat errour, and acknowledged his obedience to the church of Canturburie.

Whilste these things were thus a doing, king Henrie was aduertised, that the Welshmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marches, & speciallie in Gochire where they had burned two castels. Hearing therefore to be reuenged on them to the bittermost, he assembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the same into Wales. The Welshmen, hearing that the king was come with such puissance to invade them, were afraid, and forthwith sent ambassadours, beseeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king moued with their humble petitions, toke hostages of them, & remitted them for that time, considering that in mainteining of warre against such manner of people, there was more feare of losse than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his subiects which inhabited nere the marches, that they shuld not be ouerrun and harried daillie by them (as oftentimes before they had bene) he appointed Warren earle of Shrewsburie to haue the charge of the marches, that peace might be the better kept and maintained in the countrie.

Some after king Henrie caused a chanell to be cast along the countrie in Lincolnshire, from Eorkesey to the citie of Lincolne, that vessels might haue passage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the same. Moreover, Rafe bishop of Durham began to build the castell of Howham, vpon the banke of the riuer of Tweed.

At this time likewise Howke Earle of Anjou being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell against king Henrie, for withholding the ioincture of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings sonne that was drownded. He also gaue hir sister in marriage vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, assigning vnto him the earldome of Aquaine to enioy in the right of his wife.

In the meane time, king Henrie visited the north parts of his realme, to vnderstand the state of the countrie, and to prouide for the suertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requisite.

In the yeare next ensuing, the twentieth of October, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that see the space of 8. yeares, in whose roine succeeded one William archbishop, who was in number the eight and twentieth from Augustine. Moreover, Henrie the sonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Claffenburie, was now made bishop of Winchester, a man for his singular bountie, gentleness and modestie greatlie beloued of the English.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It

chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the sea (being now void of a gouernour (as they suppose) by meanes of the death of the kings sonne) began to make commotions. Some after it came also to passe that Robert earle of Bellent rebelled against the king, who being speedilie aduertised thereof, sailed forthwith into those quarters, and besieged the castell of Ponteaubemer pertaining to the said earle, and toke it. About the same time also the king fortified the castell of Roan, causing a mightie thick wall with turrets therabout as a fortification to be made. Likewise, he repaired the castell of Caen, the castels of Arches, Gisors, Falaise, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with others, & made them strong. In the meane season, the earle of Bellent (desirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured aid where he could, and so with Hugh earle of Mountfort entered into Normandie, waiking and destroying the countrie with fire and sword, thinking yer long to bring the same to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in those parts, named William de Tankerville, being thereof aduertised, laid an ambush for them, and training them within the danger thereof, set vpon them, and after long fight, toke them twaine prisoners, with diuers other, and presented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceased in that countrie for a time.

The king hauing in this maner purchased quietnesse by the sword, gaue himselfe somewhat to the reformation of his house, and among other things which he redressed, he caused all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire short, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they ware the same long after the vse of woimen.

After this also, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Johannes Cremenfis was sent into England from pope Honorius the second, to see reformation in certeine points touching the church: but his chiefe errand was to correct preests that still kept their wiues with them. At his first comming ouer, he sojourned in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeies, addiaing himselfe to lucre & wantonnesse, reaping where he had not sowed. At length, about the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inuiceth fore against those of the spiritualtie that were spotted with any note of incontinencie. Many thought themselves touched with his words, who hauing smelled somewhat of his secret tricks, that whereas he was a most licentious liuer, and an vnchast person of bodie and mind, yet he was so blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his owne eyes, whilst he espied a mote in another mans. Here vpon they grudged, that he should in such wise call other men to accompts for their honest demeanour of life, which could not render any god reckoning of his owne: insonmuch that they watched him so narrowly, that in the euening (after he had blown his hoine so lowd against other men; in declaring that it was a shamefull vice to rise from the side of a strumpet, and presume to sacrifice the bodie of Christ) he was taken in bed with a strumpet, to his owne shame and reproch. But being reuoued thereof, he allegeded this excuse (as some write) that he was no preest, but a reformer of preests. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that whereabout he was sent.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whilst he remained in Normandie (which was a long time after the apprehension of the two foresaid earles) vnderstood that his sonne in lawe Henrie the emperor was departed this life at Utrecht, the 23. of Maie last past, wherevpon he sent for his daughter the emperesse

1123
Anno. Reg. 24.
Robert earle of Bellent rebelleth.

Hen Hunt.
The castle of Roan fortified
Matth. Paris.

1124
Anno. Reg. 25.
Polydor.
H. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.

Long haire
redressed in
the court.
Matth. West.

1125
Anno. Reg. 26.
Johannes Cremenfis a
legat sent
into England

But this
should not seem
to be any iust
excuse, for M.
P. saith that the
same day he
consecrated
the Lords bodie,
& there fore
he must needs
be a preest.

1126
Anno. Reg. 27.

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Polydor.
An oth taken
by the lordes
touching the
succession of
the crowne.

Stephan erle
of Bullongne
the first that
offered to re-
cieve the oth.

Wil. Malm.

I 127
Marth. Paris.

Strife be-
twixt the pre-
lates for pre-
heminance.

Polydor.

William sonne
to Robert
Curthose
made erle of
Flanders.

The emperesse
Aund married
to the erle of
Anjou.
Gen. Dor.

emperesse to come ouer vnto him into Normandie,
and hauing set his businesse in order on that side
the sea, and taken hir with him, he returned into
England before the feast of S. Michael, where cal-
ling a parlement, he caused hir by authoritie of the
same to be established as his lawfull heire and suc-
cessor, with an article of intaile vpon hir issue, if it
should please God to send hir any at all. At this par-
lement was David II. of Scotland, who succeeded A-
lexander the fierce. Stephan erle of Mortoun and
Bullongne, and son of Stephan erle of Blois, ne-
phue to R. Henrie by his sister Adela; these two prin-
ces cheselic toke their oth amongst other, to obey
the foresaid emperesse, as touching hir right and law-
full claime to the crowne of England. But although
Stephan was now the first that was to sweare, he
became hostlie after the first that brake that oth for
his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it cometh often to
passe, that those which receiue the greatest benefits,
do oftentimes soonest forget to be thankfull.

This Stephan latelie before by his uncle R. Hen-
ries means, had purchased & got in marriage the
onellie daughter and heire of Eustace erle of Bul-
longne, and so after the decease of his father in lawe,
became erle there: and further, had goodlie posses-
sions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as
farther shall appeare) he kept not his oth made to-
with R. Henrie. Some write that there rose no small strife
betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Gloce-
ster, in contending which of them should first receiue
this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings son,
the other affirming that he was a kings nephue.

Shortlie after this parlement was ended, R. Hen-
rie held his Christmas at Windosor, where Thur-
stan archbishop of Dozke (in preiudice of the right
of William archbishop of Canturburie) would haue
set the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to
the church: but he was put backe with no small re-
poch; and his chapleine (whom he appointed to beare
his crosse before him at his entrance into the kings
chappell) was contemptuouslie and violentlie thrust
out of the doores with crosse and all by the friends of
the archbishop of Canturburie. In short time, this
vnkindlie contention betwixt Thurstan and Wil-
liam the two archbishops grew so hot, that not one-
lie both of them, but also the bishop of Lincolne went
to Rome about the deciding of their strife.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the suc-
cessor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouslie murde-
red of his owne people: & because he left no issue be-
hind him to succeed as his heire, Helwes the French
king made William the sonne of duke Robert
Curthose earle of Flanders, as the next confine in
bloud to the same Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his
fathers side, this William was descended from erle
Baldwin surnamed Pim, whose daughter Aund be-
ing married vnto William Conqueroz, bare by him
the foresaid Robert Curthose, father to this Willi-
am, now aduanced to the gouernment of Flanders,
but he wanted not aduersaries that were competi-
tors and malignant sutors for that earldome, who
sought to preferre themselves, and to displace him.

King Henrie mistaking the promotion of the said
William, although he was his nephue, for that he
supposed he would seeke to reuenge old displeasures
if he might compass to haue the French kings as-
sistance, thought good with the aduice of his counsell
to withstand the worst. Wherevpon he took order for
the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the supplie
of souldiers, and other things necessarie to be con-
sidered of for the suertie of his realme.

After this, because he was in despaire to haue is-
sue by his second wife, about Whitson tide he sent o-
uer his daughter Aund the emperesse into Norman-

die, that she might be married vnto Geoffrey Plan-
tagnet earle of Anjou, and in August after he fol-
lowed himselfe. Now the matter went so forward,
that the mariage was celebrated betwixt the said
earle and emperesse vpon the first sundaie in Aprill,
which fell vpon the thirde of the moneth, and in the 27.
of his reigne.

In the yeare ensuing, king Henrie meaning to
cause the French king to withdrawe his helping
hand from his nephue William earle of Flanders,
passed forth of Normandie with an armie, and inua-
ding France, remained for the space of eight daies
at Vipard, in as good quiet as if he had bene within
his owne dominions, and finallie obtained that of
the French king which he sought for; namelie, his re-
fusall to aid his nephue the said earle of Flanders.
Who at length contending with other that claimed
the earldome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as
he pursued his enemies vnto the walles of a towne
called Alhuist, and some after died of the hurt the 16.
of August.

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king
Henrie was the chiefe occasion of this earles death,
who meant (if he might haue brought his purpose to
passe, and be once quietlie set in the dominion of
Flanders) to haue attempted some great enterprise
against king Henrie for the recouerie of Norman-
die, and deliuerie of his father out of prison. Which
was knowne well inough to king Henrie, who
maintained those that made him warre at home,
both with men and monie; namelie, William of Hy-
pres, who toke vpon him as regent in the name of
Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie
procured to make claime to Flanders also, in the ti-
tle of his grandmother queene Aund, wife to Wil-
liam Conqueroz. But to proceed with our historie.

When king Henrie had sped his businesse in Nor-
mandie, where he had remained a certeine space, both
about the conclusion and solemnizing of the mariage
made betwixt his daughter Aund the emperesse and
the earle of Anjou, and also to see the end of the wars
in Flanders, he now returned into England, where
he called a great councill or parlement at London,
in August: wherein (amongst other things) it was
decreed, that priests, which liued vnchastlie, should be
punished, and that by the kings permission, who here-
by toke occasion to serue his owne turne: for he re-
garded not the reformation which the bishops trust-
ed (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but
put those priests to their fines that were accused, and
suffered them to keepe their wines still in house with
them, which offended the bishops greatlie, who would
haue had them sequestred asunder.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his
Christmasse at Worcester, and his Eastermasse fol-
lowing at Woodstocke, where a certeine Noble man
named Geoffrey Clinton was accused to him of high
treason. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne,
great death and murren of cattell began in this
land so vniuersallie in all places, that no towne
nor village escaped free: and long it was before
the same discontinued or ceased. King Henrie
passing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with
certeine strange dreames or visions in his sleepe.
For as he thought, he saw a multitude of plough-
men with such toles as belong to their trade and oc-
cupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with
warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approaching
towards him with their crozier staves ready to fall
vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when
he awaked, he lept forth of his bed, got his sword in
his hand, & called his seruants to come & helpe him.
Nevertheless, repressing those perturbations, and
somewhat better aduising himselfe, parlie by his
C. y. owne

Anno Reg. 28.
Marth. Paris.
I 128

Anno Reg. 29.
la. Meir.

William earle
of Flanders
deceased of a
wound.

The fortunat
& good hap of
R. Henrie.

William de
Hyppres.

I 129
Anno Reg. 30.

I 130
Anno Reg. 31.
Marth. Paris.
Polydor.
An act against
vnchast
priests.

Wil. Malm.
In nouella hi-
storia.
Polydor.

owne reason, and partly by the counsell of learned gentlemen, was perswaded to put such fantasies a waie, and was admonished withall, that whilste he had time and space here on earth, he should redeeme his passed offenses and sinnes committed against God, with repentance, almesdeeds, and abstinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to practise an amendment of his former lewde life.

¶ Here it shall not be amisse to compare the two sonnes of William the Conquerour; namely William Rufus, and Henrie Beaulerke together; and to consider among other euents the supernaturall dreames wherewith they were admonished, to excellent god purpose (no doubt) if they could haue applied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you shall read in pag. 26. col. 2.) neglecting to be admonished by a dreadfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, shortly after receiued his death wound by casualtie or chancemedlie, even in the prime of his pastime and disport. This other brother H. Beaulerke had the like warnings by the same means, and (to a good effect) as the learned do gather. Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as mere deuillorie, alledging by waie of disproofe an old erronious verse:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima phres,

Speaking indefinitely of dreames without distinction: whereas in truth great value is in them in respect of their kind and nature. For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physicall) are not greatlie to be relied upon: yet those of the metaphysicall sort, hauing a speciall influence from aboue natures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerslipped. To determine this matter I remit the studious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the first part of his common places, pag. 32. columnne 2. where dreames *In genere* are copiously handled.

About the same time, Maude daughter of this Henrie, being forsaken of her husband Geoffrey earle of Anjou, came to her father then being in Normandie. What the cause was why her husband put her from him, is not certainly knowen: but the matter (be like) was not verie great, sith shortly after he receiued her againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time also that king Henrie remained in Normandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enemies: and holding a counsell at Cleremont, he accursed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had usurped as pope, and named himselfe Anacletus. Afterward at breaking vp of the same counsell at Cleremont, he came to Orleans, and then to Chartres, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to mainteine his cause against his enemies to the vitermost of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thanks: and seeming as though he had bene more carefull for the defense of the common cause of the christian common-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, against the Saracens and enemies of the christian religion.

In this enterprise betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were moued to maruell greatlie at the wisdom and sharpnesse of wit which they perceiued in the Normans. For king Henrie, to shew what learning remained amongst the people of the west parts of Europe, caused the sonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and dispute in the points and subtilt sophistries of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chaplains of the pope there present, who were not ashamed to confesse, that there was more learning amongst them here in the west parts, than ever they heard or knew of in their

owne countrie of Italic.

King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the sea was in danger to haue bene drowned by tempest: so that iudging the same to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie boines, and after his landing went to S. Edmunds burie in Suffolke to do his deuotions vnto the sepulchre of that king. Now at his coming from thence, being well disposed, towards the reliefe of his people, he lessened the tributes and impositions, and did iustice as well in respect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

Not long after, Geoffrey earle of Anjou had a son named Henrie by his wife the emperesse, who (as before is said) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no issue male to succeed him, caused the emperesse and this Henrie his sonne to be established heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other estates taking an oth to be their true and loiall subiects. After this king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Dunstable, and his Easter at Woodstocke. In the same yeare, or (as some haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a bishops see at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolve, who before was abbat of S. Bothouls, and the kings confessor, was the first bishop that was instituted there. This man immediatlie after his consecration placed regular canons in that church.

Not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Malmes. it should seeme) king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, from whence (his being the last time of his going thither) he neuer returned aliue. And as it came to passe, he took ship to saile this last iournie thither, even the same daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (falling vpon the Wednesdaye and being the second of August) a wonderfull and extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne and moone appeared, in somuch that Wil. Malmes. who then liued, writeth that he saw the starres plainlie about the sunne at the verie time of that eclipse. On the Fridaye after such an earthquake also happened in this realme, that manie houses and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was so sensible, or rather so visible, that the wall of the house wherein the king then sat, was lift vp with a double remoue, & at the third it seiled it selfe againe in his due place. Moreover at the verie same time also fire burst out of certeine riftes of the earth, in so huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwise it could be quenched.

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Robert Curthose departed this life in the castell of Cardiff. It is said that on a festiual daie king Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape wherof being streit, he rent it in straining to put it ouer his head: and perceiving it would not serue him, he laid it aside, and said; Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a sharper head than I haue. Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not sewed vp, he perceiued it, and asked whether any man had woone it before. The messenger told the whole matter, how it happened. Wherevnto duke Robert took such a greefe for the scornfull mocke of his brother, that he wearied wearie of his life, and said: Now I perceiue I haue liued too long, that my brother shall clothe me like his almes man with his cast and rent garments. Thus cursing the time of his naturallie, he refused from thenceforth to eat or drinke, and so pined a waie, and was buried at Gloucester.

King Henrie remaining still in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, shewing no small loue and courtesie to the people, studieng by all means possible to win their fauours, and being merie amongst them. Nowbeit nothing reioised him

King Henrie returned into England.

I 1 2 2
Anno. Reg. 33.

I 1 2 3
Anno Reg. 34.
Malm. Paris.
Hiz of L.
Dissuade as
Wil. Thorne
hath, and
likewise
Malm. Paris.
Malm. Westm.

An eclipse.

An earth
quake.

Malm. Paris.
Malm. West.
Anno Reg. 35.

The deceasse
of Robert
Curthose.

Polydor.

I 1 2 1
Anno Reg. 2.
King Henrie
and pope In-
nocent meet at
Chartres.

Wil. Malm.

The sons of
Robert earle of
Melent praised
for their
learning.

him more, than that his daughter Maude the emperesse at the same time was deliuered of hir second sonne named Geoffrey, so that he saw himselfe prouided of an assured successour.

Polydor.
1125
Anno. Reg. 35.

Math. West.
Sim. Dunc.

King Henrie
deparressh this
die.

Math. West.
Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dunc.

But whilst he thus passed the time in mirth and soiaice, he began soone after to be somewhat diseased, and neuer could perceiue any euident cause thereof. Wherefore to driue his griefe away, he went abroad to hunt, and being somewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his comming home he would needs eat of a lamprey, though his physician counselled him to the contrarie: but he delighting most in that meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be dissuaded from it, so that his stomack being amoiued therewith, he fell immediatlie into an ague, and so died shortly after, on the first day of December, being as then about 67. yeares of age, after he had reigned 35. yeres, & foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowd in his life time with great and large possessions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the stench which had infected many men, was closed in a buls hide, and how he that clenched the head died of the sauer which issued out of the braine.

Thus we see that euen princes come to the like end by as base meanes as other inferiour persons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furia toruo spectacula Marti,
Exiit et laudis mare nautis:
Mist sonum ac iuuenum densatur funera, nullum
Saua caput Proserpina fugit.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the physicians counsell, and that same ill disposition in diet which the king chose rather to satisfie, than by restraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the preposterous election of untoward patients, according to that:

Nitmur in vetitum semper cupimus, negata.

The issue of
King Henrie
the first.

Touching his issue, he had by his first wife a sonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the sea: also a daughter named Maude, whome with hir sonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had issue also by one of his concubins, euen a sonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a sonne named Robert, who was created duke of Gloucester.

His stature.

He was strong of bodie, fleshie, and of an indifferant stature, blacke of haire, and in manner bald before, with great and large eyes, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleasant to the beholders, speciallie when he was disposed to mirth.

His vertues.

He excelled in three vertues, wisdom, eloquence, and valiance, which notwithstanding were somewhat blemished with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetousnesse, crueltie, and fleshie lust of bodie. His couetousnesse appeared, in that he sore oppressed his subiects with tributes and impositions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curthose in perpetuall prison, and likewise in the hard using of his cousin Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie detained in prison, but also caused his eyes to be put out: which act was kept secret till the kings death revealed it. And his fleshie lust was manifest, by keeping of sundrie women.

His wisdom.

But in his other affaires he was circumspect, in defending his owne berie earnest and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he euer sought to appease; but when such injuries were offered as he thought not meet to suffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the same, overcoming all

perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, shewing himselfe either a most louing friend, or an extreme enemy: for he would subdue his foes to the bittermost, and aduance his friends about measure.

His manlie
courage.

With iustice he ruled the commons quietlie, and entertained the nobles honorable. Thence, counterfeiters of monie, and other transgressors he caused to be sought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be punished with great severity. Neither did he neglect reformations of certeine naughty abuses. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that thence should suffer death by hanging. When he heard that such peeces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongst the people, although the same were good and fine silver, he caused all the coine in the realme to be either broken or slit. He was sober of diet, using to eat rather for the quailing of hunger, than to pamper himselfe with manie daintie sorts of banquetting dishes. He neuer dranke but when thirst moued him, he would sleepe soundlie and snoze oftentimes till he awaked there-with. He pursued his warres rather by policie than by the sword, and overcame his enemies so nere as he could without bloodshed, which if it might not be, yet with as little slaughter as was possible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in those daies, in wisdom and policie, and so behaued himselfe, that he was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerse abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chiefe. He builded the manour of Woodstocke, with the parke there, wherein (beside the great store of deere) he appointed diuerse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent unto him from forren countries, farre distant, as lions, leopards, lynxes, and porcupines. His estimation was such among outlandish princes, that few would willinglie offend him.

His zeale to
iustice.

Simon Dun.
Thence appointed to be
hanged.

His policie.

His praise for
his princelie
gouernment.

Reading ab-
beie builded.

40 Murcherbach king of Ireland & his successors had him in such reuerence, that they durst do nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might stand with his pleasure, though at the first the same Murcherbach attempted something against the Englishmen more than held with reason, but afterward (vpon restraint of the entercourse of merchandise) he was glad to shew himselfe more frendlie.

Murcherbach
king of Ireland.

Whereouer the earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwaies subiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henriess friendship, sending such strange beasts and other things to him oftentimes as presents, wherein he knew the king tooke great delight and pleasure. He had in singular fauour above all other of his counsell, Roger the bishop of Salisbury, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, unto whome he committed the gouernement of the realme most commonlie whilst he remained in Normandie.

The earle of
Orkney.

Roger bishop
of Salisbury.

60 As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, men forgetting their chonser and state, transformed themselves into the habit and forme of women, by suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiously, after the maner of damocells and young gentlewomen: insomuch that they made such account of their long bushing perukes, that those which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who should haue the longest tresses, and such as wanted, sought to amend it with art, and by knitting tyeathes about their heads of those their long and fine locks for a bauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandement to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. *Prea-*
C. it.
chers

The abuse of
wearing long
haire.

1127
Math. West.

chers indeed inuicied against such vnseemlie maners in men, as a thing moze agreable and seemlie for the contrarie ser.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in those daies that toke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it seemed to him in his sleepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impression wherof sank so deepe into his mind, that when he awaked out of his sleepe, he straightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of o-

ther in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorse of conscience herein that thus caused them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuse againe, so as within a twelue moneths space they excēded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of seemlie order as before.

In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for so manie are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who succeeded the said Henrie.

*Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Normans; namelie,
William Conquerour the father, William Rufus,
and Henrie Beauclerke the sonnes.*



Stephan earle of Bullongne.

1135
Anno Regi.



Stephan earle of Bullongne, the sonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came over with all speed after the death of his vnkle, and toke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partlie through confidence which he had in the puissance and strength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partlie by the aid of his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester and abbat of Gloucestre, although that he with other of the Nobles had sware afore to be true vnto the emperesse and hir issue as lawfull heires of king Henrie lately deceased.

3^o tempest.
Matth. West.

The same day that he arrived in England, there chanced a mightie great tempest of thunder horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. For because this hapened in the winter time, it seemed against nature, and therefore it was the moze noted as a foreshewing of some trouble and calamitie to come.

Matth. Paris
Wil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the second day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yere of the emperour Lothair, the first of pope Innocentius the second, and about the rebth. of Lewis the seventh, furnished Crassus king of France, Dauid the first of that name then reigning in Scotland, & entering into the twelue of his regiment. He was crowned at Westminster vpon S. Stephens day, by William archbishop of Canturburie, the most part of the Nobles of the realme being present, and swearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull souereigne.

Howbeit, there were diuerse of the wisser sort of all estates, which regarding their former oth, could haue bene contented that the emperesse should haue gouerned till hir sonne had come to lawfull age; not

withstanding they held their peace as yet, and consented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was shortly punished afterward, insomuch that as well the bishops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerse kinds of calamities and mishances, and that euen here in this life, of which some of them as occasion serueth shall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the bishop of Salisburie) which protested that they were free from their oth of allegiance made to the said emperesse, because that without the content of the lords of the land the was married out of the realme, whereas they toke their oth to receiue hir for quene, vpon that condition, that without their assent they should not marrie with any person out of the realme.

Henrie punished.

Wil. Malm.
The bishop of Salisburie protestation.

Howeuer (as some writers thinke) the bishops toke it, that they should do God good seruice in providing for the wealth of the realme, and the advancement of the church by their perurie. For whereas the late deceased king vsed himselfe not altogether for their purpose, they thought that if they might set vp and creat a king chāsse by their especiall meanes and authoritie, he would follow their counsell better, and reforme such things as they iudged to be amisse. But a great cause that moued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as some authors rehearse) for that Hugh Bigot, sometime steward to king Henrie the first, immediatlie after the decease of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbishop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, toke a voluntarie oth (although most men thinke that he was hired so to do because of great promotion) declaring vpon the same that he was present a little before king Henries death, when the same king adopted and chose his nephew Stephan to be his heire and successor, because his daughter the emperesse had grauouslie displeased him. But vnto this mans oth the archbishop and the other

The bishops think to please God in breaking their oth.

Matth. Paris

Hugh Bigot.

Pol

her lords were so haffie in giuing of credit. Now he said Hugh for his periurie, by the iust iudgement of God, came shortly after to a miserable end.

But to our purpose. King Stephan (by what title he obtained the crowne) immediatly after his coronation, went first to Reading to the buriall of the bodie of his uncle Henrie, the same being now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence after the buriall he repaired to Wrenford, and there calling a counsell of the lords & other estates of his realme; amongst other things he promised before the whole assemblie (to win the hearts of the people) that he would put downe and quite abolish that tribute which oftentimes was accustomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres of hides of land, commonly called Danegilt, which was two shillings of euery hide of land. Also, that he would so provide, that no bishops sees nor other benefices should remaine void, but immediatly after upon their first vacacion, they should be againe bestowed upon some convenient person meet to supplie the roime. Further he promised not to seise upon any mans woods as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and killed his deere in the same woods, as the maner of his predecessour was. For a kind of forfeiture was denied by king Henrie, that those should lose their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced to kill any of the kings deere within the same.

Moreover, he granted licence to all men, to build either castell, towre, or other hold for defense of themselves upon their owne grounds. All this did he chiefly in hope that the same might be a safegard for him in time to come, if the emperesse should invade the land, as he doubted she shortly would. Moreover he aduanced many young & lustie gentlemen to great linings. For such as were of any noble familie, and thereto through a certaine stoutnesse of stomack sought preferment, easily obtained of him the possession of castles and great lordships, diuerse of whom he honored with titles of dignitie, creating some of them earles and some lords. Now, such was their importunate sute in demanding, that when he had little more to bestow amongst them, hauing already giuen sundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceased not to be in hand with him for more, and being denied with reasonable excuses on his behalfe, they thought themselves ill dealt withall, and so turning from him, fortified their castles and holds, making open warre against him: as hereafter shall appeare.

There came ouer vnto him also a great number of Flemings and Britons to serue him as souldiers, whom he retained, to be the stronger and better able to defend himselfe against the malice of the emperesse, by whom he looked to be molested he wist not how soon. Wherefore he shewed himselfe verie liberal, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of persons at the first, and (to saie truth) more liberal, familiar, and free hearted than stood with the maiestie of a king: which was afterward a cause that he grew into contempt. But to such meanes are princes diuened, that attaine to their estates more through fauour and support of others, than by any good right or title which they may pretend of themselves. Thus the gouernement of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his subjects, but full of gentlenesse, lenitie, courtlesse, and mildnes.

Howbeit whilst these things were a doing, certaine of the English Nobilitie, abhorring both the king and the present state of his gouernment, went priuily out of the realme into Scotland to king Dauid, declaring vnto him what a detestable act was committed by the lords of England, in that (contrarie to their oath made vnto the emperesse Maund,

hir issue) they had now crowned Stephan. Wherefore they besought the said king to take in hand to reuenge such a vile iniurie practised against hir, and to restore the kingdome vnto the said emperesse, which if he did, it should be a thing most acceptable both to God and man.

King Dauid hauing heard and well weighed the effect of their request, forthwith was so moued at their words, that in all possible haste he assembled an armie, and entering into England, first took the citie and castell of Carleil: afterward comming into Northumberland, he took Bewcastle, and many other places vpon the borders there. Whereof king Stephan being aduertised, straightwaies assembled a power, and forthwith hastened into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes, which the enimie had stolen from him by craft and subtiltie. At his approach nere to Carleil, he pitched downe his field in the evening, thinking there to staie till the morning, that he might vnderstand of what power the enimie was, whom he knew to be at hand.

King Dauid also was of a fierce courage, and redie inough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the English standards in the field, and diligentlie viewed their order and behauiour, he was at the last contented to giue care to such as intreated for peace on both sides. Whereupon comming to king Stephan, he entred a frendlie peace with him, wherein he made a surrender of Bewcastle, with condition that he should retaine Cumberland by the free grant of king Stephan, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of need: but yet he was deceived, as afterwards manifestlie appeared. For when king Stephan required of him an oath of allegiance, he answered that he was once swozne already vnto Maund the emperesse. Howbeit to gratifie him, he commanded his son Henrie to receiue that oath, for the which the king gaue him the earldome of Huntingdon to hold of him for euer.

The Scottish chronicles set out the matter in other order, but yet all agree that Henrie swore fealtie to king Stephan, as in the said historie of Scotland you may see more at large. Now after that king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Dauid, he returned to London, and there kept his Easter with great top and triumphes: who whilst he was yet in the midst of all his pastime, about Rogation weeke, he chanced to fall sicke of a litargie, by reason wherof a rumoz was spred ouer all the realme that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the first, yet was it after the occasion of much euill. For vpon that report great sedition was raised by the kings enemies amongst the people, the minds of his friends were alienated from him, & many of the Normans (which were well practised in periuries & treasons) thought they might boldly attempt all mischances that came to hand, and herupon some of them undertooke to defend one place, and some another. Hugh Bigot, erle of Norfolk a balliant chieftain entred into Northwich, Baldwin Reduers took Excester, & Robert Quisquere got certaine castles also into his hands.

King Stephan hearing what his enemies had done, though he was somewhat moued with this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the matter, he said merilie to those that stood about him: We are allue yet God be thanked, and that shall be knowne to our enemies per it be long. Neither doubted he any thing but some secret practise of treason, and therefore vsing all diligence, he made the more haste to go against his enemies, whose attempts though straightwaies for the more part he repelled,

The king of Scots invadeth the English marches. Sim. Dunel. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

K. Stephan encamped nere to his enimie the K. of Scots.

An accord made betwixt the two kings Stephan and Dauid.

Hec. Boetius.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun. King Stephan sicke.

False rumors what hurt they oftentimes do.

Hugh Bigot. Baldwin Reduers. Robert Quisquere.

Simon Dun.

1126

Polydor. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

The faire promises of king Stephan.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Licence to build castles.

Wil. Malm. In novella historia.

Malm. bishop of Exeter.

e bishops is to please in their own.

ch. 20.

gh. 20.

Polydor.

Polydor.

Geffrey earle
of Anjou.Simon Dunel.
Wil. Parisus.
Polydor.Anno Reg.
1137
K. Stephan
passed into
Normandie.The earle of
Anjou put to
flight.Lewis king
of France.
Gustace son
to king Ste-
phan.Math. Paris.
Theobald earle
of Blois.K. Stephan
agreed with
the earle of
Anjou.

Polydor.

The Scots
invaded the
English boy-
ders.

pet could he not recover the places (without much
aid) that they had gotten, as Greceker, and others:
which when he had obtained, he contented himselfe for
a time, and followed not the victorie any further in
pursuing of his enemies. Whereupon they became
more bold afterward than before; in somuch that
sone after they practised diverse things against him,
whereof (God willing) some in places convenient
shall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to re-
maine in quiet for a time. But whilest he studied to
take order in things at home (perceiving how no
small number of his subjects did daily shew them-
selves to beare him no hartie good will) he began by
little and little to take away those liberties from the
people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had
granted unto them, and to denie those promises
which he had made, according to the saying, That
which I have given, I would I had not given, and
that which remaineth I will keepe still. This sudden
alteration and new kind of rough dealing purcha-
sed him great enemie amongst all men in the end. A-
bout the same time great commotions were raised
in Normandie by means of the lord Geffrey earle
of Anjou, husband to Maude the emperesse, setting the
whole countie in trouble: but per any newes there-
of came into England, king Stephan went against
Baldwin Medvers, who being latelic (though not
without great and long siege) expelled out of Grece-
ker got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began
to bruisse a new conspiracie. Howbeit the king com-
ming suddenly into the Ile, took it at the first as-
sault, and expelled Baldwin out of the realme.

Having thus with good successe finished this en-
terprize, and being now advertised of the businesse in
Normandie, he sailed thither with a great armie:
and being come within two daies iourne of his eni-
mie the earle of Anjou, he sent forth his whole power
of horsemen, divided into three parts, which were
not gone past a daies iourne forward, but they en-
countred the earle, finding him with no great force
about him. Whereupon giving the charge upon him,
they put him to flight, and slew manie of his people.
Which enterprize in this manner valiantlie achieved,
even according to the mind of king Stephan, he joyned
in friendship with Lewis the seventh king of
France: and having latelic created his sonne Gu-
stace duke of Normandie, he presentlie appointed
him to do his homage unto the said Lewis for the
same.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle
of Blois at that time in Normandie, found him-
selfe grieved, that Stephan the younger brother had
usurped the lands that belonged to their uncle king
Henric, rather than himselfe, Stephan to stop this
ill complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood,
agreed with him, covenanting to paie him yearelie
two thousand marks of such currant monie as was
then in use. Furthermore, whereas Geffrey the earle
of Anjou demanded in right of his wife the emperesse
the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end
with him, king Stephan was contented to satisfie
him with a yearelie pension of five thousand marks,
which composition he willingly received.

Thus when he had provided for the suertie of Nor-
mandie, he returned againe into England, where he
was no longer arrived, but advertisement was gi-
ven him of a warre newlie begun with the Scots,
whose king under a colour of observing the oath to
the emperesse, made daily insurrections and inva-
sions into England, to the great disturbance of king
Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Wherewith
being somewhat mowed, he went straightwaies to-
ward the north parts, and determined first to besiege
Bedford by the waie, which appertained to the earle.

dome of Huntington, by gift made unto Henric the
sonne of king David, and thereupon at that present
kept with a garrison of Scottish men.

This place did the king besiege by the space of 30. daies together, giving thereto euerie daie an assault
or alarme, in somuch that coming thither on Christ-
masse daie, he spared not on the morrow to assaile
them, and so at length won the towne from them by
more force and strength. King David hearing those
newes, and being already in armour in the field, en-
tered into Northumberland, and licensed his men of
warre to spoile and rob the countie thereabout at
their pleasure. Whereupon followed such crueltie, that
their rage stretched unto old and young, unto priest
and cleark, yea women with child escaped not their
hands, they hanged, headed, and slew all that came in
their waie: houses were burnt, cattell driven awaie,
and all put to fire and sword that served to any use
for release, either of man or beast.

¶ Here we see what a band of calamities doe ac-
companie and waite upon warre, wherein also we
haue to consider what a traine of felicities doe at-
tend upon peace, by an equall comparing of which
twaine together, we may easilie perceiue in how
brauentie an estate those people be that liue under
the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what
a hellish course of life they lead that haue swoodne
their service to the sword. We may consider also the
inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fieres-
nes, who esteeme not the losse of their subjects liues,
the effusion of innocent blood, the population of
counties, the ruinating of ample regions, &c: so
their will may be satisfied, there desire serued. And
therefore it was aptlie spoken by a late poet, not be-
side this purpose:

*Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiumque sibi miserorum cede lucrantur.
O caci, o miseri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hoc nil turpius, & nil
Quod magis humana procul à ratione recedat.*

Candida pax homines, trux decet ira ferat.

But to our storie, King Stephan hearing of this
pitifull spoile, hasted forward with great iourne to
the rescue of the countie. The Scots put in feare of
speedie coming to encounter them, & flew backe in-
to Scotland: but he pursued them, and entering into
their countie, burned and destroyed the south parts
of that realme in most miserable manner. Whilest
king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the
foren enemies, and reuenge himselfe on them, he
was assailed by other at home, & not without the iust
vengeance of almightie God, who meant to punish
him for his perurie committed in taking upon him
the crowne, contrarie to his oath made unto the em-
peresse and hir children. For Robert earle of Gloce-
ster, base brother unto the emperesse, and of hir priue
councell, sought by all means how to bring king
Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and com-
mons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the
realme, and the government restored to the emperesse
and hir sonne.

Such earnest trauell was made by this earle of
Glocester, that manie of his friends which fauoured
his cause, now that king Stephan was occupied in
the north parts, joined with him in conspiracie a-
gainst their soueraigne. First the said earle him-
selfe tooke Bisshope: and after this diuerse other
townes and castles there in that countie were tak-
en by him and others, with full purpose to keepe the
same to the behoofe of the emperesse and hir sonne. A-
mongst other William Talbot tooke upon him to
besiege Hereford in Wales: William Louell held
the castell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the
castell of Ludlow: William de Moun the castell of
Duneston;

Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 3.
1138King David
invaded Nor-
thumberland,
Math. West.
Polydor.
Matt. Paris.
Simon Dun.M. Pal. in suo
Capit.

Ouid.

K. Stephan
made it his
to rescue the
north parts.
The Scots
retire.
K. Stephan
burnt the
south parts
of Scotland.Robert earle
of Glocester.Bisshope
taken.Simon Dun.
Talbot.
Matt. Paris.
Louell.
Painell.

Fitz-John.
Fitz-Alain.

Dunclos: Robert de Nicholl, the castle of Marram; Culfage Fitz-John, the castle of Walton; and William Fitz-Alain, the castle of Shrewsburie.

When word herof came to king Stephan, he was marvellouslie bered: for being determined to haue pursued the Scots euen to the uttermost limits of their countrie, he was now diuinen to change his mind, and thought it god at the first to stop the proceedings of his enemies at home, least in giuing them space to increase their force, they might in pro-
cess of time growe so strong, that it would be an hard matter to resist them at the last. Herevpon there-
fore he returned southward, and comming vpon his enemies, recovered out of their hands diuers of those places which they held, as Hereford, and the castle of Shrewsburie. About the same time one Malhelme yielded the castle of Douer vnto the queene, who had besieged him within the same.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.
The castle of
Douer deli-
uered to the
queene.
Polydor.

Thurstan
archbishop of
York made
lieutenant of
the north parts.

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned
northwards againe; and comming to Thurstan the archbishop of Yorke, he committed the keeping of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a readinesse to defend the borders vpon any sud-
den inuasion. Which thing the courageous archbishop willingly undertooke. By this meanes king Ste-
phan being eased of a great part of his care, fell in hand to besiege the residue of those places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an assault, fled away, some into one part, and some
into another; whom the kings power of horsemen still pursuing and ouertaking by the way, slue, and toke no small number of them prisoners in the chase. Thus was the victorie in manner wholie achieved, and all those places recovered, which the enemies had fortified.

The Scots
effronies in-
uade Nor-
thumberland.

In like manner when king Dauid heard that the king was thus bered with ciuill warre at home, he entered England againe in most forceable wise; and sending his horsemen abroad into the countrie,
commanded them to waste and spoile the same after their accustomed manner. But in the meane time he purposed with himselfe to besiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue wonne, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold against king Stephan, and the rest that toke part with him. Herevpon calling in his horsemen from straileing further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming nere to the citie, pitched downe his tents.

Archbishop
Thurstan
raiseth a pow-
er to fight
with the
Scots.

Simon Dun.
Captaines of
the armie.

In this meane while the archbishop Thurstan, to
whom the charge of defending the countrie chiefe-
lie in the kings absence appertained, called together the Nobles and gentlemen of the shire and parties ad-
ioining, whom with so pittie and effectually words he exhorted to resist the attempts of the Scots (whose cruell doings could keepe no measure) that inconti-
nently all the power of the northparts was raised, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albe-
marle, Walter Espeke, William Beuerell of Pot-
tingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gil-
bert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter against the Scots in a pight field, and el-
ther to driue them out of the countrie, or else to lose their liues in the quarell of their prince.

Bissh. of
Durham sup-
plyeth the
raime of the
archbishop.

Matth Paris.
Sim. Dun.

It chanced at this time, that archbishop Thur-
stan was sicke, and therefore could not come into the field himselfe, but yet he sent Bise bishop of Dur-
ham to supplie his raime, who though he saw and per-
ceined that euery man was readie enough to en-
counter with their enemies; yet he thought god to vse some exhortation vnto them, the better to encour-
age them, in manner as here ensueth.

Most noble Englishmen, and ye right valiant
Normans, of whose courage the Frenchman is a

fraid, by you England is kept vnder, by you Apul-
ia doth flourish, and vnto you Ierusalem and Antioch
haue yielded their subiection. We haue at this pre-
sent the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right
ought to be subiect to the crowne of England) come
into the field against vs, thinking for euermore to
rid themselves of their submission, and to bring both
vs and our countrie into their bondage and thral-
dome. Now albeit I see in you courage sufficient, to
beat them backe from any further attempt; yet least
when you shall come to the triall, by any manner of
chance, you should lose any pece thereof, I lament-
ing the state of my countrie (whose grieuances I
with you should redresse) doe meane to vse a few
words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to
do any man wrong, but rather to beat them backe
which offer to do you iniurie. Consider therefore that
you shall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue
oftentimes vanquished, and oftentimes offending in
periuie, haue oftentimes most worthilie punished:
whome also (to be brasse) raging after the maner of
cruell robbers, wickedlie spoiling churches, and fa-
king away our gods, you did lately constrain to
lurke in desert places and corners out of sight. A-
gainst this enimie (I say) therefore worthie of re-
uengement for his so manifold outrages, shew your
selues valiant, and with manlie stomaches driue him
out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the
victorie is yours, God surely will aid you, who can
not longer abide the sinnes of this people. Wherefore
he that loseth his life in so iust a quarell (according
to the saying of our saviour) shall find it. Let not
their rash and presumptuous boldnesse make you
afraid, sith so manie tokens of your approued vali-
ancie cannot cause them to stand in doubt of you.
You are clad in armour, and so appointed with hel-
met, curase, greiues, and target, that the enimie
knoweth not where to strike and hurt you. Then sith
you shall haue to doe with naked men, and such as vse
not to weare any armour at all, but more meet for
brazlers and ale-house quarrellers than men of war-
bled to the field: what should you stand in doubt of?
Their huge number is not able to stand against your
skillfull order and practised knowledge in all warlike
seats and martiall discipline. A rude multitude is but
a let, rather than a furtherance to achieve the victo-
rie. A small number of your worthie elders haue of-
tentimes vanquished great multitudes of enemies.
As the bishop was thus speaking to the English ar-
mie, and before he grew to an end of his exhorta-
tion, the Scots approached with their battels, a first cer-
taine of their bands of horsemen were sent afore, to
take the higher ground: which when the Englishmen
perceiued, they staied not till the enemies should be-
gin the battell, but straightwaies caused their trum-
pets to sound, and so gaue the onset.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with
them, so that the battell began to be verie hot, and e-
uen at the first out flew the arrowes, and then the
footmen joined, who fought most fiercelie on both
sides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which
were in the Scottish bauntgard, brake in vpon the
bauntgard of the English: but yet closing together
againe, they kept out the enemies, and casting about
with a wing, compassed the Scottish horsemen round
about, and panning their horses, they slue a great
number, and constrained the residue to retire. Which
thing when their felowes in the other wing saw, their
hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to
their heeles.

The rumor of this sight being notified to the maine
battell of the Scottish men, where king Dauid him-
selfe was fighting with his enemies, discomfited
them also, in such wise, that they in like sort began to
fly; inke

The English-
men set vpon
the Scots.

The Scots
of Lodian dis-
order the
Englishmen.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

The Scots
put to flight.

lynke backe: first by parts, and after by heaps togither. The king did what he could to saue them: but the English pressed so vpon them, that there was no recourse. Therefore he himselfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in seeking to saue himselfe by flight, and make such shift as he could amongst the residue.

Henric earle
of Hunting-
don his bail-
aunt.

His sonne Henric the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither moued with the sight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongst his men, being readie to turne their backs, and with bold countenance spake these or the like words vnto them, as the shortness of the time would permit. Whither go you good fellows: Here shall you find armour and force, neither shall you, whilst life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore chose whether ye had rather trie the matter with the enimies by battell, or to be put to a shamefull death at home after your returne thither. The Scots moued with these vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enimies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beset with the English footmen before, and the horsemen behind, they were shortly brought to distresse, and for the more part either taken or slaine.

At length earle Henric perceiving how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recovery, fled also with those that could escape, bitterlie cursing the frowardnesse of fortune, and mishap of that daies chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was aboue ten thousand. In which number there were not manie of the English: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their chiefe capteines is remembered to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioiced, and gaue infinite commendations to his subiects (the Englishmen and the Normans) but principallie praised archbishop Thurstan and the bishop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent seruice shewed in this behalfe.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
The number.

Simon Dun.
Math. Paris.
Wil. Paru.
Polydor.

On the other side he himselfe using the like good successe amongst the rebels at home, ouercame them, and chased them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the castles of Hereford, Gloucester, Webeley, Wyssowe, Dudley, and Shrewsburie. Likewise Robert earle of Gloucester not being able to resist the king thus preuailing against his aduersaries on ech hand, fled into France vnto his sister the emperesse. After this, about Advent, the popes legat one Alberike bishop of Hostia, held a synod at London, within Pauls church, where by the kings consent, Theobald abbat of Bechellonin was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbishop which had ruled that see, after Augustine the monke.

Ran. Higd.
Castles recovered by king
Stephan.

N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Math. Paris.
Theobald
archbishop of
Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 5.
1140
Polydor.
Math. Paris.

R. Stephan
inuaith
Scotland.

A peace concluded be-
tweene the
two kings of
England and
Scotland.

The king hauing now accomplished his purpose, taken the castell of Lides, and brought the state of the realme to a mætie good state, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to pursue the victorie, and bitterlie to subdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, first waiking and spoiling the countrie, and afterward preparing to fight with such Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houses. R. David perceiving himselfe to be too weake, made sute to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obtained at length, by deliuering his sonne Henric vnto king Stephan in pledge for the sure performance of conenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Whereupon king Stephan hauing thus ended his bu-

sinesse in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iourne towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduersaries) he wan yer long out of their hands.

Ludlow was

After this he went to Drenford, where whilst he remained, a great bruite was spread abroad, that the emperesse was comming with hir brother the earle of Gloucester: which caused him to put the lesse trust in his people from thenceforth, in so much that he began to repent himselfe (although too late) for that he had granted licence to so manie of his subiects to build castles within their owne grounds. For he had them all in suspicion: and amongst other, he vehementlie suspected Roger bishop of Salisbury (who had done verie much for him) and Alexander bishop of Lincoln nephew to the said bishop of Salisbury, or (as some thought) more nere to him in kindred than his nephew, I meane, his sonne. For the said Roger had builded diuerse castles, as at Shierborne, at the Wiles, and at Galmesburie. The said Alexander likewise following his uncles example, bestowed his monie that way verie frælie, hauing builded one castell at Newmarke, and an other at Saleford.

Roger bishop
of Salisbury,
Alexander B.
of Lincoln,
Wil. Malm.

Castles built
by the bishop
of Salisbury.

The king therefore hauing committed both these bishops to prison, and furthermore sent Nigel or Piel the bishop of Ely into erile (which Nigel was nephew also to the foresaid bishop of Salisbury) he threatened to keepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cause these castles to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obtained them, and moreover found in the bishop of Salisburies coffers 40. thousand marks, which he toke to his owne vse, by way of confiscation for his disloyall demeanour. This ingratitude of the king wounded the bishops hart, inso much that taking thought for the losse of his houses and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

Simon Dun.
Newmarke
castell built by
the bishop of
Lincolne.
The B. of E.
lie banished.

The bishop of
Salisbury
died of
thought.
Wil. Malm.
In moneth of
Febr.

The quarrell which was first picked at these bishops, rose by occasion of a fraie betwixt the bishops men and the seruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Drenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his nephew almost slaine, and the residue of his folkes sore beaten and chased. Whereupon were the bishops first committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleasure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Here by the way, good reader, thou hast one example worthe to be marked of fickle fortunes inconstancie, whereof the poet speaketh verie excellentlie;

Fortunes lye
constancie.
Wil. Paru.

*Variat semper fortuna tenorem,
Diuerso gaudens mortalia voluere casu.
Nam qui scire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum
Aut premat aut sursum tollat, nimis ardua querit:
Terrarum siquidem est illi concessa potestas
Maxima, et huic illam præfecit Iuppiter orbis.*

M. Pal. in
ser.

For this Roger bishop of Salisbury, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore prest, seruing a cure in a village nere the cite of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henric the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a prest to say masse before him. Whereupon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quicke at it, and therewithall had so speedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the said lord Henric, affirmed that this prest aboue all other, was a chapleine meet to say masse before men of warre, because he had made an end when manie thought he had but newlie begun. Whereupon the kings brother commanded the prest to follow him, inso much that when oportunitie serued, for his diligent seruice, and readie dispatch of matters, when Henric had attained the crowne, he was by him advanced

The bishop of Salisburie made lord Chancellor.

advanced to great promotions: as first to be Chancellor of England, & after bishop of Salisburie, growing still into such estimation, that he might do more with the king than any other of the council.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus imprisoned the aforesaid bishops, manned those castles which he took from them with his owne soldiers, in like maner as he had done all the rest which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withstand the emperesse and hir sonne, whose coming he euer feared. He began also to shew himselfe cruell towards all men, and namelie against those that had chieflie furthered his title to the obtaining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie took it) came to passe by the providence of almighty God, that those should suffer for their perfuries, which contrarie to law and right had consented to crowne him king.

In ded he wist not well whom he might trust, for he stood in doubt of all men, because he was advertised by credible report, that the emperesse sought for aid on all sides, meaning verie shortly to come into England. For this cause also he thought good to procure the friendship of Lewes king of France, which he brought to passe, by concluding a mariage betwene his sonne Eustace and the ladie Constance sister to the said Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Eustace died, and then was Constance married to Raimond earle of Tholouse.

In the meane time, namelie on the first daie of September, a council was holden at Winchester, wherein earle Alberike de Cler pleaded with great eloquence the kings case, in excuse of his fault for imprisoning the bishops, which was fore laid to his charge by his owne brother the bishop of Winchester, being also the popes legat: who (together with the archbishop of Canturburie and other bishops) had called this council for that purpose. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promises of amendment in that which had bene done otherwise than equitie required, which promises were utterly unperformed, and so the council brake up.

In the moneth of Julie the emperesse Haud landed here in England at Portsmouth, & went straight to Arundell, which towne (together with the countie of Sussex) hir mother in law Adelicia king Henries second wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of assignation for hir dowry. There came in with the emperesse hir brother Robert and Hugh Wigot, of whom ye have heard before.

Some write that the emperesse brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that joining with Ranulph earle of Chester (who took part with Robert erle of Gloucester, because the same Rob. had married his daughter) she might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that she came to England now at the first, but with a small power (as fewen score horsemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods assurance (who seldom faileth those that fight in a rightfull cause) and againe vpon trust of aid of friends, who for the benefits received at hir fathers hands, would be ready to go against king Stephan. Whereupon hir brother earle Robert leaving his sister in the castle of Arundell, rode with all speed unto Gloucester thorough his enemies countrie, not taking with him past 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horsebacke, that vpon his coming thither he might leue an armie with so much speed as was possible.

Now when he came to Gloucester, found the citie to be kept with a garison of soldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the townefmen, after they heard that their earle was approached to the gates, they drove out the garison, & received him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to assemble an ar-

mie, and partlie to practise with other towne and castles thereabouts, to reuolt unto his sister. Amongst all other, the earles sonne Brian, and Epiles of Gloucester were right full of the news of the emperesses arrivall, and gladlie prepared themselves to fight in defense of hir cause.

In the meane time king Stephan, having knowledge of the landing of the emperesse, and other circumstances, came straight to Arundell, where he besieged hir in the castle, and spent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that present he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the emperesse bare him in hand, that it was not possible to win that fortreffe, and therefore advised him to raise his siege, and suffer the emperesse to be at libertie to go to some other place, where he might with more ease and lesse damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiving the drift of those secret practisers, followed their counsell. Whereupon the emperesse being now at libertie, went from place to place to trie and solicit hir friends: and as a river increaseth in the passage, so the further the ladie went, the more hir power increased. About the midd of the next night after the siege was raised, she departed out of the castle, and with great sounes sped hir towards Wiltow, which was already resolved to hir side.

These things being thus hunted abroad, the Peeres of the realme resorted to hir, as they that well remembered how in time past by oth of allegiance they were sworne bound to hir and hir issue. The king in the meane time besieged the castle of Wallingford, but after he understood that the emperesse was gotten to Wiltow, repenting himselfe for his light credit given to euill counsell, he left off the siege of Wallingford, and drew towards Wiltow, that he might (if it were possible) inclose his aduersaries within that walled citie. But the emperesse, being advertised of his determination (by such of hir friends as were resident about him) first went to Gloucester, and after to Lincolne, where she provided vittails and all other things necessarie for hir armie and defense: purposing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephan, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir side, he might be driven out of the realme, and she restored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earnestlie, and coming unto Lincolne besieged it, assailing on euerie side which waie he might best find means to win it, & enter into the same. At length the emperesse found shift to escape from thence, and within a little while the king got possession of the citie. But shortly after, Robert earle of Gloucester, and Ranulph earle of Chester, Hugh Wigot, and Robert of Hereford assembling their power, aswell of Welshmen as others, to come to the succour of those that were thus besieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents nere to the enemies, they rested the first night without making any great attempt.

In the morning being the second daie of February, so soon as it was daie, they set their men in order of battell, and brought them forth in sight of the king and his host: who on the other side, not meaning to refuse the conflict, ordered his men ready to encounter them, whome he diuided into 3. severall battells. The chieft part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongst whom he placed himselfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Babbwin, and others. The residue being horsemen, he disposed into two severall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Wigot earle of Hereford, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other earles, Apellent and Waren: howbeit they were not furnished

Matt. Paris. Brian the earle of Gloucesters sonne. Miles earle of Hereford. Polydor.

The emperesse besieged in Arundell castle.

The king raised his siege.

The emperesse went to Wiltow.

Stephan besieged Wallingford.

Anno Reg. 6. I I 4 I

Sim. Duncl. R. Houe. Stephan with him to Lincolne. Ran. Higd. Simon Duncl.

Polydor. N. Truett.

The ordering of the kings armie ready to give battell.

Simon Duncl. Matt. Paris.

The earles of Hereford, Hampton, Apellent, & Waren.

The earle of
Albemarle,
William de
Pyres.
The ordering
of the battels
on the kings
aduersaries
part.

The oration
of the earle
of Chester.
Kant. Regd.

The earle of
Glocesters
answer to the
earle of Che-
sters oration.

The neces-
sary to fight
valiantlie.

shed with such number of men as had bene requisite; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was governed by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Pyres.

Now on the aduersaries side, the earle of Chester led the fore ward, and those whome king Stephan had disherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the reere ward the earle of Glocester with his compaignie had the rule. And besides those thre battels, the Welshmen were set as a wing at one of the sides.

Here the earle of Chester (to utter the god will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, spake these words in effect as followeth, directing the same to the earle of Glocester, and other the capteines, saing: I giue you hartie thanks, most inuincible chieftaine, and you my fellows soldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the jeoparding of your liues at this my request and instance. Sith then I am the occasion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the first offence, and giue the onset of the battell vpon that most disofall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and swearing to be a subiect, is now proued a most wicked usurper: I therefore trusting both vpon reuenge of the vnjust dealings of this king, and also vpon mine owne force and courage, shall straitwaies breake in sunder the arraie of his armie, and make waie through the middell of the enimies with sword in hand. It shall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I shall passe thorough the battels, tread the capteines under fot, and run the king through with this my sharpe sword.

When he had thus ended, the earle of Glocester answered in this wise: It is not against reason that you should require the honor of the first onset, both for the nobilitie of your house, and also in respect of the prouewelle wherein you excell: but yet if you stand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the sonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred: If vpon valiancie, here are manie verie worthie men, afore whom there is not one alius that may chalenge any prerogative. But another reason moueth me most chieftie to be the formost. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my sister, hath cruellie usurped the kingdome, and setting all in trouble, hath bene the cause of manie thousand mens deaths, and distributed lands and liuings to such as haue no right to the same, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite disherited. This king (I saie) is first to be assailed with the assistance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth punishment for wicked doers. For almightie God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will looke downe from his heauenly habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortlesse in this so great a necessitie. One thing there is, most valiant capteines, and all you right hardie souldiers, which I would haue you to consider, that through the fennes, which with much adoe you haue passed, there is no waie to escape by flight. Here must we either vanquish the enimies, or else die in the fielde: for no hope of safegard remaineth in fleeing awaie. This onelie relecth (I saie) that you make waie for you to enter the cite with force of your weapons. If I be not deceined in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to escape, otherwise than by the wing your selues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he must needs please the man, who hath not other succor to auoid the danger of destruction. The citizens of Lincoln, who shall fight so nere their houses as you shall see, will not staie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith consider and weie (I beseech you) against whom you shall match in this battell. There

is Alanc duke of Britaine, who cometh armed against you, yea rather against God, a wicked person, and spotted with all kind of filthinesse; who in malice hath no piete, as one that neuer wanted desire to do mischief: and who to be comparable in crueltie, would iudge it a great reproch. There cometh also the earle of Spelcent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whose hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing sounding in his mouth but vnthankfulnesse; besides

this, he is slothfull in dedes, presumptuous in words, not haultie to fight, but swift to run awaie. Then cometh earle Hugh, who hath not thought it sufficient to breake his oth to my sister the emperesse, but he must commit peritrie the second time, in aduouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and disabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of singular constancie in euill, verie reddie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a mischief: whose wife, though ikelesomes of his filthie behauiour is gone from him; he that keepeth hit, cometh with him also against vs, an open adulterer, & one well esteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with spars. Then setteth forth Simon earle of Hampton, whose dedes consist in words, & whose gifts rest in promises. For when he hath said, he hath done; & when he hath promised, ye get no more. Finally there come together a knot of Peeres & Noble men, like to their king and maister, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embued with manslaughter, & defamed with peritrie. You therefore (most valiant capteines & hardie souldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder fot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impouerished; vpon trust of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon trust of Gods iustice seeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon these wicked wretches, & with manlie stomachs bote to go forward, & forswere stepping back. When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to God) abjured all intention to flee, and so made themselves reddie to set forward.

King Stephan hauing no pleasant voice of himselfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, wherevpon gettingt himselfe to an high place where he might be seene & heard of them, he thus began. All such as shall giue battell, ought to foresee thre things: first, that their cause be righteous: secondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the least: and thirdlie, the godnesse and sufficiency of them. The righteousness of their cause ought to be regarded, least men runne in danger of the soule; the number of men is to be respected, least they should be oppressed with multitude of enimies; and the godnesse of the soldiers is to be considered, least trusting in the multitude, they should presume vpon the aid of feeble persons, & such as are of small valure. In all these points we see our selues sufficientlie furnished. The iustice of our cause is this: that obseruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we stand to the same against those that haue falsified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much lesse in hoisemen, and in footmen we exceed them. As for the godnesse or sufficiency of our men, who is able to expresse the noble prouewelle of so manie earles, of so manie lords and soldiers, trained vpon euer in warres: The passing valiancie of our king may stand in place of innumerable souldiers. Sith then he being the lords annointed, is here amongst you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your bote. For the more earnestly and faithfully ye serue your prince in this battell, which you are reddie to fight against peritured persons, the more shall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therefore be of god comfort, & haue

Alanc duke of
Britaine.

The earle of
Spelcent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of
Albemarle.

The earle of
Albemarles
wife.

Simon earle
of Hampton.

Like maister,
like seruants.

Earle Baldwin his
oration in the
baile of king
Stephan.
Thre things
to be fore-
seen by them
that shall
giue battell.

in remembrance against whom you do barraine the battell. The force of erle Robert is well knowne, his maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious in words, eloquent of speech, but cold or rather dead harted in deeds. The earle of Chester what is he?

The earle of
Chester.

A man of unreasonable boldnesse, bent to conspiracie, inconstant to performe that which he rashly taketh in hand, ready to run into battell, vncircumspect in danger, practising things of great importance, seeking after things impossible, bringing with him few good soldiers, but gathering a vagarant rout of rascals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afraid of, for loke whatsoeuer he attempteth manfully, the same he giueth ouer womanlike, in all his doings vnforsunate, in all encounters either he is overcome and slayd atwaite, or if he get the upper hand (which seldom times chanceth) he suffereth greater losse than they whom he doth vanquish.

The Welshmen, whom he bringeth with him are little esteemed of vs, who pretend a naked rashnesse without any vse of armes, so that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brute beasts vpon the hunters faulne. The other, as well the nobles as the common souldiers are but runnagates and vagabounds; of whom I would wish the number greater than it is: for the more they be, the worse in effect their seruice shall proue in time of need. You therefore (most worthy chesetaines) you men of honor, it standeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renowne, and follow the footsteps of your famous ancestors, leave to your sonnes an ever lasting commendation. The continuall successe of victorie ought to be a prouocation vnto you to do manfully: the continuance of euill speed may be to ponder vpon an occasion to run away. For euene alre adie (I dare say) they repent them of their comming hither, and could be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place would suffer them to depart. Then sith it is not possible for them either to fight or to flee, what other thing can they do, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance) offer themselves and all they haue about them presently vnto vs. We see then their hordes, their armour, and their bodies ready here at your pleasure, lift vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to take that with great chearefulness of mind, which the Lord hath thus offered and freely presented vnto you.

Continuall
good successe
a prouocation
of boldnesse.

Math. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

W. Paru.
Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

So to per he had all made an end of his words, the batels were ready to ioine, they met with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, and the fight began with a verie foze and cruell slaughter. Hard it was in the beginning to gesse who should haue the better. The wing of the disherited men ouerthrew and bare downe their aduersaries, which were led by the duke of Britaine, and the forenamed earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle and William de Pyres put the Welshmen to flight, but by the earle of Chester and his retinue, the same earle and William de Pyres were fiercelie assailed afresh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings side put to the worse, namelie his hordemen, who being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping. Which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any whit therewith abashed, but like an hardie captein (as he was no lesse indeed) comforted his footmen whom he had about him, and rushing vpon his enemies, bare them downe, and ouerthrew so manie as stood before him, so that with the point of his weapon he made himselfe waie. His footmen, who were but a few in number to the multitude of his enemies, counteruailed in all points the prowes and manlike doings of their king and captein, in so much that few batels had bene better fought, nor

with greater slaughter on both sides, if the kings foze ward (which in maner at the first shanke backe and was disordered, not without some suspicion of treason) had staied the hount of the enemies a while, as it had bene requisite. At length the king encountering with the earle of Chester, being overcharged with multitude, was taken prisoner by one William de Cahames.

Carle Baldwin, who had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was also taken, after he had fought valiantlie and receiued manie foze wounds: likewise Richard Fitzbryse, who on that daie had shewed good proue of his manhood, and had giuen and receiued manie a foze stripe. To conclude, all those that abode with the king, and namelie all the footmen were taken prisoners, those which were slaine in the place excepted. This battell was fought in the first yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas daie, being fundate, as Niger saith,

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

W. Paru.

Polydor.
The king led
to Wiltow.

W. Paru.

The king being apprehended and brought to the empresse lieng at Glocester, was commanded by hir to be conueied in safetie vnto Wiltow, where he was kept as prisoner from that time of his taking, vntill the feast of All saints next ensuing. Not long after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Geoffrey earle of Anion husband to the emperesse, receiuing aduertisement of this victorie achieved in England, forthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the Nobles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by publishing the captiuitie of king Stephan, it was easie for him to come by the possession of the same.

Howeouer, David king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commandement of the emperesse toke the countrie into his hands, whilst she (like a woman of great wisdom, as she was no lesse indeed) iudging that it stood hir vpon to vse the victorie which fell to hir lot, slept not hir businesse, but went forward, and setting from Glocester, she came to Winchester, where she was honozable receiued of bishop Henrie, though he was king Stephans brother, and inwardlie lamented the misfortune of the king. Then came she backe againe to Wiltow, and so to Drenford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albons, into all which cities and towncs she was receiued with great triumph and honour.

The king of
Scots taketh
Northumber-
land into his
possession.
Polydor.
The emperesse
followeth the
victorie.

Waning thus passed through all the south parts of the realme on that side, she finally came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir in most iollit and hartie maner. Now being come to London, and consulting with those of hir counsell for the quieting of the whole state of the realme, queene Dauid wife to king Stephan (for so she was also called) made humble suit vnto hir to haue hir husband set at libertie, promising that he should resigne his whole claime and title into hir hands, and content himselfe with a priuate life. But hir suit was so farre off from being granted, that she was reiected and cast off with reprochfull words. Wherevpon she conceived a most high displeasure, and understood well inough; that peace was to be purchased by force of armes onelie, and not by any other meanes: in so much that with all diligence she sent to hir sonne Eustace (then being in Kent) & willed him to prepare an armie, which he did most speedilie.

Shee cometh
to London.

The queene
such to the
emperesse for
the deliuerie
of hir husband

It chanced at the same time that the citizens of London made great and laborious suit vnto the said emperesse, that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Confessor restored, and the straight lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished. But for so much as they could get no grant of their petition, and perceiued the emperesse to be displeased with them about that importunat request, wherein onelie she ouerthot hir selfe, they deuised how and by what meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that

The London-
ners conspire
to take the
emperesse.

Stephan fled in
the night time
out of the citie.

11. Feb. 1142.

Geffrey de
Hantewile.
The bishop of
London taken.

Polydor.

Castels fortifi-
ed by the bi-
shop of Win-
chester.

William de
Ypres.
La. Meir.

Wil. Malm.
In mella hi-
storia.
N. Triuet.
Sim. Dun.
Polydor.
The emperesse
armie put to
flight.
Wil. Malm.
Robert earle
of Glocester
taken priso-
ner.

Matt. Paris.

Wil. Parvus.
N. Triuet.
David king
of Scots re-
turned home.
Simon Dun.
R. Houe.
Alberike de
Clere slain.

Wil. Malm.

all the Kentishmen would helpe to strengthen them
in their enterprise. But reckoning with his selfe that

non parat prospera tutius esse fuga,

And being warned thereof, he fled by night out of
the citie, and went to Drenford, determining to be
revenged upon his adversaries when time should
serve his turne. Here with he began to war more
displeased both against those Nobles whom he kept
in prison, & other also whom he troubled, but name-
lie king Stephan, whom he commanded to be loden
with prions, and served with verie slender diet.

Now when he had thus fled out of London, which
was about the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Bap-
tist, the towne of London was besieged, which Gesse-
rey de Hantewile held, and valiantlie defended. The
same Gessrey rushing out on a tyme, came to Ful-
ham, where he took the bishop of London then lodg-
ing in his manor place, being one of the contrarie
faction.

Henric bishop of Winchester perceiuing the wrath
of the emperesse more and more to increase daile
against his people, thinking it wise to serue the
time, manned all the castels which he had builded
within his dioces, as at Waltham, Farnham, and o-
ther places, and withdrew himselfe into the castell of
Winchester, there to remaine, till he might see to
what end the furie of the woman would grow. This
being knowne, the emperesse took vnto hir Dauid
king of Scotland that was hir vnckle, who immediat-
lie joining their armies together, went to Winche-
ster and besieged the castell. In the meane time the
quene and hir sonne Eustace, with the helpe of their
frends, as the Kentishmen, the Londoners and other
had assembled a great armie, and appointed the go-
uernement and generall conduct thereof vnto one
William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valian-
cie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he
was sonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a con-
cubine, his father also was sonne to Robert earle of
Flanders, surnamed Frisus. This William was ban-
ished out of his countie by Theodorike Elfas earle
of Flanders, because he attempted to bereaue him
of his earledome.

The quenes armie thus committed to his gui-
ding, came nere vnto Winchester, and kept the em-
peresse and hir people in maner besieged: at length
perceiuing the aduantage after the coming of a
great supplie of Londoners to their aid, they set vpon
hir armie as the same was departing, with such vio-
lence, that straightwaies hir host was put to flight
and discomfited. The emperesse was glad to saue hir
selfe dead, and so to be conueied in a coche as a dead
corps vnto Glocester. Hir brother Robert with ma-
nie other of the Nobles that staid behind, till she
and other might get out of danger, were taken pri-
soners. And because the king was kept at Wistow
vnder the custodie of the said Robert, the quene cau-
sed him to be hardlie handled, that he might proue
the words of the gospell true: With what measure ye
meat vnto other, with the same by other shall it be
remeasured vnto you. He had deserved verie euill of
the king heretofore, and therefore it was now re-
membred. He was taken (in maner abovesaid) on
the feast day of the exaltation of the crosse.

David king of Scotland was not at the battell
himselfe, but hearing of the discomfiture, got him
out of the countie, and by helpe of trustie guides re-
turned into Scotland, whilest Alberike de Clere was
slaine at London in a seditious tumult raised by the
citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two
seuerall factions, was by all similitudes like to come
to utter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one
against another, sought nothing else but reuenge on
both sides, and still the land was spoiled and waisted

by the men of warre which lodged within the castels
and fortresses, and would often issue out to harrie and
spoil the countie. But now that the two chiefe-
heads were prisoners, there was good hope conceiued
that God had so wrought it, whereby might grow
some ouerture of talks, to quiet such troubles by
friendlie peace and agreement.

Here vpon those lords that wished well to the com-
mon-wealth, began to intreate betwixt them, and
articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and
an exchange of prisoners on both sides. But the em-
peresse and hir brother would not hearken to any a-
greement, except that the realme might whole re-
maine to the said emperesse. Whereby the enmities
were rather increased than decreased by this treatie,
so that at length the king and the earle (winded with
tedious prisonment, and hard imprison-
ment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war)
about the feast of All saints made exchange by de-
liuering of the one for the other, without making
mention of any peace at all: and so kindled with
new displeasures, they renewed the warre.

King Stephan being deliuered in such wise as you
haue heard, comming to London, and there being
accompanied with his brother Henric bishop of
Winchester (then the popes legat) Theobald archbi-
shop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parle-
ment, wherein the king declared the present state,
how the enemie was brought to this point, that if it
would please the Nobles of the realme to mainteine
him with men & monie, he trusted now so to worke,
as they should not need to feare submission to the
poe of a womans gouernment: which at the first
they seemed much to dislike, and now listens (to
their great graue) had proued to be intollerable. The
summe of his talke tended to this end, that those
which were able of themselves to aid him with their
olone persons, should prepare them out of hand so to
do; and the residue that were not meet (as bishops,
and such like manner of men) should be contributo-
s to aid him with hired souldiers, armour, and monie.

This was gladlie agreed vpon, with the generall
consent of all the assemblie. And because the bishops
shewed themselves verie liberall towards the ad-
uancing of the kings purpose, there was a statute
made at the same parlement, that who so euer did
laie any violent hands on a sacred person, or else
toke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what
fault soeuer, without the bishops licence, he should be
accused, and not be absolved of any maner of person,
except of the pope, as by a canon it was already de-
creed, but not obeyed among the Englishmen till that
daie. The cause of making this statute was this:
lie, for that preests during the time of the ciuill wars,
were daile either slaine, or taken prisoners, and so
put to their ransoms, or charged with great penal-
ties and grieuous fines.

The bishop of Winchester at this councill also
began another bzail among the cleargie, for bring-
ing brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes au-
thoritie as his legat in England, by reason of exer-
cising his authoritie, fell at variance with the bishop
of Canturburie, who toke himselfe for his superio-
r, because he was his pimat. This quarrell grew so far
in question, that they went both to Rome to haue the
controuersie decided, and so bringing their suits
thither, contented well the eares of them that had the
hearing of the same: for the more weightie the cause
seemed, the better it liked them.

A late writer, noting in clergiemens of his age &
countie not onelie the aspiring vice of ambition,
but other disorders also, and monstrous outrages,
after a complaint made that gold (by which title he
calloeth those of the ecclesiasticall order) is turned in-

Polydor.

Geruastus
Dorober.
The king and
the earle of
Glocester de-
liuered by ex-
change.
Anno Reg. 7.

1142
Geruastus Do-
robernenis.
A parlement
called.

A statute es-
tablished in fa-
uour of preests

Tand. Lenz. in
Chron. clauis.
1476.

to drasse, and swaet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cause hereof compounded in this metrical accomplement, saieing :

*Dum factor rerum priuaret flumine clerum,
Ad sanane votum successit turba nepotum.*

Which he inferred vpon occasion against the posterous elections of binniet men into episcopall sees, for that they were not so qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwise peradventure enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And suerlie, we may note these inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the best (I meane in respect of their estates) of this linerie, and may iustlie impute it to the defection of Gods spirit in them, whose nature is to plant peace and meekenesse in the harts of his tenants, not discord, not ambition, not the workes of darknesse, which become not the children of light. But to the purpose.

Match. Paris.
Earle Robert
passeth ouer
into Normandie.

Normandie
wonne by the
earle of An-
iou.

Wil. Malm.
Earle of Glo-
cester retur-
neth.

Ger. Dor.

Wil. Malm.

The Ile of
Portland.
Cirecester.

The emperesse
besieged in
Drford.

As the king began (after his libertie obtained) to prouide for warres, so earle Robert (after he was discharged) sailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the sonnes of diuerse Noble men who fauored the emperesse, whome he deliuered to his husband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, & earnestlie besought him to passe ouer into England with an armie to aide the emperesse. Wholueit bicause he was newlie intred into the conquest of Normandie, and had already won the most part thereof, he thought good to make first an end of his warres there, hauing somewhat to do against certeine rebels of his owne countie of Aniou, which did not a little molest him. But he recovered (whilest the earle of Gloucester was there with him) Alney, Portaigne, Tencherbraz, and diuerse other places pertaineing chieflie to the earle of Portaigne: about the same time also they of Constances submitted themselves vnto him. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in those parties, could not well come into England.

Whereupon the earle of Gloucester came backe againe himselfe, and brynging with him somewhat lesse than foure hundred men of armes (imbarcked in 52 ships) landed with the same at Warrham, and besieged the castell there, which his enemies had won out of his hands whilest he was absent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agreement by composition, that if they were not succoured by a certeine time, they should deliuer the castell vnto the earle. King Stephan himselfe the same time held a siege before Drford, within the which he had inclosed the emperesse, as hereafter shalbe shewed: so that they within the castell of Warrham had no succour sent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their composition) they yielded by the hold, after earle Robert had lien there weekes before it.

This castell being thus wonne, earle Robert subdued also such as kept the Ile of Portland, and had sented it after the maner of a fortreffe: afterwards he came to Cirecester, and there assembled all those that fauoured the part of the emperesse, meaning with all conuenient speed to go to Drford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had assembled a great host of men, and comming to Drford, where the emperesse then laie, suddenly besieged hir, before she looked for him. And to the end also that he might compell the townsmen to yield, or else keepe them from entring (which would come to their succors, he ranged aboad into the countie with part of his armie, waiking all afoze him by fire & sword. This siege continued almost two monthes, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of Nouember, vntill Christmasse immediatlie following: in somuch that through lacke of vittells they within the towne be-

gan to raise mutinies. The emperesse therefore doubting the sequele, and seeing hir prouision to decaye, deuised a shift how to escape that present danger, which by force she was vnluckie to performe.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were frozen, so that both man and horse might safelie passe ouer vpon the yce, the fields were also couered with a thicke and deepe snow. Hereupon taking occasion, she clad hir selfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be discerned from the snow; and so by negligence of the watch that kept ward but slenderlie, by reason of the exceeding cold weather, she and hir partakers secretlie in the night issued out of the towne, and passing ouer the Thames, came to Wallingford, where she was receiued into the castell by those that had the same in keeping to hir vse: of whom Brian the sonne to the earle of Gloucester was the chiefe.

¶ Here we may see the subtiltie of the emperesse, whereby she obtained free and safe passage out of hir enemies hands, who otherwise had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer bene false, which Aeneas Syluius (and before him many more) driuing vpon the like argument) doth saie in this distichon:

*Non audet Stygias Pluto tentare, quod audent
Effreni monachibus pleneque fraudis illa,*

Meaning Mulier, a woman. And therefore loke what they want in magnanimitie, in strength, in courage, the same is supplied by deceit, by circumuention, by craft, by fraud, by collusion; sometimes applied to a good intent, but most commonlie directed to an euill meaning and purpose, as the euents themselves do manie times declare. But let vs see what followed vpon this escape of the emperesse.

After hir departure from Drford, the townsmen yielded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the keeping of them in obedience, marched toward Wallingford, minding to besiege the castell there: but being encountred in the way by his enemies, he was driuen backe, and so constrained to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his sister was escaped and gotten to Wallingford, halted thither with all speed to visit hir: & (as some write) brought with him hir sonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the seas, to see his mother: so that the emperesse now beholding both hir sonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that she could or might presentlie make them. Her son remaining vnder the gouernment of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Wiltow, & there continued for the space of 4. yeeres, being committed to one Mattheu his schoolmaster, to be instructed in knowledge, and trained vp in ciuill behaviour.

King Stephan (after the spoiling of sundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired souldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the bishop of Winchester stronglie armed vnto Wiltow, where he took in hand to fortifie the nurrie in stead of a castell, to resist the incurfions and inrodes of them of Salisburie, who in the behalfe of the emperesse had done manie displeasures vnto his friends: but earle Robert vnderstanding of his doings, got a power togither with all speed, and the first daie of Iulie about sunne setting came to Wiltow, and suddenly set the towne on fire.

The king being lodged within the nurrie, and fearing no such matter, after he heard of the sudden assembling of his enemies, was put in such feare, that he took himselfe dishonourable to flight, leauing his men, his plate, and other riches altogether behind him.

N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Paru.
Ran. Higd.
Matth. Paris.
The emperesse
escapeth out
of Drford.
Polydor.
Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.
Brian sonne
to the earle of
Gloucester.

Aeneas Syluius.

Polydor.
Simon Dun.
N. Triuet.

Anno Reg. 8.
1143
The emperesse
hir sonne lord
Henrie.

The king
commeth to
wiltow.

Wil. Paru.
Sim Dun.
M. Triuet.
Matth. Paris.

Spiles earle
of Hereford
deceased.

Ger. Dor.
The earle of
Essex taken.

The earle of
Arundell.

N. Triuet.
Wil. Paru.

Anno Reg. 9.
1144
Hen. Hunt.

Sim. Dunel.
John Pike.
Matth. West.
N. Triuet.

Wil. Malm.
Wil. Paru.

M. Pal. in suo
scor.

him. The earles souldiers egerlie assailed the kings people, killed and spoiled them at their pleasure, rifled the kings treasure without resistance, and satisfieth themselves with greedines. In this boile was William Marcell or Martell taken prisoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the castell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne hauing charge of that castell, kept him in close prison, and vsed him hardlie, who by reason of the opinion which men had conceiued of his valiancie, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ransome, and deliuered the castell of Shirborne into the earles hands. Within a few daies after, Spiles earle of Hereford departed this life, whose death was verie greivouslie taken of the emperesse, for he was one of hir chiefe frends and counsellors. His eldest sonne Roger succeeded him, a gentleman though young in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Pandenile earle of Essex, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had serued the emperesse, was taken also at S. Albons) but not without great slaughter of the kings souldiers: in so much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a courageous palfrie & a verie valiant man was overthrowen in the middell of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Wraite, so that the same earle was sore bzuisied in his bodie, and almost bzowned. The king was present himselfe at the taking of the said Pandenile, whom he spoiled of all his goods, and constrained by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the castell of Walden, and Diephey. Hereupon the same earle being released was driven through pouertie to take some recouerie of his losses by sundrie spoiles and robberies. First of all therefore he spoiled the abbey of S. Albons, and then the abbey of Ramsey, which he fortified and defended as a fortreffe, casting the monks out of doores, and in euery place where soeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midst of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was shot thorough with an arrow amongst his men by a filie footman, and so ended his life with confusion, receiving worthie punishment for his vngodlie behaviour. For he was a man of high stomach & loslie courage, but verie obstinate against God, of great industry in worldly businesse, but passing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Likewise Robert Patmion, who had attempted the semblable robbrie & spoile in the abbey church of Couentrie, was slaine before the same abbey by a like mischance. For going forth to encounter with the earle of Chester (his mortall enimie, and being approached as then towards the citie) he fell with his horse into a ditch, which he caused to be couertlie made for the destruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieved, a souldier of the earles part slept to him, and stroke his head from his shoulders in sight of both armies. Crinulfus the sonne of earle Geoffrey Pandenile that kept the church of Ramsey as a fortreffe, after his fathers death, was taken at length and banished.

Thus we see how Gods iudgement hunteth and pursueth the wicked, in so much that they be overtaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the scripture, The wicked and bloudy heartie man shall not liue halfe his daies. And true it is, that as men liue, so commonlie they die: for, as one saith verie well;

bona nulla sceleris

Et iustus mali nulla quidem contingere possunt.

About the same time advertisement was giuen, that the citie of Lincoln, which the earle of Chester had in keeping, was but slenderlie manned. Where

upon the king conceiuing some hope to win the same, hasted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid siege thereunto, and began to cast a trench to stop them within fro making any sallies without.

The earle at the first being somewhat amazed with the sudden approach of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceiued the rankes to be verie thin: and thereby guessing their number to be but small, suddenly issued forth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, because he was both weake and therefore feeb; neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cause; but setting upon those that were about to make the trench, he slue 80. of the workemen, and then retired into the castell.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Jewes at Forwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifying him upon a crosse to the reproch of Christians religion.

In the yeare following, namely, in the 10. yeare of king Stephens reigne, Robert earle of Glocester and other capteins toke in hand to build a castell at Faringdon. But king Stephan assembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and besieged them within. Now whilst earle Robert and others of the emperesses capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with sharpe assaults (but not without losse of his men) wan the fortreffe: whereby his side began to war the stronger, and to be more highlie aduanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a strong castell ouer against the other castell which his aduersaries held against him.

Wither also came the earle of Chester with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and so at length they were not vnseignidie accorded and made friends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For shortly after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Northampton, by the practise of R. Stephan, and could not be deliuered, till he had surrendered the citie and castell of Lincoln, with other fortresses pertaining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welshmen destroy the prouince of Chester, but at last they were distressed. This yeare also the lord Geoffrey earle of Antio sent three Noble men into England, accompanied with certaine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requesting him to send ouer his sonne Henrie into France, that he might see him, and if need required, he promised to send him backe againe with all conuenient speed. Earle Robert was contented to satisfie his request: and so with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Warham, where he toke leaue of him, neuer after to see him in this world. For when the child was transported, earle Robert returned speedilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of Nouember, and was buried at Bistow. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioisfully receiued, and remained in those parties for the space of two yeares and foure moneths.

In the meane season, the busst proceedings of R. Stephan against the earle of Chester, purchased him new hatred of his old aduersaries, and like suspicion of such as were his frends, for it sounded not a little to his dishonor. Curie man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it stood them vpon to take heed to themselves. But he (as one that thought he had atchiued some high exploit) in triumphant wise shortly after entred into Lincoln in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not

Lincolne besieged.

The siege raised.

N. Triuet.

A child crucified by the Jewes.

Matth. Paris.
Simon Dun.
Anno. Reg. 10.
1145
A castell built at Faringdon.
Hen. Hunt.

The king winneth it by force.

Anno Reg. 11.
1146

Ran. Higd.
Matth. Paris.
N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.
The welshmen waste Cheshire.
Ger. Dor.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life.

Anno Reg. 12.
1147

Simon Dun.
R. Stephan entred into Lincoln with his crowne on his head.

not bene heard that any king had done the like manie yeares before.

¶ It is reported by some writers, that he did this, to root out of mens minds a foolish superstitious conceit, which beleued that no king with his crowne upon his head might enter that citie, but some mischance should light upon him: whereupon he feared by this meanes to mocke their superstitious imagination.

About the same time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiving the kings authoritie to repress violent wrongs committed by euill doers to be defective) builded sundrie strong castles and fortresses upon their owne grounds, either to defend themselves, or to make force upon their enemies nere adjoining. After the departing of the king from Lincoln, the earle of Chester came thither with an armie, to assaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was slain at the entering of the northgate, and so the earle was beaten backe with the losse of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the upper hand, reioysed not a little for the victorie.

¶ But here (to stay a little with temporall affaires) it shall not be amisse to rehearse the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betwene that king, and the archbishop of Canturburie. For so it happened (as Geruasius Dorobernensis writeth) that pope Eugenius came this yeare into France, about the middell of Lent, and afterward held a synod or councell at Rheims: whereunto Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, with others of the English bishops were summoned. The archbishop thereupon asking licence of the king, and not obtaining it, found meanes to steale awaie in a small bote, not without danger of his person.

¶ Now therefore the case of this Theobald stood verie hard: for Henrie bishop of Winchester the kings brother through enuie had so wrought, that if the archbishop passed ouer without licence, he should be confined of the king. Again, he was sure, if he came not to the councell, that he should be suspended by the pope. Whereupon the archbishop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were swimming, rather than sailing; the vessel where in he passed ouer being starke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings seruants, so that he was glad to take such a bote as came next to hand. In consideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Poike, together with Henrie Spordach then abbat of Fountney, presented themselves, exhibiting their complaint against William archbishop of Poike, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonically chosen, nor lawfullie consecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbishop William was conuicted and deposed, Albert bishop of Hoya pronouncing sentence in this wise: *Uile des deus* by the apostolike authoritie, that William archbishop of Poike is to be deposed from his see, because Stephan king of England, before any canonically election, named him.

¶ Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus deposed archbishop William, although not with the consent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapter of the church of Poike, by his commandement conuining together, part of them chose Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and the other part elected Henrie Spordach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were shewed him at Auerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Spordach, and disanulled the other, and then consecrated the foresaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbishop

William being thus deposed, returned into England, and remained at Winchester with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counsell of the same bishop in all things.

¶ Now when the councell at Rheims was ended, archbishop Theobald returned into England, and coming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honour of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was sore displeased, and came with great speed vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbishop (although to small purpose) for the bringing of them to an agreement, at length the king compelled the archbishop to depart the realme. Whereupon, after a few daies respite, he went to Douer, where he took ship and sailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the queene and William of Pyres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the sooner aduertise him of the kings mind and pleasure. Here he consecrated Gilbert the elect bishop of Hereford, the first daie of September, Theodoise bishop of Amiens and Nicholas bishop of Cambze assisting him.

¶ After this, when by sending of messengers to and fro, aswell bishops, abbats, and other, both spirituall persons and temporall, there could no agreement be made, he directed his letter to certeine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certeine day, namelie the twelue day of September, a sentence of interdiction to be obserued through the realme. The monks of Canturburie sore offended herewith, before the prescribed day of this sentence to be put in execution, sent two monkes of their owne house, Sigell and Absolom, vnto the pope: whose errand when the pope had vnderstood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeye their archbishops sentence in all things.

In the meane time the archbishops men and tenants were sore oppressed, and his rents and revenues seized to the kings vse, yea euen before the daies of payment. Which manner of proceeding sore grieved the archbishop: in so much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the sea, crossed ouer to a towne called Goleford that belonged vnto Hugh Wigot erle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honour, and sent him all necessarie prouision, so long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the sentence, till Robert bishop of London, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and William bishop of Norwich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Framelingham in Northfolke, a castell appertaining to the said earle, where at length an appointment was concluded betwixt him and the king: whereupon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great ioy and honour.

¶ He accused the monkes of Canturburie, for disobeying the interdiction, trusting that the pope would not heare those two monkes whom they had sent, as he did not indeed. He excommunicated also all those that had receiued the sacraments amongst them, during the time of the interdiction. Now these monkes being at their wits end, dispatched with all speed other two monkes to the pope, to obtaine an absolution, before the archbishop should vnderstand it: but they were sent backe againe with checks, and commanded to obeye their archbishop in all things, as the other were, which had bene there with him before.

The monkes of Canturburie that were sent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found those that were first sent thither: and so they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope also had sent a priue commandement to the archbishop,

Geruasius.
Anno Reg. 13.
1148

F. W. shop,

shop, that he should duclie punish as well them as the other. Whereupon the archbishop taking counsell with his friends, deposed Syluester the prior, and suspended William the secretarie of the house from entreing the quere. It was decreed also, that the residue should cease so long a time from saying seruice, as they had said it before vnlawfullie, against the archbishops commandement. For it was thought reason, that whilste other sang and were merrie, they should keepe silence, which wilfullie took upon them to sing, whilste other held their peace and were still. They began therefore to cease from saying diuine seruice, and from ringing their bells in the second weeke of Lent: & so kept silence from the twelue day of March, untill the first day of August.

The queene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Augustines in Canturburie, because of hastening forward the building of Feuerham abbey, which she and hir husband had begonne from the verie foundation. And because the monkes of S. Augustine might not celebrate diuine seruice, she called thither commonlie the monkes of Christs church to say seruice before hir. Thus much for that purpose: and now to other matters.

The lord Henrie Fitzempresse after all these businesses returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great companie of men of warre both horsemen and footmen: by reason whereof many revolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they sat still, and would not attempt any exploit against him. But now incouraged with the presence of the lord Henrie, they declared themselves frends to him, and enemies to the king. Immediately after his arriual, he took with him the earles of Chester and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other noble men and knights of great fame, beside those whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went vnto Carleil, where he found his cousin Dauid king of Scotland, of whome he was most ioyfullie receiued: and vpon Whitsunday with great solemnitie, being not past fiftene yeares of age, was by the same king made knight, with diuerse other yong gentlemen that were much about the same age.

¶ Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oth of him before he gaue him the hono^r of knight-hood, that if he chanced to attaine vnto the possession of the realme of England, he should restore to the Scots the towne of Newcastle, with the countrie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Tweed, to the riuer of Tyne. But whether it were so or not, I am not able to make warrantize.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduersarie the lord Henrie with the chiefe lords of the west parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raised an armie, and came to the citie of York, where he remained for the most part of the moneth of August, fearing least his enemies should attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in York, they departed from both those places without any further exploit for that season, sauing that Eustachius king Stephens sonne (hauing also lately receiued the order of knight-hood) did much hurt in the countreies which belonged to those noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

The great raine that fell in the summer season this yeare did much hurt vnto come standing on the ground, so that a great dearth folloved. In the winter also after, about the tenth day of December, it began to freeze extreame, and so continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: whereby the riuer of Thames was so frozen, that men might passe ouer it both on foot and horsebacke.

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, sailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of August, leauing England full of all those calamities, which ciuill warre is accustomed to bring with it, as burning of houses, killing, robbing, and spoiling of people, so that the land was in danger of utter destruction, by reason of that pestilent disorder.

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monumetensis, other wise called Galfridus Athurius, who turned the British historie into Latine, was consecrated bishop of S. Asaph, by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William bishop of Norwich and Walter bishop of Rochester assisting him.

Howeuer, this yeare (as some writers haue recorded) Geoffrey earle of Anjou, husband to the emperesse Maude, departed this life, on the seventh day of September, leauing his sonne Henrie onelie heire and successor in the estates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Anjou. The bodie of the said earle was buried at Spans, with a great funerall pompe: his three sonnes Henrie, Geoffrey, and William being present.

But king Stephan assaulting the faire citie of Worcester with a great power of men of warre, took it, and consumed it with fire, but the castell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Walter de Mellest, at that season: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had given it vnto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the spoile amongst them, they came backe, and passing through the lands of their enemies, got great booties, which they also took away with them, finding none to resist them in their iourney.

In the yeare following Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the see apostolike, held a generall synod or counsell at London in the Lent season, where king Stephan himselfe with his sonne Eustachius, and other the peeres of the realme were present. This counsell was full of appeales, contrarie to that had bene vsed in this land, till the time that Henrie bishop of Winchester vnto his owne harme (whilste he was likewise the popes legat) had by vniu^{er}sall intrusion brought them in, and now at this counsell he was himselfe thise appealed to the hearing of the popes owne consistorie. After this king Stephan in the same yeare brake into the citie of Worcester, and whereas he could not the last time win the castell, he now endeouored with all his force to take it. But when those within made valiant resistance, he raised two castels against it, and leaning in the same certeine of his nobles to continue the siege, he himselfe returned home. ¶ Thus (as ye see) the kings proprietie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he proceeded in them oftentimes verie foolishlie: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leicester, those two castels which the king had raised to besiege the other castell, were shortly after destroyed: and so the besieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leicester was brother to the earle of Mellest. Thus the kings purposed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie married Elianor duchesse of Guien or Aquitaine, lately diuorced from the French king, and so in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poitou: for he was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poitou, and by hir father created his sole and lawfull heire.

The French king was nothing pleased with this marriage, in so much that he made force warre vpon duke Henrie, joining himselfe in leaguer with king Stephan, with his sonne Eustace, and with the lord Geoffrey

The l. Henrie returneth into England Anno Reg. 14. 1142

he is made knight. R. Houed.

St. Stephan with an armie cometh to York.

March, Paris. Great raine.

A sore frost.

Ger. Des. The earle of Anjou father to Henry Fitz emperesse departed this life.

Worcester assaulted.

Anno Reg. 14. 1151 Ger. Doreber. A synod at London.

The earle of Leicester brother to the earle of Mellest.

Anno Reg. 14. 1152 The duke of Normandie Fitzempresses marrieth the duchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie

Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, so that the said Henrie was constrained to defer his iourne into England, and applie his power to defend his countreies and subiects on that side of the sea. For where as he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to passe ouer into England, not long after midsummer, the French king, with Eustace king Stephens sonne, Robert earle of Berch, Henrie erle of Champagne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing assembled a mightie armie, came and besieged the castell of Newmarch, and sent forth the lord Geffrey with a strong power to win the castell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertised hereof, departing from the place where he sojourned, halted forth to succour his people that were besieged, but the castell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king, through treason of those that had it in keeping, before the duke could come to their rescue.

The castell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Whereupon the said duke hauing knowledge by the waie that he should come too late thither, he encamped first vpon the side of the riuer of Andell, and waisted a great part of the countreie of Neuen oꝝ Neulquesne, surnamed Le Rozmant, which lieth betwixt the riuer of Epte and Andell. This countreie belonged sometime to Rozmandie, but Geffrey earle of Anion the dukes father had resigned it to the French king, to the end he should not aid king Stephan. The duke also burned the castells of Bascheruile, Chitrey, Stirpiney, and the castell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Courney, with diuerse other. About the end of August he left his towne in Rozmandie sufficientlie furnished with garisons of soldiers, and went into Anion, where he besieged the castell de mount Sotelli, till he had taken it, and all those that were within it, amongst whom was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other side entring into Rozmandie, burnt part of the borough of Kienle, and either then oꝝ shortly after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he took the towne and castell of Clernon.

Neulquesne. oꝝ Neuen.

The castell of Clernon. Simon Dun.

Whilist these things were thus a doing in France, R. Stephan would haue caused the archbishop of Canturburie & diuerse other bishops, whom for that purpose he had assembled, to crowne, anoint, and confirme his sonne Eustace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbishops and bishops refused to do so, because the pope by his letters sent to the archbishop, had commanded to the contrary; namely, that he should in no wise crowne the kings son, because his father king Stephan had got the possession of the land against his oth receiued in behalfe of the emperesse. The father and sonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed most of his bishops to ward, seeking by threats and menacings to bring them to his purpose. The bishops also were in no small perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer seemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, because of their strength (as in former times by his rigour used against the bishops of Salisburie and Lincoln it plainlie appeared) and yet would not these men yield to his pleasure: whereupon although they were set at libertie, they were neuertheless deprived of their temporal possessions, which notwithstanding afterwaies vpon the kings owne motion were restored vnto them.

The pope is against it.

The bishops are thus carned.

Ger. Dor.

The archbishop of Canturburie fled out of the realme.

Whombeit the archbishop of Canturburie persisting still in his opinion, was forsaken of diuerse of the bishops, who though feare durst not stand against their princes pleasure. But the archbishop, when he perceived how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and rest on his shoulders, he got himselfe by a marvellous hap ouer the Thames, and with speed riding to Dover, passed the sea, to auoid both the fathers and sonnes reuergefull displeasure.

Hereupon the king seized into his hands all the lands & possessions that belonged to the archbishop.

This yeare quene Maude wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey castell, that belonged to earle Alberike de War, about the third daie of Maie, and was buried in the abbey of Feuerham, which she with hir husband king Stephan had lately founded.

Math. Paris. Ger. Dor.

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the summer, the growing of corne was so hindered, that a great death of people ensued.

This yeare also was the battell of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the slower and chieftest perfonages of Hounster and Lepinster were slaine. Moreover one John, a monk of Sagium, was made the second bishop of the Ile of Man: the first bishop that was there instituted hight Winmond a monk of Sauinie, who for his importunate murther menour in some respects, had his eyes put out, and was displaced.

The battell of Monadmore.

Math. Paris. The second & also the first bishops of Man.

John Papirio a cardinall, being sent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbishops there, one at Dublin, another at Ardmac, the third at Cassels, and the fourth at Connach. The see of Dublin he changed into an archbishops see, one Gregorie at that time possessing the same: to whom he gaue the first and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the blessed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinall passed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan.

Hen. Marle.

The bishop of Dublin made archbishop.

The same yeare also king Stephan by siege and force of assault did win the castell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This done he went to Malinsford, and besieging the castell, he builded at the entring of the bridge a fortresse to stop them within from issuing out, and likewise from receiuing any reliefe oꝝ succour by their friends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themselves so hardlie laid at, sent to the duke of Rozmandie (in whose name they kept that castell) desiring him either to succour them, oꝝ else giue them licence to yield vpon the castell to the king. Whereupon duke Henrie hauing dispatched his businesse on the further side of the sea, began to be kindled with a feruent desire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for reuenerie of that kingdom, and so with three thousand footmen, & 7. score horsemen, with all speed possible sailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. daie in Christmasse. He was no sooner arrived, but a great number of such as took part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: whereupon being now furnished with a great and puissant armie, he marched forth to Palmesburie, where in the castell was a great garison of soldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his siege about this castell the thirteenth daie of Januarie, and enforced himselfe to the uttermost of his power to win it.

The castell of Newberie won.

Duke Henris Fitzempresse returneth into England.

Ger. Dor.

He besiegeth the castell of Palmesburie. Math. Paris. Polydor.

Now king Stephan hearing of his enemies arrival, with all hast possible got his armie on foot, and coming suddenlie towards the place where his enemies were pitched, he caused duke Henrie to raise his siege, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enemies were far more in number than he was at that present, and also conceiuing with himselfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increase, abstained from fighting, and kept him within the closure of his campe. Thus haue some written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himselfe indeed within his campe, and refused to giue battell, but yet remoued not his siege, till the king departed from thence, after he saw he could not haue his purpose, and then did duke Henrie win the castell of Palmesburie, oꝝ rather the maister tower oꝝ chefe dungeon

R. Stephan constraineth him to raise his siege.

Will. Paris.

Simon Dun.
Ger. Dor.

of that castell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by assault the other parts and lims of the castell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

The storme.

This tower that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capteine Jordan, who escaping forth came to the king, informing him in what state he had left his men within the towre: whereupon the king (making all the power that he was able, set forward, and coming to Cireiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purposing to raise the siege, or to fight with his enemies (if they would abide battell) marched forth towards Walmesburie. But upon his approach to the dukes campe, the daie following his coming thither, there rose such a hideous tempest of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephens people, that God seemed to fight for the duke, who in respect of the number of people was thought to weake to deale with the strong and puissant armie of the king: notwithstanding the storme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephens mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, in somuch that he perceived he could not passe the river that ran betwixt the armies: whereupon constrained in that sort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London full euill appaied, in that he could not satisfie his expectation at that present.

The castell of
Wallingford.

The castell of
Cranemers.

The tower that duke Henrie had hardlie besieged immediatlie herewith was surrendered unto him, & then making provision for vittels and other things, to the reliefe of them that kept the castell of Wallingford, he hasted thither, and finding no resistance by the way, easily accomplished his enterprise. There were diuerse castles thereabouts in the countrie furnished with garisons of the kings souldiers, but they kept themselves close, and durst not come abroad to stop his passage. Shortly after he besieged the castell of Cranemers, and cast a trench about it, so as his people within Wallingford castell might haue free libertie to come forth at their pleasure: but as for those within the castell of Cranemers, they were so hardlie holden in, that there was no waie for them to start out.

Math. Paris.
Ger. Dor.
Stephans
sonne.

The king aduertised hereof, got all his host together, and marched forward verie terrible toward duke Henries campe. But shewing no token of feare, he caused the trench wherewith he had inclosed his campe forthwith to be cast downe, and leaving the siege, came into the fields with his armie set in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of sword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whose armie perceiuing their enemies to come in the face of them, were stricken with a sudden feare: neuertheless, he himselfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certaine noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning sought to treat an agreement betwixt them, so that an intermission or celsing from war was granted, and by composition the castell which the king had built, and the duke besieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke also came to an enteruew and communication together, a river running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan undertaking to raze the castell of Cranemers himselfe, and so leaueing armour asse for that time, they parted asunder.

But Eustace H. Stephens son was sore offended herewith, and repprouing his father for concluding such an agreement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeshire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbey of Eurie, and vpon S. Laurence daie caused all the coine in the countrie about, and namelie that

which belonged to the said abbey, to be spoiled and brought into a castell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he sat downe to meate at the same daie vpon receiuing the first messell he fell mad (as writers haue reported) and miserable ended his life. The same weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like disease, and so two of the chiefest aduersaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Eustace was buried at Fleueham in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton.

Eustace king
Stephans
son and Si-
mon earle of
Northampton
depart this
life both in
one weeke.

About the same time also that noble and valiant earle of Chester called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of such stoutnesse of stomack, that death could scarcely make him to yeld, or shew any token of feare: he was poisoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him succeeded his sonne Hugh, a man likewise of passing strength and vertue. Now although earle Ranulfe fauoured the part of duke Henrie, yet in these later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not so great a losse to the duke, as the deaths of Eustace, earle Simon, and other the kings friends deceasing about the same time seemed to further him: so that his part became daile stronger, and the kings weaker.

The earle of
Chester de-
ceaseth.

About the same time the castles of Reading and Birtwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the lady Gundreda countesse of Warwike drave out the souldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duchesse Glenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempresse, was brought to bed of hir first boine son, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine.

Math. Paris.
Rob. Mont.

Thus came things to passe in sundrie places with so good successe as duke Henrie could wish, whereupon meaning to follow the steps of prosperous fortune, he marched forth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his first coming laid siege to the castell. Now they that had it in keeping sent messengers to king Stephan, requiring rescue, but the same time he had laid siege to the castell of Gipswich, which Hugh Bigot kept against him: and because he would not depart from that siege till he had the castell giuen by into his hands (which came at last to passe) in the meane time the castell of Stamford was yielded up to duke Henrie, who immediatlie thereupon departed from Stamford eastward, meaning to come to the succour of his friends besieged at Gipswich or Ipswich (as it is commonlie called) not understanding as yet that they had surrendered the hold: but having knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched straight to Spotingham, and got the towne easilie; for they within the castell had set it on fire, therefore he besieged the castell standing vpon the point of a stepe craggie rocke, and was furnished with a strong garison of men, and all things necessarie for defense, so that it could not easilie be wone.

Stamford
was taken.
Simon Dun.
Ger. Dor.

Gipswich or
Ipswich be-
sieged.

N. Triuer.

Spotingham.

When duke Henrie had assailed all the waies betwixt to take it, and saw that he could not preuaile, he minded to lose no more time: but raising his siege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his possession, and finally came to his mother, and laie at Wallingford. King Stephan in the meane time being strong in the field, sought time and place to haue Henrie at some aduantage, who in his young yeares (as yet not hauing tasted any misfortune) he thought would rashlie attempt some vnadvised enterprise. But whereas the realm of England had bene now manie yeares miserable turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue so detested, that they haue exclaimed against it with a kind of irksomnesse; as:

Duke Henrie
raiseth his
siege from
Spotingham.
Polydor.

The miserie
of this land in
time of the ci-
uill warre.

Then

Hor. lib. car. 1.
ode. 35.

*Eben cicatricum & sceleris pudet,
Fratriumque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetis? quid intantum nefasti
Lingimus? unde manus inuicentis
Metu decorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam litui strepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque vulsum)*

Idem lib. car. 2.
ode. 1.

Wherein (besides millions of extremities) honest
mairons and mens wiues were violated, maids
and birgins rauished, churches spoiled, towines and
villages robbed, whole flocks and herds of sheepe
and beaſts deſtroyed (wherein the ſubſtance of the
realme cheſelie conſiſted) and men without number
ſlaine and murdered, it pleaſed the goodneſſe of al-
mighty God at length to deliuer the land of theſe
miſeries, which were notified to all countries round
about that ſore lamented the ſame.

Now whereas king Stephan was the cauſe of all
the troubles, in hauing vſurped an other mans right
full inheritance, it pleaſed God to moue his hart at
length to deſire peace which he had euer before abhor-
red. The cauſe that moued him cheſelie to change
his former purpoſe, was for that his ſonne Cuſſace
by ſpeedie death was taken out of this world (as be-
fore you haue heard) which loſſe ſeemed great not on-
lie to the father, but alſo to all thoſe lords and others
which had alwaies taken his part, becauſe he was a
young man ſo well liked of all men, that he was iud-
ged to be bozne to much honour. But his wiſe Con-
ſtance toke his death verie ſorrowfullie, and the more
indeed, for that ſhe had no iſſue by him, whereupon
ſhortlie after he was ſent honourable home to his
father king Lewes with his dower, and other rich and
princelie gifts.

King Stephan ſeeing himſelfe thus deſtroyed of
his onlie ſonne, vnto whom he minded to leaue the
kingdome which he ſo earneſtly ſought to confirme
and aſſure vnto him by warlike endeuor, and that a-
gaine the French kings aid would not be ſo readie
as heretofore it had bene (whereupon he much ſtair-
ed, now that the bonds of affinitie were abolithed)
he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon
his ſonnes deſtruction) to withdraw his mind from
war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which alte-
ration being perceiued, thoſe Nobles that were
glad to ſee the ſtate of their countrie quieted, did
their beſt to further it; & cheſelie Theobald archbiſhop
of Canturburie travelled earneſtly to bring the
princes to ſome agreement, now talking with the
king, now ſending to the duke, and vſing all means
poſſible to ſet them at unitie. The biſhop of Win-
cheſter alſo, who had cauſed all the trouble, vpon con-
ſideration of the great calamities therewith the
land was moſt miſerable afflicted, began to wiſh
an end thereof. Whereupon the lords ſpirituall and
temporall were called together at Wincheſter a-
bout the latter end of Nouember, that they with
their conſents alſo might confirme whatſoever the
king and the duke ſhould conclude vpon.

Thus was a publicke aſſembly made in the citie of
Wincheſter, whither alſo duke Henrie came, who
being iſſuallie receiued of the king in the biſhops pa-
lace, they were made friends, the king admitting the
duke for his ſonne, and the duke the king for his fa-
ther, inſomuch that the agreement, which (through the
carefull ſtate of the archbiſhop of Canturburie) had
bene laboured with ſuch diligence to good effect, was
now confirmed: the cheſe articles whereof were
theſe.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life,
ſhould remaine king of England, and Henrie the
empreſſes ſonne ſhould enioy the dukedome of Nor-
mandie, and be proclaimed heire apparent to ſuc-

ceed in and haue the regiment of England, after
the deſtruction of Stephan.

2 That ſuch noble men, and other, which had held
either with the one partie or the other, during the time
of the ciuill warres, ſhould be in no danger for the
ſame, but enioy their lands, poſſeſſions and liuinges,
according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king ſhould reſume and take into his
hands againe, all ſuch poſſions and parcels of inheri-
tance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen a-
way, or were otherwiſe vſurped by any maner of
perſon, and that all thoſe poſſeſſions which by any in-
truſion had bene violentlie taken from the right
owners, ſince the daies of king Henrie, ſhould be re-
ſtozed to them that were rightlie poſſeſſed in the
ſame by the daies of the ſaid king.

4 That all thoſe caſtles, which contrarie to all rea-
ſon and good order had bene made and buildd by
any maner of perſon in the daies of king Stephan,
ſhould be ouerthrowne and caſt downe, which were
found to be eleuen hundred and ſixtene.

5 That the king ſhould reforme all ſuch diſorders
as warre had brought in; to reſtoze farmers to their
holdings, to repaire decayed buildings, to ſtoze pa-
ſtures and leaſures with cattell, hils with ſheep, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enioy
their due quietneſſe, and not be oppreſſed with any vn-
reaſonable exactions.

7 That he ſhould place ſhirifes where they had
bene accuſtomed to beare rule, with inſtructions gi-
uen them to deale by rightlie in cauſes, ſo as offen-
ders might not eſcape through byſes, or any other
reſpect of frendſhip; but that euerie man might re-
ceiue according to right and equitie.

8 That ſoldiours ſhould conuert their ſwords (as
Eſaie ſaith) into culters & plough ſhares, their ſpeares
into mattocks, and ſo returne from the campe to the
plough: and that ſuch as were wont to keepe watch
in the night ſeaſon, might now ſleepe and take their
reſt without any danger.

9 That the huſbandman might be ſet free from
all trouble and vexation, by meanes whereof he might
follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might en-
ioy their trades and occupations to their aduance-
ment.

11 That one kind and manner of ſiluer coine
ſhould run through the land, &c.

12 There was alſo conſideration had of a ſonne
which king Stephan had, named William, who
though he were verie young, was yet appointed to
ſwear fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to
the crowne. The ſame William had the citie of
Norwich, and diuerſe other lands aſſigned him for the
maintenance of his eſtate, and that by the conſent
and agrément of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

Theſe things being thus concluded at Wincheſter,
and the warre that had continued for the ſpace of
17. yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king
toke the duke with him to London, doing to him all
the honour he could deſire. The newes whereof be-
ing ſped abrode, euerie good man reioiced thereat.
Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was
reſtozed vnto the decayed ſtate of this realme of Eng-
land. Which things being thus accompliſhed with
great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his
new adopted ſonne duke Henrie toke leaue either of
other, appointing ſhortlie after to meet againe at
Drenford, there to perfect euerie article of their a-
grément, which was thus accorded a little before
Chriſtmas.

¶ But by the way, for the better vnderſtanding of
the ſaid agreement, I haue thought good to ſet downe
the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan,

ſentlie by this
agreement en-
tyed halfe the
realme of
England.

Math. Paris.
Caſtles to be
rayed in num-
ber. 1115.

The ladie
Conſtance
wiſe to Cuſ-
ſace ſent
home.

B. Stephan
began to in-
cline his mind
to peace.
Math. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

An aſſembly
of lords at
Wincheſter.

A peace com-
cluded betwixt
the king and
the duke.

Some writ-
ters haue re-
corded that
duke Henrie
ſhould pre-

as I haue copied it out, and translated it into English out of an autentike booke containing the old lawes of the Saxon and Danish kings, in the end wherof the same charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worshipfull William Fleetwood esquire, now recorder of London, and farscant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the
pacification of the troubles betwixt him and
Henrie duke of Normandie.

Stephan king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, iusticers, sherifes, barons, and all his faithfull subiects of England sendeth greeting. Know ye that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my succellour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and so haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath assured me, that he shall be faithfull and loiall to me, and shall to his power preserue my life and honour: and I on the other side shall maine-
teine and preserue him as my sonne and heire in all things to my power, and so far as by any waies or meanes I may.

William sonne
to king Ste-
phan.

Earle Warren.

The castles of
Wellencum-
ber and Wor-
tiner.

The earldome
of Mortaigne.

And William my sonne hath done his lawfull homage, and assured his fealtie vnto the said duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all those tenements and holdings which I held before I attained to the possession of the realme of England, wheresoeuer the same be in England, Normandie, or elsewhere, and whatsoeuer he receiued with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewise whatsoeuer apperteineth to those honours. And the duke shall put my sonne William and his men that are of that honour in full possession and seizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke there-
of now hath in his demaine, and namelie of those that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the castles of Wellencumber and Wortiner, so that Reginald de Warren shall haue the keeping of the same castles of Wellencumber, and of Wortiner, if he will; and thereupon shall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of those castles, then other liege men of the said earle Warren, whome it shall please the duke to appoint, shall by sure pledges and good suertie keepe the said castles.

Moreouer, the duke shall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleasure the other castles, which belong vnto the earldome of Mortaigne by safe custodie and pledges, so soone as he conuenientlie may, so as all the pledges are to be restored vnto my sonne free, so soone as the duke shall haue the realme of England in possession. The augmentation also which I haue gi-

uen vnto my sonne William, he hath likewise granted the same to him; to wit, the castell and towne of Norwich, with seauen hundred pounds in lands, so as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the same seauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolk; the profits and rents which belong to churches, bishops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, also excepted: sauing also and reseruing the kings roiall iurisdiction for administration of iustice. Also the more to strengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my said sonne whatsoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Beuensey. And moreouer the castell and towne of Beuensey, and the ser-
uice of Farnmouth, beside the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteineth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot

Richer de
Egle.

The church of
Feuertham.

The duke hath also confirmed the church of Feuertham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or restored by me vnto other churches, he shall confirme by the counsell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that be-
long to the duke, which were neuer my leges, for the honour which I haue done to their maister, they haue now done homage and swozne fealtie to me, the covenants betwixt me & the said duke alwaies saued. The other which had before done homage to me, haue swozne fealtie to me as to their souereigne lord. And if the duke should breake and go from the premises, then are they altogether to cease from doing him any seruice, till he reforme his misdoings. And my sonne also is to constreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke shall chance to go from the covenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons also haue done their large and homage vnto the duke, sauing their faith to me so long as I liue, and shall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I do breake and go from the premittid covenants, that then they may cease from doing me any seruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue done amisse.

The citizens also of cities, and those persons that dwell in castles, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue done homage, and made assurance to the duke, sauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and so long as I shall hold the kingdome. They which keepe the castle of Wallingford haue done their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the obseruing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke such assurance of the castles and strengths which I hold by the counsell and aduice of holie church, that when I shall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any losse or impeachment, wherby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortresse of Windsor, by the counsell and aduice of holie church
are

Wallingford
castell.

The tower
of London.
Windsor
castell.

Richard de
Lucie.John de
Bulsey.The bishop of
Winchester.

are delivered unto the lord Richard de Lucie, safelie to be kept, which Richard hath taken an oth, and hath delivered his sonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and custodie of the archbishop of Canturburie, that after my decease he shall deliver the same castels unto the duke. Likewise by the counsell and aduise of holie church, Roger de Bulsey keepeth the castell of Oxford, and Jordaine de Bulsey the castell of Lincoln, which Roger & Jordaine haue sworne, and thereof haue delivered pledges into the hands of the archbishop, that if I shall chance to leaue this life, they shall render the same castels to the duke without impeachment. The bishop of Winchester hath also given his faith in the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he shall render up unto the duke the castels of Winchester, and the fortreffe of Hampton.

And if any of them, unto whom the custodie of these fortresses shall be committed, fortune to die, or otherwise to depart from his charge, an other shall be appointed to the keeping of the same fortreffe, before he shall depart forth thereof, by the counsell and aduise of holie church. And if any of those persons that haue any castels or fortresses belonging to me in their custodie shall be found disobedient and rebell, I and the duke shall constrain him to satisfie our will & pleasure, not leauing him in rest till he be so constrained. The archbishops and bishops of the realme of England, and the abbats also, haue by my commandement sworne fealtie unto the duke, and the bishops and abbats that hereafter shall be made and aduanced here within the realme of England shall likewise sweare fealtie to him. The archbishops also and bishops on either part, haue undertaken, that if either of vs shall go from the foresaid couenants, they shall so long chastise the partie offending with the ecclesiasticall censures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obserue the said couenants. The mother also of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & subiects whom he may procure, shall likewise assure the premisses.

In matters belonging to the state of the realme, I shall worke by the dukes aduise. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I shall see that roiall iustice be executed. These being witnesses, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, Hen. of Winchester, Robert of Exeter, Rob. of Bath, Goceline of Salisburie, Robert of Lincoln, Hilarie of Cicester, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Rigell of Ely, Gilbert of Hereford, John of Worcester, Walter of Chester, Walter of Rochester, Geoffrey of S. Asaph, Bishops: Robert prior of Bermondsey, Orthon knight of the temple, William earle of Cicester, Robert earle of Leicester, William earle

of Glocester, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Coning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Salisburie, William de Albemarle, Earle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Humer, Reginald de Warren, Mahaser Biset, John de Doxt, Richard de Camewille, Henrie de Essex. Peuen at Westminster.

Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the historie. Immediatlie after Christmasse, euen in the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe at Orenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being assembled, sware fealtie unto duke Henrie, their allegiance due unto king Stephan, as to their soueraigne lord and supreme gouernour so long as he liued, alwaies reserved. The forme of the peace was now also ingrossed and registred for a perpetuall witness of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that began the yeare at Christmasse, as about the feast of S. Hilarie in Januarie commonlie called the twentieth daie. Thus was Henrie the sonne of the emperesse made the adopted sonne of king Stephan, and thereupon the said Henrie saluted him as king, and named him father. After conclusion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceased, in such wise, that the state of the realme of England did maruelouslie for a time flourish, concord being maintained on ech hand. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cause bound king Stephan to agree to this attonement chieflie, namelie for that the emperesse (as they saie) was rather king Stephens paramour than his enimie: and therefore (when she saw the matter growne to this point, that they were ready to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the westerne parts called Egglaw heath) she came secretlie unto king Stephan, & spake unto him on this wise: What a mischicuous and unnatural thing goe about? Is it met that the father should destroe the sonne? Is it lawfull for the sonne to kill the father? For the loue of God (man) refraine thy displeasure, and cast thy weapons out of thy hand, sith that (as thou thy selfe knowest full well) Henrie is thine owne sonne. With these and the like words she put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to doe with hir a little before she was married unto earle Geoffrey.

The king by such tokens as the emperesse gaue him, took hir words to be true, and thereupon all his malice was straightwaies quenched: so that calling forth the archbishop of Canturburie, he vitered to him the whole matter, and took therewith such direction, in sending to his aduersaries for auoiding battell at that present, that immediatlie the armies on both sides wrapped up their enignes, and euery man was commanded to keepe the peace, that a communication might be had about the conclusion of some pacification, which afterwards ensued in maner as before mentioned.

¶ But whether this or some other cause moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And surely a man may thinke it good reason, that the report of such secret companies keeping betwixt the king and the emperesse, was but a tale made among the common people upon no ground of truth, but upon some slanderous deuise of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to doe with hir, yet is it like that both of them would doe for best to keepe it secret, that no such reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate, or to his mother, whose honour thereby

1154
Ger. Dor.
Anno Reg. 19.

Polydor.

Marth. Paris.
Egglaw
heath.The sword of
the emperesse
to king Ste-
phan.The emperesse
confesseth hir
leise to be
naught of
hir bodie.Slandres de-
uise by mali-
cious heads.

Oxford.
Ger. Dor.
The king and
duke met at
Dunstable.

Articles not
performed.

The king and
duke come to
Canturburie.

The enmity of
the Flemings

Hesiod in lib. cni
iii. op. 5. di.

Duke Henrie
passeth ouer
into Normandie.

Wil. Paru.
Philip de Co-
leuille.
The castell
of Dix.

The puillance
of duke Henrie.

by should not a little be stained.

But now to the purpose. Shortly after that the king and duke Henrie had bene together at Oxford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunstable, where some cloud of displeasure seemed to darken the bright sunshine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt those two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the castels which had bene built since the daies of the late king Henrie for euil intents and purposes, should be razed and thowne downe: contrarie thereto (notwithstanding manie of them were ouerthowne and destroyed to the accomplishment of that article) diuers through the kings permission were suffered to stand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redresse, which some that troubled him: but yet because he would not giue occasion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would seeme to yeld all honour and due reuerence, he passed it ouer.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were solemnly receiued of the couent of Wykes church with procession. After this, in the Lent season they went to Douer, where they talked with Theobald the earle of Flanders, and with the countesse his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was huted) the duke should haue bene murdered, through treason of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes person, and also that peace which he had concluded with the king. But see the hap. As this feat should haue bene wrought on Berhamdoutone, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his sonne, who was one of the chiefe conspirators, fell beside his horse, and brake his leg, so that euery man by that sudden chance was in a maze, & came wondering about him. ¶ This no doubt came to passe by the prouidence of God, though such accidents are commonlie imputed to casualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to preuent, or to intercept, or to recompense the unnaturall conspiracies of traitors and rebels with some notable plague: according to that of the poet;

Οἱ αὐτῶ καὶ τὸ τεύχεον ἐν ἑλῷ καὶ τὸ τεύχεον,
ἢ ὅ καὶ βδελύτῃ τῶ βδελύσσοντι καὶ ὀνείδι,
Necius ipse sibi est alij qui querit obesse,
Consiliūq; malum danti fert maxima damna.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treason intended against him, or at the least suspecting somewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and so auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rochester, and so to London, he got him a shipboard, and sailed by long seas into Normandie, where he arriued in safetie.

After his departure, king Stephan spent the summer season of this yeare, in going about the most part of the realme, shewing all the courtesie he could deuise to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious persons, as in Dorsetshire, where Philip de Coleuille (in trust of his castell which he had strongly fortified at a certaine place called Dix) shewed himselfe disobedient to the king, who assembling a power in the countrie, besieged that castell, and shortly wanne it, without any great adoe.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puillance was thought to be such, that he was able to mainteine warres with the mightiest prince that

then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten possession of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earldome of Poitou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and looked to succeed in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. He also reuoked into his hands certaine parcels of his demaine lands, which his father had giuen away, and passing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie subdued certaine lords and barons there, that had rebelled against him.

About the same time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king restoring unto the duke the townes of Perwez and Cleron, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. markes of silver, for the harmes done by him, within the realme of France.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. We shall vnderstand, that within a while after he had made his foresaid progresse almost about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement as well to consult of matters touching the state of the commonwealth, as to furnish the see of Yorke with a sufficient archbishop. Whereupon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was chosen to that dignitie, and consecrated the tenth day of October, by archbishop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbishop of Canturburie. Then also was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the said Theobald. The new archbishop Roger first went to his see at Yorke, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and set his businesse there in order, he took his iourne towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne person.

King Stephan also after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to meet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certaine businesse. The earle was no sooner returned backe, but the king fell sicke, and was so grieuouly tormented with a paine in his bellic, and with an old distease also, wherewith (as should appeare) he had bene often troubled, namelie, the emrods, that finally he died in the abbey on the five and twentieth day of October, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eightene yeares, ten moneths, and od daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbey of Feuertham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife also, and his sonne Eustace were buried before. ¶ Thus farre of the acts and daeds of Stephan; now a little of other breefe remembrances, and first touching the prosopographie or description of his person.

He was comelie of stature, of a verie good complexion and disposition, of great strength, in qualities of mind verie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, courteous, and verie liberrall. For though he continued all his time in a manner in the maintenance of wars, yet he leuied but few tributs, or almost none at all. Indeed he put diuers bishops to greuous fines, and that not without the iust iudgement of Almighty God, that they might so be punished due to their perurie committed in helping him to the crowne. Vices wherewith he should be noted I find none, but that vpon an ambitious desire to reigne, he brake his oath which he made vnto the emperesse Maad.

In his daies, the abbeies of Tiltey, Fontreys, Rieuale, Coggeshall in Essex, Newbrough and Wobland, Periuale in Warwichehire, Caredon in Leicestershire, Kirkstead in Dorsetshire, with diuerse other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in so much that more abbeies were erected in his daies, than had bene within the space of an hundred yeares before,

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie. Marth. West.

Wil. Paru.
Roger Archdeacon of Canturburie made archbishop of Yorke.

Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan departed this life.

Marth. Paris.
N. Truier.
1154.

His stature.

Abbeies founded. Coggeshall he founded himselfe, and Fontreys in Lancashire, Feuertham in Kent.

W. Parvus.

before, as William Parvus writeth.

A great number of castles also were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the pables of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuasions of forenners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themselves when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking upon their neighbours.

Diuers learned men namelie historiographers

liued in these daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmensis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwise called Monumetensis, Caradoc Lancarnauensis, William Reuelensis, among whom Thurstan archbishop of Exeter is not to be forgotten, besides many more, who in diuerse sciences were verie expert and skilfull, as by treatises of their setting forth to the world hath sufficientlie appeared.

Thus far Stephan of Bullongne:



Henrie the second, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.



Anno Reg. 1.

1154

N. Triuet.
March. Paris.N. Triuet.
The archb.
shop of Rouen.

Polydor.

Councillers
chosen.

Ran. Higd.

Thom. Bec-
ket lord chan-
celloz.

Henrie the second of that name, a French man borne, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of An-
10 ion, begotten of Maude the emperesse, daughter to Henrie the first, began his reigne ouer England the five and twentieth of October, in the

yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, the second of pope Anastasius the fourth, the seuentieth yeare of Lewis the senenth king of France, and second of Balcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertised of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Otreham about the seuenth day of December. After he had got his companies together, which by tempest were scattered in his passage, he came first to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the pables of the realme resorting vnto him. This done he set forth to wards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie the twentieth daie of December.

The archbishop of Rouen, with thre of his suffragans, the archbishop of Exeter, and manie other bishops of England: Theodorius the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were present there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of thre and twentie yeares, and to win the peoples loue, he spake manie comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they should find him a louing prince. He used the lords also verie courteously. And first of all, after his attaining to the crowne, he chose to him counsellors of the grauest perfonages, and best learned in the lawes of the realme, with whose prudent advice he perused those lawes, and amended them where he thought necessarie, commending chiefly, that the lawes established by his grandfather Henrie the first should be obserued: and in manie things he relied vpon the advice of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at whose suite he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancellor, which Becket the said archbishop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before.

Moreouer, by the sentence and doome of his coun-

cellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better maintained, he commanded by wate of publishing a proclamation, that all strangers (which to get somewhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill discord betwene him and king Stephan) should depart home without further delate: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they should auoid vpon perill that might insue. It was a worlds wonder to see and marke how suddenlie these al-
10 lens were quite banished, as though they had bene phantasmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the subiects of the realme, as they that were accustomed to attempt one thyng turne vpon an others necke, and thought it lawfull for them so to do. Amongst them was a great number of Flemings, whom the king hated more than the residue.

By vertue also of this edict, William of Wyres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was constrained with others to depart the realme, king Henrie seizing all his possessions into his owne hands. Diuerse castles were throwne downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephens permission had builded, or else for that they stood not in such places as was thought meet and expedient; yet some he caused to be fortified: and furthermore, toke into his hands againe such
20 lands and possessions as appertained to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of person, of what degree so euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would loke so nere to his owne commoditie, that nothing should be left for them that might any way be recouered and gotten to his vse.

In this vere quiete Cilanoz being then in the citie of London, on the last of Februarie was deliuered of his second sonne named Henrie. About the same time also, William Beuerell of Nottingham a noble man and of great possessions was disherited by the king for forterie and witchcraft, which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester, as it was revealed openly, and brought to light. In accomplishing of which hainous crime and detestable act, many others were of counsell, and found gilty with him, which escaped not unpunished.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie assembled the
Cj. peres

Anno Reg. 2.
1155Nic. Triuet.
Polydor.
Wil. Parvus.
Strangers appointed to depart the realme.

Aliens auoid the land.

William de Wyres.

Castles ouerthrowne.
Polydor.
March. Paris.Wil. Parvus.
March. Paris.N. Triuet.
March. Paris.
March. West.
William Beuerell disherited.

1 Nic. Treuet.

Marth. Paris.
Nic. Treuet.
Hugh de
Spottimer.
The castell
of Cleberie.

Roger Fitz
Miles.

Anno Reg. 2.
The king go-
eth into the
north.
The castell of
Scarborough
Wil. Parvus.
Nic. Treuet.
The death of
the kings son
William.
Geffrey the
kings brother
rebelleth.

Wil. Parvus.

Pope Adrian
an English-
man borne.
A dispensation
for an oth.
Nic. Treuet.

peeres & great lords of his realme together at Wal-
lingford, and caused them to sweare allegiance unto
his eldest sonne William: providing, that if he chan-
ced to die, then they should do the like unto his bro-
ther Henrie. Also whereas Hugh de Spottimer had
fenced his castles against king Henrie, he besieged
the same, and taking the castell of Cleberie, he de-
stroyed it. Whereupon, the foresaid Hugh shortly af-
ter was at peace with the king, and surrendered to
him the two castles of Elmigmore and Bridgenoth, 10
which hitherto he had holden. Moreover, whereas
there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and
Roger Fitz Miles of Gloucester (who was earle of
Hereford) for the lands of Gloucester, that variance
was also quenched: for after the same Roger was
dead, his brother Walter succeeding him in the earl-
dome of Hereford, was constrained to depart with
the citie of Gloucester, which the king held and retei-
ned in his owne hands.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie 20
went to Poike, and in that countrie toke into his
hands divers castles which had bene long in posses-
sion of private men; namely, the castell of Scarbor-
rough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and
now was constrained to resigne it up, full fore a-
gainst his will. This yeare William the kings el-
dest sonne departed this life, and was buried at Rea-
ding. The realme of England was brought on all
sides into verie god quiet; but per long word came 30
to k. Henrie, that his brother Geffrey had begun a
rebellion on the other side of the sea. For their father
Geffrey (when he died) left three sonnes behind him,
Henrie, Geffrey, and William, ordaining by his tes-
tament, when Henrie should have gotten possession
of England and Normandie, that then the countrie
of Anion should remaine unto Geffrey, and in the
meane time, he to haue these three townes, Chinon,
Lodun, and Mirabell, to mainteine his estate; and
when the time came that the whole heritage should
fall unto him, he might by possession of these three 40
haue a readier meane to come by all the rest. Fur-
thermore, fearing least his eldest sonne Henrie (who
as then was absent) would not consent to the per-
formance of this his will, he caused certaine bishops
and other of the Nobles to sweare, that they should
not suffer his bodie to be committed to buriall, till
his sonnes had sworn to fulfill his last will and tes-
tament in all other things, but especiallie in this be-
halfe, wherein he iudged not amiss. For though Hen-
rie was loth to take his oth, yet because his fathers
bodie should not remaine vnburied, he was content-
ed to sweare.

But after he had obtained the kingdome of Eng-
land, his cometous desire, increasing still with abun-
dant already obtained, found meanes to procure
of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Englishman
borne) a dispensation for that oth: whereupon (hauing
got licence to depart from the office both of right,
law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he
passed ouer into Normandie, and making war a-
gainst his brother the said Geffrey, easilie expelled
him out of those places, which were assigned him by
bequest in his fathers testament, and so toke the
earldome of Anion into his owne possession. Where-
beit, he gaue unto his said brother a pension of a
thousand pounds English, & two thousand pounds of
the monie of Anion, with the towne of Lodun, and
certaine other layes to liue vpon; who neuerthelesse
thinking himselfe euill used at the kings hands, re-
belled and died.

¶ Here we haue to note the lacke of conscience
and religion, not onlie in the pretended successor of
Peter in giuing a dispensation for an oth, but also in
his god ghostlie sonne, who was no lesse forward in

reuolting from his oth, than the other was willing
to acquite him from the force thereof. But if these
men had bene profiting scholars in the vniuersitie of
the pagans, as they were arrant truants and ranke
dullards in the schoole of christians, they might haue
learned by profane examples, that as oths are not to
be rashlie taken, so they are not to be vnadvisedlie
broken. Whereunto alludeth Aristotle in his Meta-
physikes, shewing the cause why poetrie hath feig-
ned that the gods in old time used to sweare by wa-
ter, as Jupiter is reported to haue done in this
manner;

per flumina iuro

Infera sub terra stygio labentia laco.

To signifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie an-
cient and excellent element, and so necessarie that with-
out it the life of man cannot consist; euen so we
ought to esteeme of an oth, than the which we should
thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie,
nothing more christian. Whereunto also tendeth the
fable of the transmutation of mariners into dolphins
for perurie: importing thus much for our instructi-
on, that the breaking of an oth, in a case that may pre-
iudice, procureth greuous punishments from God
against them that so lewdlie do offend. But such is
the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant di-
spensations onlie for oths, but for incest, for treason,
and for any other sinne: which he may do (as he boa-
steth) by vertue of his absolute and vniuersall iuris-
diction: as we haue lately in most lamentable sort
sene exemplified. But to the course of our storie.

Shortly after, when king Henrie had dispatched
his businesse in Normandie, and made an end of
troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey,
he returned into England, because he receiued ad-
uertisement, that Malcolme king of Scotland be-
gan to make war against his subiects that bordered
next vnto him, whereupon he hastned northwards:
and coming first into Cumberland, he toke the ci-
tie of Carlisle, seizing all that countrie into his
hands; and going after into Northumberland, he
toke the towne of Newcastle, with the castell of
Wamburg, and toke into his possession all that coun-
trie which his mother the emperesse had sometimes
granted vnto king David, as before ye haue heard:
howbeit, because he would not seeme to offer too much
troubling, and be esteemed vniuersall of former bene-
fices receiued, he suffered king Malcolme to enioy
the earldome of Huntingdon, which king Stephan
had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, sonne to 50
king David, as before is partly touched.

William also the earle of Poitouaigne, and Mar-
ren sonne of king Stephan, were compelled to sur-
render to king Henrie, the castell of Poemsey, the ci-
tie of Norwich, and other townes and castles which
he held, appertaining to the demeane of the crowne:
to whom the king in recompense restored those lands
which his father king Stephan held in the daies of
king Henrie the first.

About this time Theodozike earle of Flanders 60
(going with his wiife vnto Jerusalem) committed
his sonne Philip with all his lands, to the custodie of
the king of England. Hugh Bigot also resigned his
castles into the kings hands.

But whilst king Henrie was about (as before
ye haue heard) to recover and get backe the portions
of his kingdome made away and dismembred by his
predecessors, he was informed, that the Welshmen
raised a rebellion against him; so to repress those at-
tempts, he hastned south with all diligence. Now at
his first approach to their countrie, his souldiers being
set vpon in the straits, were verie fiercelie put back
by the enemies, in so much that a rumor ran that
king Henrie was slaine, which putted by the Welshmen

Ouid. Met. lib.
1. fab. 6.

Ouid. Met. lib.
3. fab. 8. 9. 10.

1156

King Henrie
goeth against
the Scots.

The Swan Car-
tel and New-
castell and o-
thers.

The earldome
of Huntingdon.

William earle
of Poitouaigne.
Marth. Paris.
Nic. Treuet.

Anno Reg. 1.
1157
Theobricke
earle of Glas-
dors.

Rebellion of
Welshmen.

The king in-
uadeth them.

Custace Fitz
John, & Ro-
bert de Curcy
knight.

Henrie of
Cler.
March. West.
Wil. Parvus.
A combat be-
tween Henrie
de Cler, and
Robert de
Mounifort.
March. West.

The Welsh-
men submit
themselves.
The castell of
Rutland and
Basingwerke
built.
March. Paris.
Anno Reg. 4.
Thomas
Becket lord
Chancelor.
I I 5 8
March. Paris.
The king lai-
eth his crown
on the altar.
Coine altered.

Additions to
John Dike.
The lord
chancelor
Becket sent
into France.
March. West.

men with no small hope, and daunted the Englishmen with great feare. At deed, diuerse of the English nobilitie were slain, and (amongst others) Custace Fitz John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation.

Those which escaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king passed through the straits without danger, declared to their fellows that followed and were approaching to the said straits, that (so farre as they knew) the king and all the residue were lost. These newes so discomfited the companies, that Henrie de Cler, which bare the kings standard by right of inheritance, threwe downe the same, and fled: which dishonorable deed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mounifort, with whom (by order taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was overcome: but yet the king qualifying the rigor of the iudgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a thorne monke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited: notwithstanding this combat was not tried till about the 9. yeare of this kings reigne.

Now the king, hearing that his armie was discomfited, came to his men, and shewing himselfe to them with open visage, greatly reuiued the whole multitude, and then proceeding against the enemies; his people were afterwards more warie in looking to themselves, inso much that at length (when he prepared to invade the Welshmen both by water & land) they fought to him for peace, and whole submitted themselves vnto his grace and mercie.

About the same time, king Henrie builded the castell of Rutland, the castell of Basingwerke, and one house also of Templers. In the moneth of September also this yeare, the kings third sonne was bozne at Drenford, & named Richard. This yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the kings Chancelor. The king holding his Christmas at Worcester in great royaltie, sat in the church at seruice, with his crowne on his head, as the kings vsed in those daies to do on solemne feasts: but as sone as masse was ended, he took his crowne from his head, and set it downe vpon the altar in signe of humblenes, so that he neuer after passed for the wearing of a crowne. The same yeare also the king altered his coine, abrogating certeine peeces called basels.

In the moneth of August he went ouer into Normandie, and came to an enteruiew with the French king nere to the riuer of Cata, where they intreated of a league, and of a marriage, which was after agreed vpon, betwixt Henrie the sonne of king Henrie; and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the kings chancelor) was sent to Paris in great arais to fetch hir: who among other furnitures had nine long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket the lord chancelor, and brought from Paris, she was appointed from thenceforth to remaine in the house of Robert de Beurburge, a noble man of great honor, untill such time as the marriage should be solemnized.

After the two kings were departed in sunder, Richard Henrie prepared an armie against Conan duke of Britaine, who had seized the citie of Psaunts into his hands, after the decaise of Gesteire the kings brother, who was earle of Psaunts. At length, the same Conan perceiving himselfe not able to resist the king of England, vpon the daie of the feast of saint Michael the archangel came to king Henrie, and surrendered the citie of Psaunts into his hands, with all the whole countrie therevnto belonging. Some after which resignation, and vpon the 24. of August, Gesteire the kings fourth sonne was bozne.

frey the kings fourth sonne was bozne of his wife quene Eliano.

In December following, Throbalde earle of Blois was accorded with king Henrie, to deliuer to him two of his castels. Likewise Petroke earle of Berch surrendered two castels vnto king Henrie, which he had usurped of the demerues of Normandie in the daies of king Stephan: one of which castels the king gaue him againe, receiuing homage of him for the same.

After ouer king Henrie and Raimond earle of Barzelone met together at Blaine, where they concluded a league by waie of allegiance, so that Richard the sonne of king Henrie should take to wife the daughter of the said Raimond in time convenient; and that the king of England should giue vnto the said Richard the duchie of Aquitaine, & the countie of Poitou. This earle Raimond had married the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon.

In the meane time, a secret grudge that had long depended betwene king Henrie and king Lewes of France did still continue, and though there was a friendship agreed betwene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguished the same; yet was it but a fained friendship: for vpon euerie new occasion they were readie to breake againe, as it came to passe shortly after.

William duke of Aquitaine, grandfather to quene Eliano, married the daughter and heire of the earle of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie land, he engaged that earldome vnto Raimond the earle of saint Giles, and died before he could returne. His sonne William, father to quene Eliano, suffered his earldome to remaine still unredeemed, either for want of sufficiencie, or through negligence and carelesnesse: so that the earle of saint Giles keeping possession thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to his sonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewise. Now when king Lewes (having married the foresaid Eliano) demanded restitution as in the right of his wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the first denied to restore it, but after considering his lacke of power to resist the kings puissance, he plied the king with humble petitions, and so preuailed by faire words, that in the end king Lewes granted him his sister Constance in marriage (which Constance, as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Custace the sonne of king Stephan) & with hir granted him libertie to retein the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie of endowment: whereto the other accorded. Notwithstanding Henrie hauing married the foresaid quene Eliano, after the diuorfe had betwixt hir and king Lewes, made claime to the said countie of Tholouze in the right of his wife. Herevpon earle Raimond, trusting now to the aid of his brother in law king Lewes, denied to restore it; so that king Henrie determined to recover it by force, and entring by and by into Gascoine with an armie, he drew towards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to invade the same with great force and courage.

Diuerse great lords of those parties toynd with king Henrie in his war which he attempted against the earle of saint Giles, as the earle of Barzelone, and the lord William Trenchenille, a man of great power in those quarters, hauing vnder his rule manie cities, castels and towne, notwithstanding that he had of late lost many of them by violence of the foresaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of king Henrie he recovered them all. Galcolme also king of Scotland came vnto king Henrie, whilst he was forth in this iourne, to associate him in this businesse.

The earle hearing of king Henries coming with an armie, was put in great feare, and therevpon

Gesteire the
kings fourth
sonne bozne.

Petroke earle
of Berch.

Raimond erle
of Barzelone.
Richard the
kings sonne
offered to erle
Raimonds
daughter.

A fained
friendship.
William the
of Aquitaine.

Earle of saint
Giles offered
his wife Tho-
louze.

Anno. Reg. 5.
I I 5 9
March. Paris.
Mart. Westm.

Wil. Parvus.

William
Trenchenille.

N. Triuer.

The cite of
Cahors.
N. Triuet.
The lord
chancellor
Becket.

Rob. Houed.
William earle
of Bullongne.

The countie
of Beaunois.

A truce taken
Anno Reg. 5.

1160
A peace con-
cluded.
A marriage
concluded.

March. Paris.

Legats.

Wil. Parisus.
Certaine of
the Alidoies
came into
England be-
ing Dutchme.

A counsell at
Orford.

The profes-
sions of the
Alidoies.

on wrote letters to his brother in law king Lewes, requiring him with all speed possible to come unto his aid. King Lewes upon receipt of the letters, & considering the present danger of the earle, made such hast in continuing his iourne both daie and night, that he came to Thelouze, before king Henrie could arrive there. Which when king Henrie understood, and perceived how he was prevented, he changed his purpose of besieging the cite, and fell to spoiling of the countie thereabouts: at which time he reconquered certaine places that latelie before had revolted from his government, & amongst the rest the cite of Cahors, which he furnished with men, munition and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the custodie and keeping thereof: he fortified other places also which he had gotten, placing capteines and men of warre to looke unto the defence of the same. Whilest the king was thus abroad on his iourne in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Normaine the sonne of king Stephen, and Hamon earle of Gloucester departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

Finallie, when he had set things at a stea in those parties, he returned towards Normandie, and coming to the cite of Toures, he gave the order of knighthood unto Malcolm king of Scotland, and so in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new supplies, entered into the countie of Beaunois, burned manie villages in the same, and destroyed the strong castell of Cerberie, except one turret, which his souldiers could not take, by reason of the fire and smoke which staied and kept them from it. Moreover, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered unto king Henrie such fortresses as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and such like, which was no small discomfort and inconvenience to the French king, because the garisons placed in those fortresses impeached the passage betwixt Paris and Orleans. But shortly after, a truce was taken to last from the moneth of December, unto the feast of the holic Trinitie in the yeare next following.

In the moneth of Maie also ensuing, a peace was concluded upon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the marriage was solemnized betwixt Henrie the kings sonne being seven yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not past three yeares old: as writers doe report. The marriage was celebrated at Peterborough on the second daie of November, by the authoritie of two legats of the apostolicke see, Henrie bishop of Pisa, and William bishop of Parma, both prelates and cardinals.

About the same time came certaine Dutchmen of the foxe called Alidoies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which first spied the opinions which these men held, came from Gascoigne, and preuailed so greatly in setting forth their doctrine, that they mightilie increased through the large regions of Spaine, France, Italie, and Germanie: simple men (God wote) they were for the most part, as is written of them, and of no quickie capacitie. Howbeit, those which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now also was a counsell assembled at Orford, whereto these dogmatists were examined upon certaine points of their profession. The said Gerard undertaking to answer for them all, protested that they were good christians, and had the doctrine of the apostles in all reverence. Moreover, being examined what they thought of the substance of the godhead

and the merits of Christ, they answered rightlie, and to the point; but being further examined upon other articles of the religion then received, they swayed from the church and wayes, in the use of the diuine sacraments, derogating such grace from the same, as the church by her authoritie had then ascribed thereto. To conclude, they would in no wise renounce their opinions, in so much that they were condemned, burned in the forehead with an hot iron, and in the cold season of winter striped naked from the girdle heere upward, and so whipped out of the towne, with proclamation made, that no man should be so hardie as to receive them into any house, yet helpe them with meat, drinke, or any other kind of meanes: whereupon it fell out in fine that they were starued to death through cold and hunger: howbeit in this their affliction they seemed to reioice, in that they suffered for Gods cause, as they made account.

The same yeare, Mathew sonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbess of Hamie, daughter to king Stephen, and with hir had the countie of Bullongne. About this marriage grew the first falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket (as some haue written) but none more than the said Mathew was offended with the said chancellor, because he was so fore against the said contract.

King Henrie, shortly after the marriage, was consummated betwixt his sonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands, the castell of Gisors, with two other castels, situate upon the riuers of Cata in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage should be finished, king Henrie should haue those three castels, because they appertained to Normandie; in the meane time, the same castels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Poiron, Cosse de Saint Omer, and Robert Hastings, three knights templers, who upon the consummation of the marriages before said, and according to the trust committed to them, surrendered the possession of the said castels into the hands of king Henrie.

But the French king was not a little moued, for that king Henrie had seized upon them without his licence, in so much that he raised a powder of armed men, and sent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict about the rest with the Normans, till the night parted them in sunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumont, and the Normans to Gisors. The next daie, as the Frenchmen came forth againe, purposing to haue won Gisors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who issued out of the towne to skirmish with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt these two princes, and by setting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the English and French powers coming forthwith into the field, and marching one against an other, they approached so nere together, that battell was presently looked for, first in Aungelme, and after in the territorie of Dunc; but yet in the end such order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake vp.

The three Templers also ran in displeasure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the castels before they knew his mind, so that he banished them the realme of France for euermore: but king Henrie received them, and gaue them honorable entertainment. Some write that there were but two castels, Gisors and Beall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned.

About this time Theobald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that

Their examination & protestation.

The Alidoies condemned.

They are forbidden meat and drinke. They are starued to death.

N. Triuet.

The first falling out betwixt the king & Thomas Becket.

Anno Reg. 7.
March. Paris.
March. West.
1161

Rog. Houed.

Gaguinus.
The French & Normans fight.

Nic. Triuet.

Three knights templers.
Rog. Houed.

March. Paris.
The death of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

The power
legantine an-
nected to Cant.
Wil. Paru.

for the space of 22. yeares, who at his going to Rome,
and receipt of the pall of pope Innocent the second,
was also created legat of the see apostolike, which of-
fice he exercised so diligentlie, and so much to the
aunle of the church, that the dignitie of legatship re-
mained euer after to the archbishop of Canturburie
by a speciall decree, so that they were intituled *Legati
nati*, that is to say Legats borne (as mine author doth
report.) This Theobald greatlie fauoured Thomas
Becket.

The authori-
tie of Becket.
Anno Reg 6.

This Becket was borne in London, his father
hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian bozne,
and by religion a Saracen: howbeit (no regard had
of his parents) he grew so highlie in fauour with the
king, and might do so much in England, that he seem-
ed to reigne as if he had bene associat with him al-
so in the kingdome, and being Lord chancellor, the
king sent him ouer into England (Richard Lucie be-
ing in his companie) with sundrie letters in his fa-
uour, thereby to procure his election to that see: which
was brought to passe according to the kings desire
at Westminster. Afterward he was ordeined at
Canturburie on saturday in Whit sunweeke, by
Henrie bishop of Winchester (although there be that
write how Walter bishop of Rochester did conse-
crate him) which consecration was in the 44. yeare
of his age, and in the fift yere after his first aduance-
ment to the office of Lord chancellor, so that he was
the eight and thirtieth archbishop which gouerned in
that see.

He is conse-
crated archb.
Wil. Paru.
1162
Quadrilogium
ex vita eiusdem
Thome.

Toward the end of the same yeare, Henrie the
kings sonne receiued homage of the barons, first in
Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare en-
suing, the king his father committed him to archbi-
shop Becket, that he might see him brought vp and
trained in maners and courtlie behauiour, as apper-
teined to his estate: whereupon the archbishop in iest
called him his sonne.

The archbish.
a better coun-
seller than a
proucher.

The queene
brought to bed
of a daughter.
In entrance.
Anno Reg. 9.
1163
N. Truick.

This yeare Quene Elianor was brought to bed
at Roohan of a daughter named Elianor.

In like maner the kings of England and France
receiued pope Alexander the third at Cocie vpon
Loire with all honor and reuerence, inasmuch that
they attended vpon his stirrup on foot like pages or
lackies, the one vpon his right side, and the other on
his left.

Note here the intollerable pride of this antichri-
stian pope in assuming, and the basemindednesse of
these two kings in ascribing vnto that man of sume
such dignitie as is vtterlie vnfit for his indignitie.
But what will this monster of men, this *scupur mun-
di*, this *Diaboli primogenitus* & *heres* not arrogate for
his owne aduancement; like yule climbing aloft, &
choking the tree by whose helpe it crepeth vp from
the root to the top. But the end of this seauen horned
beast is extolling and lifting it selfe vp to heauen, is

*Erebo misere claudetur in imo
Atque illic miris cruciatibus afficietur.*

Homage of the
Is. of Scots.

In Januarie ensuing, the king returned into
England, and the same yeare the king of Scots did
homage vnto Henrie the ponger, and deliuered his
ponger brother David to the king his father, with di-
uerse other the sonnes of his lords and barons in
pledge, for assurance of a perpetuall peace to be kept
betwene them, with some such castles as he re-
quired.

The counsell at
Tours.

In the meane time archbishop Thomas went to
the counsell holden by pope Alexander at Tours in
the Octaues of Pentecost, where he resigned his bi-
shoplike into the popes hands (as the same went) be-
ing troubled in conscience for that he had receiued it
by the kings preferment. The pope allowing his
purpose, committed the same pastorlike dignitie to
him againe by his ecclesiasticall power, whereby the

archbishop was eased verie well of his graue, and
shortlie after his returne from his counsell, seemed
desirous to reduce a cause to be restored such rights
as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Can-
turburie, whereby he ran into the displeasure of ma-
nie, and namelie of the mightiest.

Howeuer he required of the king the keeping of
Rochester castell, & the custodie of the tower of Lon-
don. He alledged also that Saltwood & With belong
peculiarlie to the seigniozie of his see. He called
Roger earle of Clare vnto Westminster, to do his
homage vnto him for the castell of Tunbridge; but
the earle denied it through the setting on of the king,
allegging all the see thereof to appertene rather to
the king than to the archbishop. Thus was the archbi-
shop troubled, and he grew daillie more and more
out of the kings fauour. For ye must vnderstand,
that this was not the first nor the second, but the eight-
time that the king had shewed tokens of his displea-
sure against him.

The archbish.
practiseth trea-
son secretlie.

Homage for
the castell of
Tunbridge.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.

Anno Reg. 10
Homage of the
Welshmen.
1164
N. Truick.

After this, vpon the first day of Iulie, Rice prince
of Southwales, with diuerse other lords and nobles
of Wales, did homage both to the king and to his
sonne Henrie at Woodstocke. Hamline the kings
barkar brother married the countesse of Warren,
the widow of William earle of Poitaigne barkar
sonne to king Stephan. This countesse was the sole
daughter and heire of William the third earle of
Warren, which went with Letoes king of France
into the holie land, and there died. Some after, the
Welshmen rebelling with their prince Rice and his
uncle Owen, did many mischeues on the marches:
and by the death of Walter Gifford earle of Buc-
kingham (who deceased this yeare without heire) that
earledome came to the kings hands.

On the 20. daie of September were three circles
seene to compasse the sun, and so continued the space
of thre houres together: which when they vanished a-
waie, two sunnes appeared and shined forth after a
maruellous maner. Which strange sight the com-
mon people imagined to be a signe or token of the
controuersie then kindling betwixt the king and the
archbishop.

Matth. Paris.

About this time the king called a parlement at
Westminster, to treat of matters concerning the
commonwealth, wherein great discord arose betwixt
the king & archbishop Becket, about certeine points
touching the liberties of the church. For the king ha-
uing an earnest zeale vnto iustice, and commanding
the iudges to punish offenders without respect, un-
derstood by their information, that manie things by
them of the spiritualtie (against whome their authori-
tie might not be extended) were committed contrarie
to common order: as theft, rapine, murder, and
manslaughter; in so much that in his presence it
was made notorious, that sith the beginning of his
reigne, aboue an hundred slaughters had bene
committed within his realme of England by preests
and men of religious orders. Hereupon being mo-
ued in mind, he set forth lawes against the spiritual-
tie, wherein he shewed his zeale of iustice. For as the
cause proceeded from the bishops of that age, so did
the fault also, sith contrarie to their owne canons
they permitted preests to liue ouer licentiouslie with-
out due correction, studieng onelie to mainteine the
liberties and immunities of the church, and not to re-
forme the irregularitie of the regulars. Of this crew
was one Philip de Bosc, a canon of Bedford, who
being arreigned before the kings iusticer for a mur-
ther, vttered disdainfull words against the same ius-
ticer: which when he could not denie before the arch-
bishop, he was deprived of his prebend, and banished
the land for two yeares space.

Discord sith
kindled be-
twixt the king
and the archb.

Furtherers
committed by
preests.

W. Partus.

Matth. Paris.

These things troubled the king, who therefore ha-
ving

The king
meant to
build the
spiritual
his
prelatical
was
dearing.
The
against
the
king.
C. D. D.

ning already for downe such orders as should bable
the spiritalitie from their wished downes, thought
that if he might get them confirmed in parliament
by consent of the bishops and clergie, then the same
should take place and be received for lawes. Where-
fore he earnestly required at this parliament, that
it might be enacted against all such of the spirital-
tie, as should be taken and confirmed for any heinous
offence, they should lose the privilege of the church,
and be delivered unto the civil magistrate, like
other for their utter execution for their offences, in
like manner as he might any of the kings subjects
being lay men. For otherwise the king alleged,
that they would boldly presume to do much more
wickedly, if after ecclesiasticall discipline, no secu-
lar correction should followe. And likewise it was
that they would passe but little for their disgracing and
loss of their order, who in contempt of their calling
would not abstaine from committing most mischie-
vous abominations and heinous enormities.

Unto these reasons thus proposed by the king, to
have his purpose take effect, the archbishop and his
last against the will of the bishops, answered
verie proudly, labouring to prove that it was more a-
gainst the liberties of the church, than that they
might with reason well allowe. Whereupon the king
being moved exceedingly against them, demanded
whether they would observe his royal lawes and cu-
stomes, which the archbishops and bishops in the time
of his grandfather did hold and observe or not. Where-
unto they made answer, that they would observe
them, *salvo ordine suo*, Their order in all things saved.
But the king being highly offended with such excep-
tions, urged the matter so, that he would have them
to take their oath absolutely, & without all exceptions,
but they would none of that. At length he departed
from London in verie great displeasure with the bi-
shops, having first taken from the archbishop Tho-
mas all the offices and dignities which he enjoyed
since his first being created chancellor.

Howbeit, after this, many of the bishops seeing
therunto this broile would grow, began to shrinke
from the archbishop, and inclined to the king. But
the archbishop stood firme in his opinion, and would
not bend at all, till at length not onlie his suffra-
gans the bishops, but also the bishop of Lisieux who
came over to do some good in the matter, and the ab-
bat of Clemencia who was sent from the pope, per-
suaded him to agree to the kings will, in so much
that being overcome at last with the earnest suit of
his friends, he came first to Woodstocke, and there
promised the king to observe his lawes, *bona fide*,
Faithfully, and without all collusion or deceit.

Shortlie after, in the feast of S. Hilarie, a counsell
was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbishop,
and in manner all the lords spiritual and temporall
of the land made their repaire. Here the archbishop
would have willinglie started from his promise, if
first the bishops, and after the earles of Leicester and
Cornwall, Robert and Reignald, which Reignald
was uncle to the king, and lastlie two knights tem-
plers, had not moved him to yield to the kings will.
But among the rest, these two knights, namely Ri-
chard de Hastings, and Wolscus de Boloigne were
verie earnest with him, & at length prevailed, though
not for conscience of dutie, whereunto he should have
bene touched; yet with feare of danger, which by re-
fusing to satisfie the kings will, he should have
brought not onlie upon himselfe, but also upon the
the other bishops there present.

These knights seemed to lament his case, as if al-
ready they had seen naked swords shaken about
his eares. And indeed, certaine of the kings servants
that attended upon his person after the manner of a

guard, went to and fro, reaching by and about the
chambers, shaking their bright battell axes ready
appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run
upon the bishops. Whereupon the archbishop being
touched with remorse, and seeming to strive against
his determinet purpose, consented to obey the kings
; lease, and so promised in the word of a prelat, swea-
ring furthermore, that he would observe the kings
lawes and customes, without exception of these words.
Thus ordine suo, *salvo ordine suo*, which he had used
before. The like oath did all the bishops take. But the
archbishop refused at that time to seale to the testi-
fying that contained the articles of the oath which he
should have observed, requiring as it were a time to
consider of them, sith in so weightie a matter no-
thing ought to be done without gods and deliberate
advice, wherefore he took with him a copie thereof,
and so did the archbishop of Doyke an other, and the
card remained with the king.

Shortlie after, the archbishop considering further
of this oath which he had taken, repented himselfe
greatly thereof, in so much that he abstained from
saicing of masse, till he had by confession and fruits
of penance (as saith Marth. Paris) obtained absolu-
tion of the pope. For addressing and sending out mes-
sengers with all speed unto the pope, with a certifi-
cat of the whole matter as it laye, he requested to be
absolved of the bond which he had unadvisedly entered
into. This suit was soon granted, in so much that
the pope directed his especiall letters unto him, con-
ferring the same absolution in verie ample and
large manner, as Marth. Paris doth report it. And
thus began a new broile.

The archbishop in the meane time, perceiving that
the liberties of the church were now not onlie em-
beshelled, but in manner strangled, and being loth to
make any further attempt against his former dea-
lings, would now (without the kings knowledge)
have departed the realme, whereupon coming to
Rouen, he took shipping, to have passed over into
France, and so to have gone to the popes court. But
by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into
England, and thereby fell further into the kings dis-
pleasure than before, in so much that, whereas an ac-
tion was commenced against him of late for a ma-
nor, which the archbishops of Cantuarburie had of
long time held: now the matter was so bled, that the
archbishop lost the manor, and was moreover con-
demned to paie the arrearages, and thus his troubles
increased even though his owne malapertnesse and
brainesicknesse; whereas all these tumults might
have bene composed and laid asleepe, if he had bene
wise, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

*Vir bonus & sapiens quatuor sunt in omni pace,
multiplicata sunt ei bona, et crescit ei opus
Ne parum ei signa daretur in eterna iusticia.*

In the end, the archbishop was cited to appeare be-
fore the king at Northampton, where the king used
him somewhat roughly, placing his horses at his
Anne, and laid disobedience to his charge, for that he
did not personallie appeare at a certaine place before
his highnesse, upon summons given unto him for
the same purpose. Whereunto though the archbishop
alleged that he had sent thither a sufficient deputie
to make answer for him; yet could he not be so ex-
cused, but was found guilty, and his goods confiscat
to the kings pleasure.

How when the archbishop heard that sentence was
in such wise pronounced against him: What manner
of judgement saith he is this? Though I hold my
peace, yet the age that shall hereafter followe, will not
hide it in silence; for sithens the world began, it hath
not bene heard, that any archbishop of Cantuarburie
hath bene judged in any of the kings of Englands
courts

Marth. Paris.
The arch-
bishop, who
had returned
from the
pope.

See repea-
ment in that
he had returned
from the
pope.

The arch-
bishop who
would have
been out of the
realme.

M. Paris.
15.

The arch-
bishop cited to
appear at
Northamp-
ton.

Sentence ge-
ven against
the arch-
bishop.

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“ courts for any maner of cause; partlie in regard of
 “ the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie
 “ because he is spirituallie the father of the king and
 “ all his people. This is therefore a neto forme and or-
 “ der of iudgement, that the archbishop should be iud-
 “ ged by his suffragans, or the father by his sons.

The archbish.
 condemned in
 five hundred
 markes.

An assemblie
 of bishops.

The archbish.
 called to an
 account.

The next daie the king required of him the repai-
 ment of five hundred markes, which he had lent him
 when he was chancellor. Now although he affirmed
 that he received the same by waie of gift, and not by
 waie of lone; yet because he confessed the receipt, he
 was condemned in that debt, forsomuch as he could
 not proue the title of the gift.

On the morrow after, the archbishop with his fe-
 low bishops being set in counsell, by commande-
 ment of the king (& the doores fast locked that they
 should not get out) this was proponed against the
 archbishop, that whereas he held certeine bishops sees
 as then vacant, with abbeies, and other reuenues of
 his soueraigne lord the king in his hands, and had
 made none account to him for the same of long
 time, the king required now to be answered at his
 hands, and that with all speed, for he would haue no
 delaie. The summe amounted to thirtie thousand
 markes.

When the archbishop had heard the variable sen-
 tences of the bishops in this case, he answered after
 this maner: I would (said he) speake with two earles
 which are about the king, and named them. Who be-
 ing called, and the doores set open, he said vnto them;
 “ We haue not here at this present to shew whereby
 “ the thing may be more manifest: therefore we aske
 “ respite for answer till to morrow. The counsell there-
 “ fore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came
 with the archbishop thither, being afraid of the kings
 displeasure, fell from him. Wherefore he caused his
 seruants to fetch a great number of poze and impo-
 tent people to his lodging, saleng that by the seruice
 of such men of warre, a more speedie victorie in short
 space might be gotten, than by them which in time of
 temptation shamesfullie dreyne backe. Hereupon his
 house was filled full, and the tables set with such as
 his seruants had brought in, out of the lanes and
 streets abroad.

The bishops
 perswade the
 archbishop to
 submit him-
 self to the kings
 pleasure.

The archbish.
 answer to his
 brethren.

He appealeth
 to the church
 of Rome.

Upon the tuesday, the bishops all amazed and full
 of care, came vnto him; and because of the displea-
 sure which the king had conceiued against him, coun-
 selled him to submit himselfe to the kings will, or else
 in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iud-
 ged a pertured person; because he had swozne vnto
 the king as to his earthly soueraigne, touching all
 temporall hono: in life, lim, and member; and name-
 lie to obserue all his roiall lawes and customes, which
 of late he had established.

Wherevnto he answered: My brethren, ye see how
 the world roseth against me, and the enemie riseth vp,
 but I more lament that the sonnes of my mother
 fight against me. If I should hold my peace, yet
 would the world come to declare how ye leaue me
 alone in the battell, and haue iudged against me
 now these two daies past, I being your father,
 though neuer so much a sinner. But I command you
 by vertue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your
 order, that you be not present in any place of iudge-
 ment, where my person may fortune to be adiudged:
 in testimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the
 church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that tem-
 porall men late their hands vpon me, I charge you
 likewise by vertue of your obedience, that ye exer-
 cise the censures of the church in the behalfe of your
 father the archbishop as it becometh you. This one
 thing know ye well, that the world roseth, the flesh
 trembleth and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will
 not shrink, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto

to me.

After this he entred into the church, and celebrated
 the masse of saint Stephen (otherwise than he was
 accustomed to do) with his pall: which being ended,
 he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope vpon
 them all, and so went to the court. Furthermore, be-
 cause he was afraid, he received the sacrament se-
 cretly with him, and bearing the crosse in his right
 hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in
 that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred
 the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came
 to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops follow-
 ing him with great feare and trembling. Now being
 come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie
 haue taken the crosse, and haue borne it before him,
 but he would not suffer him, sayeng: It is most rea-
 son that I should beare it my selfe, vnder the defense
 whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding
 this ensigne, I need not doubt vnder what prince I
 serue.

He goeth to
 the court.

At length, when the king had exhibited great com-
 plaints vnto them all generallie against him, they
 cried that he was a traitor, sith he had received so
 manie benefits at the kings hands, and now refused
 to do him all earthly hono: as he had swozne to do.
 To be short, when the bishops came to sit vpon the
 matter in counsell, they appealed to the see of Rome
 against the archbishop, accusing him of periurie: and
 in the word of truth bound themselves by promise, to
 do what they might to depose him, if the king would
 pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged
 ouer the archbishops head. Then comming to the
 archbishop they said: Thou wast sometime our arch-
 bishop, and we were bound to obeie thee: but sith
 thou hast swozne fealtie to the king, that is, life,
 member, and earthly honour, & to obserue his lawes
 and customes, and now goest about to destroye the
 same, we say that thou art guiltie of periurie, and we
 will not from henceforth obey a pertured archbishop.
 Therefore we cite thee by appellation to appeare be-
 fore the pope, there to answer thine accusors. Then
 they appointed him a day, in which they ment to pro-
 secute their appeale. I heare you well (said the arch-
 bishop.)

He is repated
 a traitour.

The bishops
 dissuade their
 archbishop.

The princes and peres of the realme did also
 iudge him a pertured person and a traitour. Among
 whome (manie then being present) the earle of Lei-
 cester accompanied with Reginald earle of Cozme-
 wall, came vnto him and said: The king comma-
 ded thee to come and render an account of that which
 is objected against thee, or else heare thy iudgement.
 Iudgement: said the archbishop, [and therewith ri-
 sing vp said,] Haie sonne earle, first heare thou: It is
 not vnknowne to thee how faithfull I haue bene to
 the king, in consideration whereof he advanced me
 to the archbishops see against my will (as God can
 be my iudge: for I knew mine owne infirmities, and
 I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his
 pleasure, than for Gods cause, and therefore doth God
 both withholde himselfe and the king from me. In
 the time of mine election he made me free, and dis-
 charged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as
 touching those things from which I am free and de-
 liuered, I am not bound to answer, neither will I.
 So much as the soule is more worth than the bodie,
 so much the more art thou bound to obeie God and
 me, rather than any earthly creature. Neither will
 law nor reason permit, that the sonnes should iudge
 or condemne the father: and therefore I refuse to
 stand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any
 other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (vnder God)
 I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto
 Gods protection and his, and vnder the defense of his
 authoritie I depart out of this place. Having thus
 spoken,

Ger. Dor.
The stout
courage of
the archbis-
shop.

spoken, went incontinent to take horse.

Now as he passed on his waite, the kings seruants and others of the court did cast out manie reprochfull words against him, calling him traitor: and false forsworne cattife. At which words turning himselfe, and looking backe with a sterne countenance he said: That if it were not for his order of priesthod, and that it were lawfull for him, he would suerlie cleere himselfe of perurie and treason, in defending and maintaining his cause against them with wea-
pon in hand.

When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the same fast locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his seruants espieng where a bunch of keyes tied to a clubs end were hanging on a pin, he toke them down, & tried which was the right key, by profe thereof he found it at the last, opened the gate, and let the archbishop out, the porters standing still as men amazed, and speaking not one word against it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, saying: "Blessed be God, which hath deliuered his seruant from the face of his enemye. Thus with a great rout of companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conuered to the abbey of S. Andrews: and looking behind and before him, as he passed thitherward, he said vnto those that went with him, How glorious a procession doth bring me from the face of the enemye? Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie together in the Lord. Having thus spoken the people had entrance, so that all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furnished with tables and stools, they were conuenientlie placed, and serued with vittels to the full.

Rog. Honed.
The archbis-
shop Wicket
died awaie in
the night.

The verie same night before the cockcrowling he issued forth by a little posterne gate, and taking with him onelie two monks of the Cisterciour order, the one named Robert Canine, and the other S. Capman, with one of his owne seruants called Roger de Wyoc, he fled awaie disguised in a white vesture and a monks coule, and changing his name, caused himselfe to be called Dereman, & iourneied still all the night, and by daie laie close in one friends house or other: till at last he got to Sandwich, and there taking ship, he sailed ouer into Flanders, and so went to France, where at the citie of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whose bosome he emptied whole cart lodges of complaints and greeuances.

Gilbert Fol-
lioth bishop of
London was
sent to the
French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbishop was fled the realme, sent Gilbert Follioth bishop of London, and William carle of Arundell in spedie ambassage to the king of France, to signifie vnto him the whole matter and circumstance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbishop, requiring him not to receiue the archbishop into his realme, but this request was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbishops cause was fauoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, so that the archbishop found great grace with the French king, and no small fauour at the hands of the pope.

Additions to
Iohn Pike.
Marth. Paris.
Ger. Dor.

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accused by the archbishop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbishop of Yorke, the foresaid Gilbert bishop of London, Hilarius bishop of Chichester, Roger bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, with diuerse bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & other learned men of good account, to the number of 15, to passe in ambassage vnto the pope, that they might excuse his doings, and burden the archbishop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good profe.

Roger archbis-
shop of yorke

Being admitted to declare their message in the consistorie before the pope, they opened the whole cir-

cumstance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie and the king there was a controuersie moued, and by both their consents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iustice should require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the chiefe lords of the realme both spirituall and tempozall were assembled, to the end that the more generall the meeting should be, the more manifest might the discoverie of the fraud and malice of the archbishop appeare.

At the daie appointed (saie they) there came before the catholike prince his presence, the Nobles of his realme: and amongst other, the archbishop the disquieter both of the kingdome & church, who (as one not well assured of the qualitie of his owne deservings) blessed himselfe with the signe of the crosse at his coming into the court, as though he should haue come before some tyrant or schismaticall person. Notwithstanding all which contemptuous and ambitious behauiour, the kings maiestie was nothing offended, but committed the iudgement of his cause to the faithfull order of the bishops, meaning so to deliuer himselfe of all suspicion of wrong dealing. Then it rested in the bishops hands to make an end of the controuersie, and to set a finall union and agreement betwixt them. But the archbishop would none of that, alleging how it should be a derogation to the see apostolike and his metropolitane dignitie, to stand before the king in iudgement, or any other tempozall magistrate. And albeit (saie they) some diminution or eclipse might haue chanced to the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it had bene his part to haue dissembled the matter for the time, to the end that peace might haue bene restored to the church. He further objected (alcribing to himselfe the name of father, which seemed to fauour somewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not to come together to iudge the fathers cause, but it had bene far more necessarie that the humbleness of the sons should mitigate the pride and temper the ambition of the father.

To conclude, the kings ambassadors made earnest suit, that two legats might be sent from the pope, to haue the hearing & discussing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbishop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbishop hauing already perswaded the pope to the contrarie. For coming

The kings
tale could
not be heard.

to the pope, he uttered his complaint as followeth:

Most holie father, I doe here come for succour to your audience, lamenting that the state of the church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Wherefore when I thought to resist the disease approaching, I was suddenly called before the king, to render accounts as a late man about certeine wards, for whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had notwithstanding giuen accounts; and also, when I was made bishop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the archbishops see, I was released and discharged of all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldest sonne, and by the chiefe iusticer of the realme: so that now, where I looked to haue found aid, I was destitute thereof, to my great hinderance and deration. Consider furthermore (I praise you) how my lords and brethren the bishops are readie at the pleasure of the noble men of the court to giue sentence against me, so that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almost oppressed: and therefore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, which doth not forsake your children in their extreme necessitie, before whom I here stand, readie to declare and testifie that I am not to be iudged there,

The archbis-
shop Wicket.
Marth. Paris.

1102 yet at all by them. For what other thing should
 1103 that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church?
 1104 What else then to submit spirituall things to tempo-
 1105 rall? This example therefore once sprung up, might
 1106 give an occasion to manie enormities to follow. The
 1107 bishops doe say, Those things that are Cæsars, ought
 1108 to be referred to Cesar. But admit that in manie
 1109 things the king is to be obeyed, is he therefore to be
 1110 obeyed in things wherein he is no king? For those
 1111 belong not to Cesar, but to a tyrant. Wherein if for
 1112 my sake they would not, yet ought the bishops for
 1113 their owne sakes to haue resisted him. For what
 1114 should be the cause of such deable and vnnaturall ha-
 1115 tred, that to destroye me, they should destroye them-
 1116 selues? Therefore whilest for temporall things they
 1117 neglect spirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then
 1118 most holie father, my fleeing awaie, and my persecu-
 1119 tion, and how for your sake I haue bene prouoked
 1120 with iniuries, vse your rigour, constrain them to
 1121 amendement, though whole motion this hath cha-
 1122 ced; let them not be borne out by the king, who is ra-
 1123 ther the obstinate minister, than the finder out of
 1124 this pccatle.

The popes
 answer to the
 archbishop.

The pope hauing heard his words, tooke delibera-
 tion in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals,
 and thereupon answered the archbishop in effect as
 followeth: That the lower power may not iudge the
 higher, and cheselle him whome he is bound to obie-
 1125 ce; all the lawes both of God and man doe witnesse, and
 1126 the ordinaunces of the ancient fathers doe manifestlie
 1127 declare: Whereupon we (to whome it appertaineth to
 1128 reforme disorders) doe clearelie reuerse and make
 1129 void the iudgement pronounced against you by the
 1130 barons and bishops, whereby as well against the or-
 1131 der of law, as against the customes of the church,
 1132 your goods were adiudged forfeit, whereas the same
 1133 goods were not yours, but the churches of Cantur-
 1134 burie, ouer which you haue the onelic cure and charge.
 1135 But if those that haue violentlie entred vpon the pos-
 1136 sessions and goods of your church, and haue thereby
 1137 wronged either you or yours, will not vpon admoni-
 1138 tion giuen to them, make restitution with sufficient
 1139 amends, then may you (if you shall thinke conueni-
 1140 ent) exercise ecclesiasticall iustice vpon them, and we
 1141 shall allow of that which you shall reasonable doe in
 1142 that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himselfe
 1143 we will not giue you any speciall commendement,
 1144 neither yet doe we take from you any right belong-
 1145 ing to your bishoplike office, which you receiued at
 1146 your consecration. But the king onlie we will spare,
 1147 and exempt from your excommunications and cen-
 1148 sures. After these and manie by-matters were ouer-
 1149 passed, the archbishop resigned his pall vnto the pope,
 1150 but the pope gaue it him againe, and appointed him
 1151 to remaine at Mountney an abbey of monks Cis-
 1152 teaur in the diocesse of Auxerre, till the variance
 1153 were brought to some good end betwixt the king and
 1154 him. This was done in the yeare of our Lord
 1155 1164.

The archbiss.
 resigneth his
 pall.

The king hauing knowledg by his ambassadoys
 what answer the pope had made, became grauouslie
 offended in his mind, and thereupon confiscated all
 the goods that belonged to the archbishop and his
 complices, and seized their reuenues into his hands,
 appointing one Randall de Broc to haue the custodie
 of all that belonged to the see, which Broc was no-
 thing frendlie to the archbishop, being his knowne
 enemye of old, but fauoured the monks, and would
 not suffer that they should take wrong or displeasure
 at any hand.

Ger. Dor.

1165
 March. West.
 March. Paris.

In the yeare 1165. quene Elianor was deliue-
 red of a daughter which was named Joane. Also on
 the 26. day of Januarie, there chanced a marvellous
 earthquake in Southfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in

Suffolke, so that men as they stood on the ground
 were ouerthrowne therewith, and buildings so sha-
 ken, that the belles in steeple knolled: the like had
 also chanced in the Aduent season then last before
 passed.

The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of
 those countries that bordered vpon them: where-
 with the king being sore moued, leuied an armie
 with all speed as well of Englishmen as of strangers,
 1156 and (without regard of difficultie and dangers) did
 go against the rebels, and finding them withdrawne
 into their starting holes (I meane the woods and
 1157 strait passages) he compassed the same about in verti-
 forceable maner. The Welshmen perceiuing them-
 selues now to be brought into such leoparchie, as that
 they could not well deuise how to escape the same,
 consulted what was best to be done. After consulta-
 tion, casting awaie their weapons, they came forth
 to the king, asking mercie; which somewhat hardlie
 1158 they obtained. Few of them were executed in com-
 parison of the numbers that offended: but yet the
 capitaines and cheefe authors of this rebellion were
 so punished, that it was thought they would neuer
 haue presumed so rashlie to offend him in like sort a-
 1159 gaine. For (as some writers affirm) he did iustice on
 the sonnes of Rice or Rees, & also on the sonnes and
 daughters of other noble men that were his complice
 1160 res verie rigorously: causing the eies of the yong
 striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their
 noses to be cut off or slit: and the eares of the yong
 gentlewomen to be stuffed.

The welsh-
 men make warre
 on the Eng-
 lish marches.

Wil. Paruus.
 Polydor.
 The king in-
 uadeth Wales.

Ger. Houed.
 The seuerie
 punishment
 bled by king
 Henry against
 the welshmen.

But yet I find in other authors, that in this tour-
 nic king Henrie did not greatlie pccalle against
 his enemies, but rather lost manie of his men of
 warre, both horsemen and footmen: for by his seuerie
 proceeding against them, he rather made them more
 eager to seeke reuenge, than quieted them in any tu-
 1161 mult. They tooke the castell of Cardigan, and in be-
 sieging of Wigres, the king was in no small danger
 of his life: for one of the enemies shooting diricallie
 at him, had perled him through the bodie, if Hubert
 de Saint Clere constable of Colchester, perceiuing
 the arrow comming, had not thrust himselfe betwixt
 the king and the same arrow, and so preserving his
 1162 master, receiued the stripe himselfe, whereof he died
 presentlie after, beseeching the king to be good lord to
 one onelic daughter which he had, whome the king
 bestowed in marriage vpon William de Languallee,
 together with hir fathers inheritance, which William
 1163 begat of hir a sonne that bare both his name and
 surname. A president of gratitude & thankfulness
 is here committed to memorie. And surely the king
 could doe no lesse, than some way requite the ventu-
 rous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who
 with the losse of his owne life preserved the king, if
 not from death, yet from some dangerous wound
 that might haue put him to extreame anguish and
 paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of bene-
 1164 fits receiued, a vertue no lesse rare than the contra-
 rie is common, and as one saith,

Ger. Dor.
 Ran. Cogge.
 Cardigan cas-
 tell wonne by
 the welshmen.
 Hubert de S.
 Clere constable
 of Colche-
 ster.

William de
 Languallee.

inueniuntur
*Quidam sed rari, acceptorum qui meritorum
 Asidue memores, &c.*

But to conclude with this tourneie which king
 Henrie made at this time against the Welshmen,
 although by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of
 the places, he could not enter within the countrie so
 farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and confre-
 1165 ned them to keepe within the woods and mountains,
 that they durst not come abroad, insomuch that at the
 length they were glad to sue for peace.

W. Paruus.

William king of Scots, successor of Malcolme
 (who departed this life in the yeare last past) after
 he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about
 this

William king
 of Scots doth
 his homage to
 king Henrie.

this present tunc into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predecessor Malcolme had done before. He made suit also to have Northumberland restored unto him, which the king of Englands mother the emperesse had in times past given unto king David. But king Henrie gaue diuerse reasons to excuse himselfe why he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that present, namelie, without consent of a parlement: whereupon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his suit for that present, meaning (when occasion serued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, sith that by praiser and suit he sawe well inough he should not obtaine it.

Moreouer, the Scottish king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted so to do: insomuch that king Henrie, hauing set all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following passed ouer into Normandie. But before he took his iourneie, he set forth a decrea consisting of these points in effect as followeth.

1 That no man should bring any letters or commandment from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbishop of Canturburie into England, containing an interdiction of the realme: upon perill to be apprehended and punished as a traitour to the king, and an enemie to the realme.

2 That no religious person or priest should be permitted to passe the seas, or to come into the realme of England, except he had letters of safe conduct from the iusticers for passage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

3 That no man should appeale to the said pope or archbishop, nor by their appointment hold any place: and if any person were found doing the contrarie hereunto, he should be taken and committed to prison.

4 That if any manner of person, either spirituall or temporall, were obedient to the sentence of the interdiction, the same person should be banished the realme without delaie, and all his linage with him, so as they should not conueie with them any of their goods, the which together with their possessions should be seized into the kings hands.

5 That all spirituall persons, which had any benefices within England, should haue warning given to returne into England within foure moneths after the same summons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then should the king seize vpon their goods and possessions.

6 That the bishops of London and Norwiche, should be (and by vertue hereof were) summoned to appeare before the kings iusticers, to make answer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

7 That the Peter pence should be gathered and kept.

In the octaues of Easter king Henrie came to an enterbiew with the French king at Oisors, where they had conference together of sundrie matters.

This yeare the quene was deliuered of a sonne named John, who afterward was king of this realme.

Moreouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his bishops and barons in Normandie, caused an ordered collection (by their aduise) to be made through all his countreies and dominions, of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, iewels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166, and for the space of foure yeares next ensuing, one pence of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and those that were not worth twentie shillings in goods or landes (being householders notwithstanding) or bare

any office, should paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the release of the Christians in the east parts, and those that warred against the miscreants there. The payment thereof was appointed to be made in the feast daie of saint Remigius, or within fiftene daies after. It was also ordained, that all such as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) should giue the tenth part of the residue of all their goods vnto this so necessarie a contribution.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and vnderstanding that diuerse lords and barons of Haine, and the marches of Britaine, would not in his absence shew themselves obedient vnto his wife quene Elianor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an armie, and went against them, easilie subduing them whom he found obstinate: and besieging the castell of Foulgiers, took and utterly destroyed it.

Some after the archbishop of Canturburie came from Mountney to Wizeley, and there (on Ascension daie) when the church was most full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candell solemnlie accursed all the obseruers, defenders, and maintainers, with the promoters of such customs, as within the realme of England they terme the custome of their elders: amongst others that were accursed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poitiers, Jocelin de Wailenille, Alan de Beuille, and many other. But they being absent, neither called nor conuincid (as they alleged notwithstanding they were thus excommunicated) sent their messengers vnto the archbishop, and appealed from him, and so feared not to enter into their churches.

He had before this also written certeine letters vnto his suffragans, denouncing some of these and other persons by expresse name accursed, not onelie for maintaining the matter against him, touching the ancient custome of the realme: but also for the schisme raised in Almaine by Reinald archbishop of Colein, for the which he accursed one John of Oxford. Moreouer, he accursed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S. Cleere, and Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie seizing vpon and detaining the goods and possessions belonging to his archbishopp, without his consent or agreement thereunto.

The king on the other part banished out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all those persons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbishop, both yong and old: and furthermore sent aduertisement to the abbat of Mountney and to his monks, with whom the archbishop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him still in their house, he would not faile to banish all the monks of their order out of England. Now the archbishop, after he had remained there scarce two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteously received him, and sent him to the abbey of saint Columbes nere to the citie of Sens, where he remained a certeine season, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Dauia, and John of Naples both cardinals, came from the pope to Pontmiriall, whom the archbishop suspected rather to fauour the kings cause than his: yet he was contented that they should haue the iudgement thereof committed vnto them: so that first (according to the rules of the church) restitution might be made both to him and his, of such goods as had bene taken from them. For being spoiled, as he was, he would not stand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled therunto by any reason (as he said.) Now

In Triuet,
Marth.Paris
Ger.Dor.
Anedit a-
gainst the
archbishop
Berket.

Appeales
forbidden.

The kings of
England and
France enter-
tiew.
Chro.Sigeb.
Marth.Paris.
King John
boine.

Ger.Dor.

A contri-
bution.

The castell of
Foulgiers,
Marth.Paris,
Wizeley.
The archbi-
shop Berket
accursed those
in England
that mainte-
ned the cus-
toms of their
elders.

R.Houe.

Marth.Paris.
Legats from
the pope.

Comes Sa-
guntia.

N. Triuer.
Sperium.

Conan duke
of Britaine
deceaseth.
March. West.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt Geste-
freys son
and the Du-
chess of Bri-
taine.
Will. Parvus.

Anno Reg. 13.

1167
N. Triuer.
King Henrie
smothereth
the erle of Aluer-
gnes lands.

Ger. Dor.
The erle of
Bologne
prepareth
1000 ships to
invade Eng-
land.

The deasse
of the emper-
esse
Maud.
March. West.

The set of
Lincolne bo-
d 17 yeares.
Anno. Reg. 14.
Embassage
from the em-
perour.

How when the two legats saw that they could not bring any thing to passe, they departed without any thing concluded.

About this time William Tasuan earle of Saragum (by the content of his sons and nephews) deliuered into the hands of king Henrie the castels of Alerrum, and Koch Laberie, with all the appurtenances to the castels belonging.

About this season also Conan the duke of Britaine departed this life, leauing behind him no issue, but one onellie daughter begot of his wife the dutchesse Constance, the daughter of the king of Scotland, which succeeded him in the estate. Whereupon king Henrie made earnest suit to procure a marriage betwixt hir and his sonne Gestefrey, which at length he brought to passe, to the great comfort and contentation of his mind, in that his sonne had by such good fortune attained to the dukedome of Britaine.

At that season in Britaine were certeine noble men of such strength and power, that they disdained to acknowledge themselves subiect to any superior, in somuch that through ambitious desire of rule and preheminnce, they warred continually one against another, to the great destruction and utter bndoming of their miserable countrie, so that the land sometime fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wilderness. Whereupon, those that were the weaker, perceiving themselves too much oppressed by the stronger, submitted themselves vnto king Henrie, and required his aid and succour. King Henrie reioysing to haue so good an occasion and opportunitie to reduce them to reason, with all speed aided these supplicants and subdued the resistants, notwithstanding their great puissance, and the strength of the places which they kept.

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his father, and found him at Poitiers, from whence (shortly after Easter) he remoued, and with an armie entered into the lands of the earle of Aluerignes, which he waisted and spoiled, because the said earle had renounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made his resort to the French king, seeking to sow discord betwixt the foresaid two kings: which was kindled the more by a challenge pretended about the sending of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the French king claimed to send it, by reason that the church there appertained to his dominion: and the king of England would haue sent it, because it was gathered within the countrie that belonged to his gouernement.

This yeare a great preparation of ships was made by the earle of Wallongne, to haue invaded England, but by the warlike prouision of Richard Lucie, lord gouernour of the realme, the sea-coasts were so prouided of sufficient defense, that the varles attempts came to nothing. The cause why he made this brag, was for that the king withheld from him certaine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, and therefore he ment to recouer them by force. The emperesse Maud mother to the king of England (a woman in stoutnesse of stomach and warlike attempts more famous than commonlie any of that sex) deceased this yere the 10. of Septemr.

Also Robert bishop of Lincolne departed this life, after whose deasse the see of Lincolne was vacant by the space of seuentene yeares, the king in all that meane time receiuing the profits. The clea of Colein came ambassadour from the emperour vnto the king of England, requiring to haue one of his daughters giuen in marriage vnto the emperours sonne, and another of them vnto Henrie duke of Saronie: which request the k. did willingly grant, and thereupon was the queene sent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring her sonne the lord Ri-

chard and his daughter the ladie Maud with hir: which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saronie, in the beginning of the yeare next ensuing; and had issue by him three sons, Henrie, Edmo, and William, of which the middlemost came to be emperour.

The variance still depending betwixt the king and the archbishop of Canturburie: there was also about the same time a great debate betwixt the emperour Frederike the first and pope Alexander the third: whereupon king Henrie wrote to the emperour, and signified vnto him, that he would aid him if need should require against the pope, who maintained such a runagate traitor: as the archbishop Becket was. Moreover at the same time the king caused all his subiects within the realme of England, from the child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged person, to forswear all obedience that might be pretended as due to the same pope Alexander. The king for the space of two yeares together, remaining still in Normandie, and in other places beyond the seas, subdued diuerse rebels, as the earle of Angoulesme, Aimerike de Lucignie, and his sonnes Robert and Hugh.

Also he came to an enterbiel with the king of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of such iniuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poitouins had made their resort to the French king, and were confederate with him against their supreme lord king Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for assurance thereof, which pledges the French king would not restore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feast of S. John Baptist.

About the feast of Easter Patrike the earle of Salisburie was slaine by treason of the Poitouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whome his sonne William succeeded in the earldome.

The Britons practised rebellions dailie: but king Henrie entering their countrie, wan diuerse strong townes and castels, and brought them at length vnder his subiection. Moreover in this summer season the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without concluding any agreement at all. For there were manie of the Poitouins and Britons, which took part with the king of France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hostages, had a promise made them, that the French king should not conclude an agreement with the king of England without their consent. Whereupon they made warres either vpon other, till finally (about the feast of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt them: and then Henrie the king of Englande sonne made his homage vnto the French king for the countie of Anson: and the French king granted him the office of the Seneschalrie of France, which ancientlie belonged vnto the earles of Anson. Also Gestefrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder brother the aforesaid Henrie, by commandement of his father, for the duchie of Britaine. And afterwards the same Gestefrey went into Britaine, and at Rheims receiued the homage and fealtie of the lords and barons of that countrie.

King Henrie in the meane while subdued certeine rebels in Gascoigne, and returning into Normandie, built a goodlie towne and fortrese nere to Hain de Palatrey, called Beaulieu.

About the same time one Harury de Puon, who had married the daughter of one William Colet, was died in his iourne which he took into the holie land: deliuered certeine castels into the hands of king Henrie, because he was in despalle to keepe them against Theobald earle of Chartres, who through the French kings aid, sought to dispossesse him of the same castels: whereupon the war was renewed betwixt the king of England and the said earle of Chartres.

1168

March. West.

Debate be-
twixt the pope
and the em-
perour.

R. Henrie of-
fereth to aid
the emperour.

An enterbiel
betwixt the
king of Eng-
land and king
of France.

The kings
met againe
to commen
ce peace.

A truce.
Patrike earle
of Salisburie
slaine.

Anno. Reg. 15.

1169

Ger. Dor.
N. Triuer.

Gestefrey duke
of Britaine.

Harury de
Puon.

tres.ouertheleffe king Henrie making no great accompt of those wars, went into Britaine with his sonne Cestrey, where going about the countrie to visit the cities and townes, he reformed many disorders, laicng as it were a manner of a new foundation of things there, fortifying the castles, cities and townes, and communicating in courteous manner with the lordes and perres of the countrie, sought to win their good wils: and so in such exercises he spent a great part of the time.

Anno Reg. 16.
1170

He kept his Christmalle at Stautes, whither all the great lordes and barons of Britaine resorted to him. The solemnitie of which feast being past, he entered into the lands of earle Cudo, and wasted the same, till the said earle submitted himself. At length, after the king had taken order for the good gouernement of Normandie, and his other countries on that side the sea, he returned into England in the first weeke of March, but not without great danger, by reason of a tempest that toke him on the seas, beginning about midnight, and not ceasing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portesmouth, not with many of his ships, the rest being tossed and diuerted to seekes succour in sundrie craks and haecens of the land, and one of them which was the cheefest and newest, was lost in the middle of the clouds, together with 400. persons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his sons, Gilbert Sullemmy, and Rafe Beumont the kings physician & household seruant.

Polydor.
David was
made knight
by H. Henrie
as Houeden
hath,

After this the king held his Easter at Winsor, whither William the Scotish king came with his brother David, to welcome him home, and to congratulate his happie successe in his businesse on the further side the seas. They were honorable entertained, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, punished the shrikes of the land very grauously for their extortion, byberie, and rapine. After this, studieng how to assure the estate of the realme vnto his sons, vpon good consideration remembryng that no liuing creature was more subiect to the vncerteintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingrafted such a feruent desire in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that so oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they haue no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in possession of their desired prey: he thought it not the worst point of wisdom to forese that which might happen. For if he should chance to depart this life, and leaue his sons yong, and not able to mainteine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of some to be defrauded and disappoynted of their lawfull inheritance. Therefore to prevent the chances of fortune, he determined whilste he was alive to crowne his eldest sonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and so to inuett him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time: which deed turned him to much trouble, as after shall appeare.

R. Houed.

Henrie the son
crowned the
18. of Iulie
saith March.
Paris.

W. Parous.

Being vpon this point resolved, he called together a parlement of the lordes both spirituall and temporall at London, and there (on S. Bartholomewes daie) proclaimed his said sonne Henrie fellow heire with him in the kingdome, whom after this on the Sunday following, being the fourteenth daie of June 1170. Roger archbishop of Yorke did crowne according to the manner, being commanded so to do by the king. This office appertained vnto the archbishop of Cantuarburie, but because he was banished the realme, the king appointed the archbishop of Yorke to do it, which he ought not to haue done without licence of the archbishop of Cantuarburie within the precinct of his prouince (as was alledged by arch-

bishop Becket) who complained thereof vnto pope Alexander, and so incensed the pope, that he being highly moued by his letters, forbade not onelie the archbishop of Yorke, but also Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie (who were present at the coronation) the vse of the sacraments, which made king Henrie far more displeased with the archbishop Thomas than he was before.

The archb. of
Yorke is forbidden the
vse of the sacraments.

Matt. Paris.
Polydor.
The king be-
came seruant
to his sonne.

Upon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father serued his sonne at the table as seruer, bringing by the bores head with trumpets before it, according to the manner. Where vpon (according to the old adage,

(Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores)

Honours
change ma-
ners.

the yong man conceiuing a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more stately countenance than he had been wont. The archbishop of Yorke, who sat by him, marking his behauior, turned vnto him, & said; Be glad my god sonne, there is not another prince in the world that hath such a seruer at his table. To this the new king answered, as it were disdainfullie, thus: Why dost thou marnell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie blood onlie on the mothers side, serueth me that am a king borne hauing both a king to my father, and a queene to my mother. Thus the yong man of an euill and peruerse nature, was puffed by in pride by his fathers vnseemelie doings.

Yong men sit
vp in dignitie
calitie forget
themselves.

But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie sorrowfull in his mind, and said to the archbishop sittie in his eare; It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I haue thus advanced the boy. For he gessed hereby what a one he would proue afterward, that shelded himselfe so disobedient and forward alreadie. But although he was displeased with himselfe in that he had done vndiscretelie, yet notwithstanding that which was done could not be vndone, he caused all the Nobles and lordes of the realme, together with the king of Scots and his brother David, to do homage vnto his said sonne thus made fellow with him in the kingdome: but he would not release them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they stood bound to obeye him the father, so long as he liued.

Whobest some wrote that he renounced his estate, first before all the lordes of the land, and after caused his sonne to be crowned: but in such vncerteine points let forth by partiall writers, that is to be receiued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and sequence of things after done and put in practice. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (so long as his sonne liued) did shewe himselfe sometime as fellow with his sonne in gouernment, and sometime as absolute king: and after his sons decease, he continued in the entier gouernment, so long as he liued. But to proceed.

The French king hearing that his sonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie the sonne, was highly offended therewith, and threatned to make war against king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receiue the crowne also as queene immediatlie.

The French
king offendeth.

The cause why she was not crowned, was by reason of her yong yeares, and for that she had not as yet accompanied with her husband. But H. Henrie the father vnderstanding the French kings threats, sailed ouer into Normandie, where whilste they prepared for war on both sides, by the earnest diligence of Thomas earle of Blois, both the kings came to an entreatie at Vendosme, where at length they were accorded, vpon promises made by king Henrie, that he would cause his sonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the said Margaret the French kings daughter as queene.

In entreatie
of the kings.
F. Houed.

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards,

He made his
testament.
Roy. Honed.

Polydor.
King Henrie
the sonne his
misorder.

Anno Reg. 16
1170

hometwards, and king Henrie returning came to Vernon, where he fell into so great a sicknesse, that anon it was noised ouer all the countrie. Insomuch that he was in such despaire of life, that he made his testament: wherein he assigned his sonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all those lands which came by quene Elianor the mother of the same Richard. And to his sonne Gesteuy he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchased to his vse of the French king. And to his sonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Poymandie, and all those lands which came by his father Gesteuy earle of Anjou. And to his yongest sonne John he bequeathed the earledome of Mortaine. And finally appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried.

In the meane time Henrie the sonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of meane keeping, and gaue himselfe to all excessive riot, spending and wasting his reuenues inordinatelic. Of which behauiour his father being aduertised, returned into England, where he taried not long, but passed ouer againe into Poymandie, hauing his said sonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of those that were verie like to corrupt his nature, and frame the same to all lewdnesse: for he knew that

—commencia turpia sanctos
Corruptunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facile ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie remained in exile almost six yeares, and could not be restored, till partly by swelling threats of the pope, and partly at the earnest suit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others, king Henrie began somewhat to shew himselfe conformable towards an agreement.

Ex Quadrilogio.
The king
and the arch.
Becket met
together in
presence of the
French king.

Whereupon the two kings met diuerse times, and the archbishop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himselfe so to the king of England, that kneeling downe at his feet, he said: My soueraigne liege lord, I commit the whole cause of the controuersie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maiesties order, Gods honour onelie referred.

The king offended with that ambiguous excepti-
on, said to the king of France: Whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contrarie to Gods honour, and so by that shift will he challenge to himselfe all that belongeth vnto me. But because you shall not thinke that I go about to resist Gods honour, or him, in any reasonable order, loke what the greatest and most holie of all his ancessors haue done vnto the meanest of mine ancessours, let him do the same vnto me, and I am contented therewith.

All the companie present cried, that the king humbled himselfe enough. My lord archbishop (said the French king) will you be greater than saints, and better than saint Peter: Wherof stand you in doubt? Behold, your peace is at hand. The archbishop made answer in commendation of the present state of holie church, as thus: My holie predecessours in their time, although they cut not all things away that extolled it selfe against God, yet did they cut off diuers: but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which might offend, who should now haue raised the fire of temptation against vs? We are in much better case (thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their lot and number, so are we partakers of their labour and reward. What if any of them had bene defectiue or excessive in any point, are we bound to follow the example of their defection or excellence? We blame Peter for his denying of Christ, but we praise him in re-

The present
state of the
church in
Becket's
days.

proving of Peters violence with danger of his life. The church hath risen and increased out of manie dangerous oppressions, our fathers haue suffered manie things, because they would not forsake the name of Christ; and ought I to suppress his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God forbid.

When the Noble men present heard this answer of a subiect against his soueraigne, they all held against him, imputing the fault to the archbishops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betwene the king and him, insomuch that there was an erle which openlie said; Sith he resisteth the will of both the realmes, he is not worthe to be succoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being cast out of England, let not France receiue him.

The counsell then being broken vp, the kings departed without bidding the archbishop farewell, and such as were mediators for peace, in departing from this meeting, spake manie reprochfull words to him, alledging that he had bene euer stout and wise in his owne conceit, and a follower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderance to the church, that he was ordeined archbishop, and that by him the church was already in part destroyed, and would shortly be altogether brought to utter ruine.

But the archbishop setting a watch before his mouth, kept silence (as though he had not heard) and folowed the French king with his people. Manie said by the waie as they iourneied, Behold the archbishop ponder, which in talke the last night would not for the pleasure of the king denie God, nor keepe his honour in silence.

After this, when the archbishop was come to Sens, and aduised with himselfe whether it should be best for him to go, at length he said, God is able in the last point of miserie and distresse, to helpe those that be his. Herewith came a messenger from the French king to bring him to the court, for the French king (as one that had bene better instructed in the matter) repented himselfe that he had iudged euill of his answers at the last meeting, and hereupon receiued him againe into his fauour, and rested not to trauell so much in his cause, that at length another meeting was assigned at a certeine place nere the confines of Poymandie, whither king Henrie came, and there found king Lewes, the archbishop of Rouen, and diuerse other bishops together, with the foresaid archbishop, who after they had reasoned of the matter thoroughlie as they saw cause, king Henrie receiued the archbishop into his fauour againe, and promised to redresse all that had bene done amisse, and pardon all those that had folowed him out of the realme. Whereupon the king and the archbishop being reconciled, the archbishop the same day came before the king, and talked with him.

Now among other things he required of the king that it might be lawfull for him (without offending of his maiestie) to punish (according to the censures of the church) the iniurie done vnto him by the archbishop of Poike, and other bishops in the coronation of his sonne. The king granted this, and shewed himselfe so courteous at that time, that (as it is said) he held his stirrup whiles he mounted on horsebacke.

Notwithstanding which obsequiousnes of the king, it is to be presumed that all inward repining could not be so abolished, as that no fragments remained; but that the archbishop for his part, for the maintenance of his great title, & the king for the imposition of his soueraintie, when opportunitie serued, sought to get aduantage one of another, & acquit their harts with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for

Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus.

¶

But

The archb.
Becket blas-
med of arro-
gancie.

Archb. Be-
cket faultie in
his owne opi-
nion.

The French
king receiued
the archbishop
Becket a-
gain into fa-
uour.

The archb.
is reconciled
to the king.

Immen. 15.

The king
would not
kisse the par
with the arch
bischop.

March. Paris.

But whereas twise within a few daies after, the king and the said archbishop met at masse, the king refused to kisse the par with him. This was marked as a signe of a fained reconciliation, though in deed he afterwards interceded him verie courteously, and at his departure ouer into England, toke leaue of him in frendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his seale to his sonne the new king in feyne as followeth.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.



Now ye that Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleasure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may re-

maine in peace; and that he and al those which for his cause departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods restored, and in such quiet estate be now possessed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cause to come before vs of the best and most ancient knights of the honor of Salwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbishop ought to haue within that honor, & that which shall appeare to appertene vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the same. And thus farewell.

The honor of
Salwood.

The archbishop (before he toke his iournie into England) went to visit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell sustained in his cause, who aduised him in no wise as yet to commit himselfe to present danger amongst his new reconciled enimies, but rather to staie till their malice were somewhat asswaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance such a deepe rooted displeasure in his hart, that he agreed to reuerie him into fauour rather by compulsion and against his will than otherwise.

The French
king's aduice
to the arch-
bischop Becket.

But when the archbishop would needs depart & go ouer into England, the French k. suffered him so to do, doing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. Then the archbishop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the first of December, in the seuenth yeare after his first departure out of the realme. Shortlie after his arrivall, Roger the archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisbury, with diuerse other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might please him to restore them to the immutation of their offices againe: whose request he granted, but yet vpon condition, that they should undertake to stand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counsell of the archbishop of Yorke) they vicerlie refused.

March. Paris.
The archbis-
hop Becket
returneth into
England.

Where authors agree not (as Polydor trulie saith) for some write that archbishop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbishop of Yorke with the bishops of Salisbury and London accursed, whereas before they were deputed of the use and administration of the sacraments. Some others write, that now at his coming ouer into England from his exile, he deputed them onlie of the administration of the sacraments, together with the bishops of Eresier, Chesser, Rochester, S. Asaph, & Landaff, which had before alie bene present at the coronation of king Henrie the sonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their ymmat the archbishop

of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It shuld seme yet by Ger. Dorober: that the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham were suspended, and the bishops of London, Salisbury, and diuerse other excommunicated.

But how soeuer he used them, the archbishop of Yorke, the two bishops London and Salisbury, being offended with his doings, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries done to them by archbishop Thomas, grieuouly accusing him that he went about to take awaie their libertie of priesthod, to destroe, corrupt, and finally to abolish both the lawes of God and man, together with the ancient decrees and statutes of their elders; in somuch that he toke vpon him to exclude bishops at his pleasure from the companie of christian men, and so being excluded, to banish them for euer: to derogat things merrelie prejudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finally to take awaie from all men the equitie of lawes and ciuill orders.

The archbis-
hop of Yorke and
other go ouer
to the king to
complainte of
the archbishop
Becket.
Ger. Dor.

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was so displeased in his mind against archbishop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he said these or the like words: In what miserable state am I, that can not be in rest within mine owne realme, by reason of one onelie priest? Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of such troubles.

The occasion
of the kings
words that
cost bish. Be-
cket his life.

There were some that stood about the king, which gessed by these words, that his mind was to signifie how he would haue some man to dispatch the archbishop out of the waie. The kings displeasure against the archbishop was knowne well inough, which caused men to haue him in no reuerence at all, so that (as it was said) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to do somewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and despised of the world, cut off his horses taile.

There were some also of the kings seruants, that thought after an other maner of sort to reuenge the displeasure done to the kings maiestie, as sir Hugh Sporeuille, sir William Tracie, sir Richard Wiltaine, and sir Keignold Fitz Arse, knights, who taking aduice together, and agreeing in one mind and will, toke shipping, & sailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs hauen, nere Dover.

The knights
that slue the
archbishop
Becket.

Now the first night they lodged in the castell of Saltwood, which Randulfe de Broc had in keeping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and first daie of Christmasse, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tuesday) having gotten together certeine souldiers in the countie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and first entring into the court of the abbey of S. Augustine, they talked with Clarembald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they proceeded in their businesse as followeth.

The first knight sir Keignold Fitz Arse came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbishop sat in his chamber, and sitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of greeting or salutation, at length began with him thus: Being sent of our soueraine lord the king from beyond the seas, we doe here present vnto you his Graces commandments, to wit, that you should go to his sonne the king, to do vnto him that which appertaineth vnto you to do vnto your soueraine lord, and to do your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maiestie. Wherevnto the archbishop answered: For that cause ought I to confesse my fealtie vnto him by oth: & therein am I guiltie in offend-

Keignold
Fitz Arse.
That is be-
twaine 4. and
5. in the cur-
ning.

ding

which requi-
red him for
the baronie.

during the kings praierie: Sir Keignold said: For
your baronie, sealtie is demanded of you with an
oth, and an other oth is required of those clerkes,
which you haue brought with you, if they meane to
continue within the land. The archbishop answered:
For my baronie I am ready to do to the king what
soeuer law or reason shall allow: but let him for
certeine hold, that he shall not get any oth either of
me or of my clerkes. We know that (said the knight)
that you would not do any of these things which we
proponed vnto you. Whereupon the king commaundeth
you to absolve those bishops that are excommunicat-
ed by you without his licence. Wherevnto he said:
The bishops are excommunicated not by me, but by
the pope, who hath thereto authoritie from the Lord. If
in deed he hath reuenged the iniurie done to my
church, I confesse that I am not displeased therewith.
Then said the knight: With that such things in de-
spite of the king displease you, it is to be thought that
you would take from him his crowne, and be called
and taken for king your selfe, but you shall misse of
your purpose surelie therein. The archbishop answer-
ed: I do not aspire to the name of a king, rather
would I knit these crownes vnto his crowne if it lay
in my power.

The knights
command the
monks to let
the archbishop
knepe take.

John de Ba-
lourie the
archb. Sec-
rets chan-
celor.

The archbi-
shops resolu-
tion.

The knights
put on their
armour.

The monks
such force
bring the arch-
bishop into
the church.

The knights
enter the
church.
So though
archbishops
can be no
rescued.

At length after these and such words, the knights
turning them to the monks, said: In the behalfe of
our soveraigne lord the king, we command you, that
in any wise ye keepe this man safe, and present him
to the king when it shall please his grace to send for
him. The archbishop said: Dope thinke that I will
run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the
outrage and malice of wicked men. Truclie (said
they) you shall not runne away, and herewith went
out with noise and theatinings. Then maister John
of Salisburie his chancelor said vnto him: My lord,
this is a wonderfull matter that you will take no
mans counsell: had it not bene meet to haue given
them a more meke and gentle answer? But the arch-
bishop said: Surelie I haue already taken all the
counsell that I will take, I know what I ought to
do. Then said Salisburie, I pray God it may be good.
Now the knights departing out of the place, and go-
ing about to put on their armour, certeine came to
the archbishop, & said: My lord, they arme themselves.
What force it? said he, let them arme themselves.
Now when they were armed, and manie other a-
bout them, they entred into the archbishops palace.
Those that were about the archbishop cried vpon him
to flee, but he sat still and would not once remoue,
till the monks brought him euen by force & against
his will into the church. The coming of the armed
men being knowen, some of the monks continued
singing of euensong, and some sought places where
to hide themselves, other came to the archbishop, who
was lethy to haue entred into the church, and when he
was with them, he would not yet suffer them to make
fast the doores, so that there was a great stir among
them, but chertie when they perceiued that the armed
men went about to seeke for the archbishop, by meane
whereof their euensong was left unfinished.

At length the knights with their seruants hauing
sought the palace, came rushing into the church by the
cloister doore with their swords drawne, some of them
asking for the traitor, and some of them for the archbi-
shop, who came and met them, saying: Here am I,
no traitor, but the archbishop. The foremost of the
knights said vnto him: Flee, thou art but dead. To
whome the archbishop said, I will not flee. The knight
stept to him taking him by the sleue, and with his
sword cast his cap besides his head, and said, Come
hither, for thou art a prisoner. I will not, said the arch-
bishop, do with me here what thou wilt: and plucked
his sleue with a mightie strenght out of the knights

hand. Wherewith the knight stepped backe two or
three paces. Then the archbishop turning to one of
the knights, said to him, What meaneth this, Keig-
nold? I haue done vnto thee manie great pleasures,
and commett thou now vnto me into the church ar-
med? Vnto whome the knight presentlie answered
and said: Thou shalt know anon what is ment, thou
art but dead: it is not possible for thee any longer
to liue. Vnto whom the archbishop answered: I am
ready to die for my God, and for the defense of his
iustice and the libertie of the church, gladlie doe I im-
brace death, so that the church may purchase peace
and libertie by the shedding of my blood. And here-
with taking on other of the knights by the haberge-
on, he slong him from him with such violence, that
he had almost throwne him downe to the ground.
This was sir Will. Tracie, as he after confessed.

The courage
of the archb.

Then the archbishop inclined his head after the
maner of one that would praie, pronouncing these
his last words: To God, to saint Marie, and to the
saints that are patrones of this church, and to saint
Demise, I commend my selfe and the churches cause.
Wherewith sir Keignold Fitz Urle striking a full
blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of
a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who cast vp
his arme to saue the archbishop: but when he was
not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked
his arme backe, and so the stroke staid vpon the arch-
bishops head, in such wise that the blond ran downe
by his face. Then they stroke at him one after an o-
ther, and though he fell to the ground at the second
blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and path-
ed out his baines, and dashed them about vpon the
church pavement. All this being done, they rifled his
house, spoiled his goods, and toke them to their owne
uses, supposing it lawfull for them being the kings
seruants so to do.

Edward of
Cambridge.

The archb.
is slain.

But doubting how the matter would be taken,
after they had wrought their feat, they got them into
the bishoprike of Duresme, there to remaine till they
might heare how the king would take his their un-
lawfull enterprise: though (as they alledged) they had
lustilie defended his cause, and reuenged his quarrell
as faithfull seruants ought to do. Holobert, it chan-
ced otherwise than they looked it should haue done:
for king Henrie gaue them so litle thanks for their
presumptuous ad, sounding to the euill example of
other in breach of his lawes, that they despairing of
terlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another
into another, so that within foure yeares they all di-
ed an euill death (as it hath bene reported.) Some
write, that they went to Rome by the kings com-
mandement, and there presented themselves before
the pope, to receiue such penance for their wicked ad
as he should enioine them. Herevpon the pope ap-
pointed them to go vnto Jerusalem, there to do their
penance, where they remained certeine yeares, ap-
plying themselves verie diligentlie to performe the
satisfaction of their offense, according to the maner
prescribed to them by the pope, and so at length died.

The martir-
ers come to
an euill end.
Math. Paris.
W. Parvus.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbishop
of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into
that se eight yeares and six moneths, in the yeare
after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Christmas day
before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridate,
he preached a sermon to the people, and when he had
made an end thereof, he accursed Wigell de Sack-
tille, the violent incumbent of the church of Berghes,
and Robert de Broc, both which had (vpon spite)
curtailed the hofte of the said archbishop: and as
the same day whilest he was at the altar, according
to his custome, altogether in feares and lamentati-
on; so at dinner he shewed himselfe verie pleasant &
merrie, insonmuch that when those that were at the
table

Anno Reg. 17.

1171
After their
account that
begin the ye-
on Christmas
day.
Robert de
Broc.

table seemed somewhat doubtfull to eat of the flesh that was set before them, because it was friday: Why doe ye abhorre flesh he to eat flesh: This day flesh hath a great privilege, for this same day the word was made flesh and came into light, and appeared vnto vs. These his words greatlie contented all the company.

¶ Thus you haue heard the tragicall discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the beneuolence of so gracious a soueraigne by his insolencie and presumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnseemlic a thing it was for him being called to so sacred a function, to lead so secular and prophane a life, as if he had professed open hostility to the vocation which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are also taught, that promotions attained by ambition are not permanent, and are so farre from procuring fame and renowne to the obtainers, that they turne them in the end to shame, infamie and reproch, after losse of life and effusion of blood. The issue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the providence and counsell of almighty God, as one witteth verie agreeable to this purpose, saying,

*Nom. facile extollit facile elatūq; resanāt,
Et clorū obscurans, obscuri nomen adanget.
Ergit & miserū facile extinguitque superbum
Iuppiter alijhemus, cui celsū regis aethum.*

But to let this matter passe. King Henrie doubtlesse was right pensiue for his death, because he wist well enough that it would be iudged, that he himselfe was priuie to the thing: and euen so came it to passe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbishops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him most dearelie were most sorowfull for it, and iudging straightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderstand both of the slaughter, and how king Henrie had caused it to be put in execution, requiring most instantlie, that such an iniurie done to the Christian religion, might speedilie be punished. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter throughlie considered and ordered, so as might stand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous state of the case required. King Henrie whilst these things were a doing, lay certain daies at Argenton, so much displeased in his mind, that he would suffer no man once to speake to him about any maner of business.

At length, he sent his ambassadours to Rome, partly to purge himselfe of the archbishops death, partly to excuse his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered words against the archbishop, which had giuen occasion to naughty men to contriue his death, & partly to requyre the pope to send his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbishop, and also of the state of the clergie. The kings ambassadours found the pope at Anoli, and there were heard to declare their message: but little credit was giuen to their words, in so much that the pope plainelie told them, that he vnderstood the matter to be much otherwise than they had declared. Yet according to the kings request, he sent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might vnderstand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as a pertained.

There be that wisse, that the king sent ambassadours twice vnto the pope, for the first that went, could not come to his presence, nor be suffered to declare their message: those that were sent the second time, were receiued of some of the cardinals, but yet onelie with words without any other way of friend-

lie intertainment. At length, when the feast of Easter drew nere, on the which either absolution or communication was to be denounced against euery man, there were certeine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the English ambassadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the thursdaie before Easter daie to declare the sentence of interdiction against the king of England, and against all his dominions, and to confirme that which had bene already pronounced against Richard the archbishop of Yorke, and the other bishops his complices.

The ambassadours being brought to a streit issue herewith, by helpe of some of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the English ambassadours had commission to undertake, that the king of England should obvie in all things that order souerier pleased the pope and his court to award him. Herevpon they took their oath, that it should so be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The messengers of the archbishop of Yorke & the other bishops vied the like wiff, but yet the same daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murdered the archbishop Thomas, and all those that had procured, aided, succoured, or abetted them therein. Some wite, that those ambassadours which the king sent to the court of Rome, could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, till according to the fashion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and so at length were admitted to his presence.

Howsoeuer that matter passed, the king stood in great feare lest his land should be interdicted, in so much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this side the sea and beyond, to take good heed, least any coming with letters of interdiction should passe into England: but if any such came, that the bringer should be arrested and committed to prison. Also he commanded, that no cleerke were suffered to come ouer into England, except he first take an oath that he came about no businesse that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he set forth, at what time he transported ouer into England himselfe, where he landed this yeare at Portsmouth the third daie of August. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conquest of Ireland vpon this occasion.

It chanced, whereas diuerse rulers or as we may call them petty kings reigned the same season in that Island (which was diuided into seuerall estates or kingdoms) that continuall strife and dissention remained amongst them, so that oftentimes they made fore war after the manner of their countrie one against an other, (for

*Nulla fides regni socij, omniſque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.*)

Herevpon it fortuned, that one of those kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was fore afflicted and oppressed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might best do for remedie in that case, at length he sent his son into England to retaine souldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & such commodities as he assured them of.

Now it came to passe, that by the assistance of such Englishmen as then came ouer, the foresaid Irish king began to recouer his losses, and in the end waxed so strong, that he subued all his enemies. When he had thus obtained the victorie, he did not onelie not send backe his aiders, but so liberallie retained them still with him, that they had no hast to returne home, but settled themselves in that countrie, where they liued a pleasant and verie licentious life. For this cause also the stoutest lords and rulers of the

H. 2. lib. 1. c. 1.

King Henrie
sore for the
archb. death.

Polydor.

King Henrie
sendeth am-
bassadours
to the pope.

Math. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

The ambassa-
dours were
glad to be
a shift by
briberie.

Sundrie
rulers in Ire-
land.

Luc. lib. 1.

Math. Paris.
W. Parvus.
See more
hereof in
Ireland.

and Irish nation began sore to stomach the matter against him that had thus brought the English nation into their countrie, in so much that the Englishmen perceiving their malice, and therewithall having some feare of themselves, because of their small number, they sent over into England for such as wanted living, and were willing to seeke for it in other countries, of which sort, great numbers went over thither within a short space, whereby the multitude of the English greatly increased: but for as much as they had no ruler to governe them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Struguille, alias Chepstow in Wales to come over thither, and to receive the soueraine gouernement, with such honorable prouision for maintenance of his estate, as should seeme requisite.

Erle Strangbow.
N. Triuet.

N. Triuet.
W. Parous.

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being also earle Marshall of England) for a rebellion moued against king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more sumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made awaie and consumed the most part of his living, and was run so far in debt, that he knew not how to satisfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their request, which made labour unto him to come over into Ireland to haue the gouernance of such English people, as had alreadye planted themselves there to inhabit & remaine. Hereupon he prepared a nauie, and assembled together a great number of such as lacked living, and shortly determined to passe over into Ireland. But even as he was ready to set forward, there came vnto him messengers from king Henrie, commanding him to staie, and not to take that iourne in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England wherof to make any great accompt, notwithstanding the kings commandement, toke the sea, and passed over into that countrie, where he greatly delighted such Englishmen as dailye had looked for his repaire and coming thither.

Strangbow
commandment

Shortly after, joining those which he brought over with him, with the other that were there before his coming, he thought to worke some feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cause the Irishmen to haue him in feare. Whereupon he first assaulted the citie of Dublin, and by force wain it. He likewise wain Waterford, & diuerse other townes nere vnto the sea side. Also to haue some friendship amongst those barbarous people, he married the daughter of the confederate king, and so grew into verie great estimation in that countrie and region.

Dublin won.
Additions to
John Pike.

Strangbow
married
Dermotus
his daughter.

Howbeit, with these and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie toke such displeasure (but chiefly for disobeying his commandment) that he confined him the realme, seized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation restrained all his subjects from passing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, prouision of vittells, or other commodities whatsoeuer. By reason whereof, earle Strangbow, partly by constraint, and partly in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other respects as may be coniectured, aduertised him of the whole state of the countrie of Ireland, promising him, that if it would please his grace to come over thither, he would so worke that he should be admitted soueraine lord of all the land. Whereupon king Henrie pardoned him of all former trespasses, and restored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Normandie: and further, confirmed to him such livings abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held alreadye in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he should be high steward of Ireland vnder him.

Strangbow
confined.

He seeketh to
procure the
kings fauour.

The king
pardoneth
him.
N. Triuet.

King Henrie then returning out of Normandie

into England about the first day of August (as is aforesaid) caused a nauie of 400. ships to be made ready, and to assemble at Milford haue in Denboshshire, with all such prouision and furniture as was thought necessarie for such a iourne. Wherewith also he leuied a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, and came forward with the same vnto Denbosh, and so when all his prouision and ships were ready, he entered the sea at Milford haue aforesaid the sixteenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crovach, not past seauen miles from Waterford the day next following, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the euangelists day, he with all his armie marched forth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldelm his sower, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had sent thither before him for such purposes as he thought most convenient. He remained at Waterford sixtene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Conke, the king of Limerike, the king of Ossie, the king of Deeth, Keignald de Waterford, and diuerse other great princes of Ireland. At his first arrivall, the aforesaid earle Richard surrendered into his hands all those townes and places which he had subdued in that countrie.

Rog. Houed.

Milford
haue.
King Henrie
landeth in
Ireland.
Crovach.

The surren-
der made by
erle Strang-
bow.

Herewithall the whole land began to tremble, so that the rulers of townes and countries sent vnto him messengers, offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hostages: for whilist euerie of those rulers which had the gouernment of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne estate, and mistrusted their owne powers, they all in maner submitted themselves, so that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing forth of his sword, and in such wise, that he could not haue wished for better or more speedie successe therein. For whereas the whole land was diuided into sundrie dominions, and ruled by sundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie studies one enuieing an others wealth (for

Sundrie ru-
lers in a land
what weakne-
nes it causeth.

*Non bene cum socijs regna venisque manent,
— socijs, comes discordia regnis*

Ouid. li. 3. de art.
Suar. 1. Th.

nothing more hindred the fierce and vniuersal nation from making resistance, than in that they could not agree to take counsell together for defending of their liberties, and entier state of the commonwelth. Whereupon, whilist euerie of them apart by himselfe was in doubt to attempt the hazard of war against so mightie a king, they were all overcome, as were the Britons likewise in the time of Cesar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladly receiued their humble submission, and they doing homage vnto him, swore to be his liege and faithfull subjects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refused to submit himselfe.

This Roderike pretended to be the chiefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall war with the other rulers, which was partly the cause wherefore they submitted themselves so sone vnto king Henrie. The said Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the west, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, closed also with waters and marshes, so that it should be verie hard, and speciallie in the winter season, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cause whie king Henrie attempted nothing against Roderike at that time, but toke in hand to plant garisons of souldiers in places convenient to keepe the land in quiet, which he had wone alreadye, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole estate of the countrie to his behoufe and commoditie. Whereupon going to Dublin, which is the chiefe citie of all Ireland, he assembled all the ru-

Roderike R.
of Connagh.

Marth. Paris.
Polydor.
The nature
of the countrie
of Connagh.

lers and lords as well spirituall as temporall togither in counsell, consulting with them for the assurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for evermore.

The allega-
tion of the
Irishmen.

The Irishmen alleged for themselves, that his demerit therein could not be compassed, unless the popes authentic were therein first obtained: for they affirmed, that immediately upon receiving the christian faith, they did submit themselves, & all that they had, unto the see of Rome, so that they could not acknow- ledge any for their soueraine lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion some of them, although baine- lie haue holden unto these our daies. King Henrie then understanding this matter, dispatched ambassa- dors to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to teine the countrie of Ireland unto the realme of En- gland, who went thither with all expedition accord- ing to their charge.

And certeinlie, these ambassadors whom the king sent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, re- turned with better speed in their message, than did the other whom he had sent to him out of Norman- die, to excuse him of the death of the archbishop Tho- mas. For the pope upon good advice taken in this matter considering that he had now no profit grow- ing to him by that Isle, and that the Irish people be- ing wild and rude, were far off from all good order of christianitie in diuerse points, thought it would be a meane to bring some gaine to his cofers, and the peo- ple more easilie from their naughty customes, if they were once made subiect unto some christian prince of puissance able to tame them, and constrain them by force to be more make and tractable. In con- sideration wherof, he was content to grant unto the king all that therein he required.

A counsell at
Caillul.

R. Houel.

The archdea-
con of Landaf.

Hereupon, king Henrie considering in what re- spect the pope was so readie to accomplish his re- quest, called a counsell of the bishops to assemble at Caillul, where manie things were decreed and orde- ned for the reforming of diuerse customes used be- fore amongst the Irish men, and merelie repugnant to the lawes of the christian religion. There were also appointed as solicitors in these matters, and to sit as a iudicants with the Irish bishops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Rafe the arch- deacon of Landaf.

1 Amongst other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children shuld be brought to the church, there to receiue baptisme in faire water, with three dippings into the same, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie-ghost, and that by the priests hands, except in case where danger of death was fea- red, which then might be done by any other person, and in any other place.

2 Also it was ordeined, that tithes should be paid to churches, and that such laie men as would kepe wines, should kepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwise.

3 The Peter pence also that Adrian reserued in his bulls, sent to the king touching the same matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerse other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, so that nothing was omitted that might pleasure the pope, or recouer his gracious fauour already lost in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue already heard. Thus you heare what successe our ambassadors had in this voiage. ¶ Now will I tell you per I proceed any further) what strange things did happen in England whilest the king was thus oc- cupied in Ireland, and within the compasse of that yeare, and first of all, in the night before Christmas day last passed, there chanced such a tempest of light- ning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of,

Anno Reg. 18.
March. Paris.
March. West.
A. fore tempest

which tempest was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but also in other forreine parts were adioining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Christmas daie following, to so great terror of the people, that they looked for present death.

The same night at Andewer in Hamshire, a priest being in his praiers before the altar, was stricken with the tempest, so that he died per it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Also, a temporall man that was there the same time, was burned with the light- ning, and whereas his brother being present, ran to him to haue succoured him, he likewise was caught with the fire, and in like maner consumed. In Ire- land also, cuill diet in eating of fresh flesh and drink- ing of water, contrarie to the custome of the En- glishmen, brought the sir and other diseases in the kings armie, so that manie died thereof, for

Grauisimum est imperium consuetudinis.

20 Therefore, about the beginning of Lent, the king re- moued from Dublin, & went unto the cite of Uler- ford, where he remained till toward Casser, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he toke the sea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Meath, with the appurte- nances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights service, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them for evermore. He gaue also unto the same Hugh, the keeping of the ci- tie of Dublin, and made him cheefe iusticer of Ire- land. Unto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford, and Welleford, that he should keepe the same to his vse, and build in them castels, for a more sure defense against the enemies.

Pho. Nov.

Reg. Houel.

The burgs
gave unto
Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted garisons of sould- iers in those & other places also where was thought needfull, and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, so far as he had conquered; he first sent ouer his household seruants, which toke the water on Casser daie, and landed at Willeford, but he himselfe and other of the nobles staid there all that daie, by reason of the high solemn- itie of that feast: holmbrit the daie next after they toke the sea together, and landed nere to S. Dawids in South Wales, from whence (without delaie) he har- sed forth to Douer, and hauing his scone the young king with him, he sailed ouer into Normandie in the croffe weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he bin- derstood to be already come thither. At his meeting with them there, he gaue them verie good counte- nance, and right honorable entertainment, omit- ting nothing that might do them pleasure.

The king re-
turneth into
England.

Ger. Dor.
The popes
legats.

Here when the matter came to be discussed touch- ing the death of archbishop Thomas, because it could not be certeinlie tried out in whom the fault rested, much reasoning to and fro passed, about obie- ctions and excuses laid (as in doubtfull cases it of- ten happeneth) so that welnere the space of foure moneths was spent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to avoid all contention and strife betwixt him and king Lewes, sent his son Henrie together with his wife ouer into England, there to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Eueux, Roger bishop of Worcester, and diuerse others.

Ger. Dor.
R. Houel.

Hereupon the young king being arrived in Eng- land, called an assemblee of the lords spirituall and temporall at Winchester, where both he and his sard wife Margaret daughter to the French king, was crowned with all solemnitie, by the hands of the said Rotrod archbishop of Rouen upon the twentieth one of August.

Reg. Houel.

In the meane time (saith one writer) his father king

king Henrie might haue foresent and found means to haue auoided the discord, which euen now began to spring by betwixt him and his children, causing a sore and euill warre, if he had not bene a man that vertue did detest all superstitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to minister iustice, which is a vertue that containeth in it selfe all other vertues; it would come to passe, that within short time he should fall into great and manifold calamities.

A strange apparition.

In his returne also out of Ireland (saith an other) vpon the sundaie next after the feast of Easter, commonlie called Lotowundaie, as he should take his horse at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and swanne colour, barekoted, and in a white kirtell, who bolbly in the Dutch language spake vnto him, and admonished him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the sabbath daie (commonlie called the sundaie) might be more duely kept and obserued, so that no markets nor booke workes be holden, used, or done vpon that day within the bounds of his dominions, except that which appertaineth to dressing of meates. And if thou do (saith he) after this commandement, I assure thee that all things which thou dost enterprise of god intent and purpose, shall sort to god effect and verie luckie end.

But the king was not greatlie pleased with these words, and in French said to the knight that held his bible: Aske of this churle, whether he hath dreamed all this that he telleth or not. When the knight had expounded it in English, the man answered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my sleepe or not, take thou heed to my words, & marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and do as I haue aduertised thee, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou shalt heare such tidings as will make thee sorrowfull all the daies of thy life after. The man hauing thus spoken, vanished awaie suddenly, and the king toke his words but in sport: howbeit he wondered that he was so suddenly gone, as he did likewise at his sudden appearing. Manie other warnings the king had (saith mine author) but he set little thereby.

The second warning he receiued of an Irishman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindsey called Philip de Chesserby, passing the sea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him seauen articles, which he should amend, which if he did, then he should reigne seauen yeares in great honor, and subdue Gods enemies. If he did not amend and redresse those points, then should he come to death with dishonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The first article or point was, that he should seeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The second, that he should cause rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he should condemne no man without lawfull processe.

4 The fourth, that he should restore the lands, goods and heritages to those rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull means.

5 The fifth, that he should cause euerie man to haue right, without buying and giuing of mee.

6 The sixt, that he should paie his debts as well due to any of his subiects, for any stufte taken vp of them to his vse, as to his seruants and souldiers, who because they could not haue their wages truelie paid them, fell to robbing and spoiling of true labouring men.

7 The seauenth and last article was, that he should cause the felues to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were sore murthered with such

unmercifull vsurie as they exercised.

The king (notwithstanding these and other like warnings) toke no regard to the amendment of his sinfull life, wherevpon (as is thought) the troubles which ensued did light vpon him by Gods iust appointment.

¶ Howsoeuer this may seeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore esteemed as the chaffe of summer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aesop many good moralls are compisid, so the scope whereto this apparition tendeth being necessarie, maketh the argument it selfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you see) to reuoke the king from worse to better, from the swines-she of vice to the statelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of sinne to the riuers of sanctitie, proueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their dritt manie times to honest purpose, and therefore bring with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the scope of this tale being the same that David pointeth at in the second psalme, when he saith,

(*At vos in populos quibus est permissa potestas,*

Et ins ab alta sede plebi dicitis,

Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum, &c.)

Ex. G. Buch.
paraph. in psal. 2.

maketh the narration it selfe (though other wise seeming more fabulous) to be somewhat authentical. But to returne to the course of our storie, and now to saie somewhat of this Henrie the seconds sonne the young king, by whom the troubles were moued, (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne together with his said wife, they both passed the seas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the seauen and twentieth of September, at a generall assemblee holden within the city of Auranches in the church of the apostle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the popes legats, and a great number of bishops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie reliques of the saints, and vpon the sacred euangelists, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbishop Thomas to be murdered, and that when he heard of it, he was sorie for it. But because he could not apprehend them that slue the archbishop, and for that he feared in his conscience least they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a presumptuous boldnesse, because they had perceiued him to be offended with the archbishop, he sware to make satisfaction (for giuing such occasion) in this manner.

R. Houed.
Ger. Dor.

King Henrie
purgeth him-
selfe of the
archbishop
Becket's
death.

1 In primis, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike successours, so long as they should repute him for a catholike king.

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeals, nor suffer them to be impeached, but that they might freely be made within the realme vnto the pope, in causes ecclesiasticall; yet so, that if the king haue the parties suspected, they shall find him suerties that they shall not procure harme or hinderance whatsoeuer to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within three yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next ensuing, he should take vpon him the crosse, and personallie passe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his successours toke other order with him.

4 Provided, that if vpon any vrgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that iournie, he might deferre his going in to the east parts.

5 Item, he bound himselfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares tennie in the defense of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceiued against those

o bise sub-
jection be-
seeming a
king!

those which were inuile for the archbishop Thomas his cause, so that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to restore all the lands and possessions which had bene taken awaie from the see of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the pere before the departure of the archbishop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he swaie to take awaie and abolish all these customes, which in his time had bene brought in against the church, as prejudiciall thereto.

All these articles faithfullie, and without maleingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degre, he receiued a solenne oth, and caused his sonne the yong king being there present, to receiue the same for performance of all those articles, such as touched his owne person onelic excepted. And to the intent the same should remaine in the popes consistorie as matter of record, he put his scale vnto the writing wherein the same articles were ingrossed, together with the scales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father suffered the yong king his son to go into France, together with his wife, to visit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iourneie verelie bred the cause of the dissention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes most louinglie refused them (as reason was) and caused diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and pastimes to be shewed for the honour and delectation of his sonne in law and daughter.

The French king seeketh to sow sedition betwixt the father and the sonne.

Nevertheless, whilst this yong prince sojourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiving the rash and headstrong disposition of the yong king did first of all inuegle him to consider of his estate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduised him so shortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: wherevnto he furthermore promised all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The yong king being readie enough not onelic to worke vnquietnesse, but also to follow his father in lawes counsell (as he that was apt of nature to aspire to the sole gouernment, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie) according to that of the tragedie-writer,

Sen. in Agam.

Nec regna facis, ferre nec tede sciunt

and namelye such one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie set him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeye, and therefore it became not his highnesse to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernment free in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permission. Whereupon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to wax of a contrarie mind to his father: who suspecting indeed that which chanced; to wit (least his sonnes yong yeares not able yet to discern good and wholesome counsell from euill, might easilie be infected with some sinister practise) thought it not good to suffer him to be long absent from him, and therefore sent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous manner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feast of Christmas drew nere, repaired towards Anion, where in the towne of Chinon, he solemnized that feast, hauing left his sonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but sending for him after the feast was ended, they went both into Aubergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Poitou came vnto them, bringing with him his eldest daughter A-

Rog. Houed.
Anno Reg. 19.
1173

Hubert earle of Poitou.

lice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the summe of five thousand markes, that he might bestow hir in mariage vpon his yongest sonne John with the heritage of the countie of Poitouenne, if his father died without other issue, or at the leastwise the said Hubert chanced to haue any sonne lawfullie begotten, that then he should leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Ruffellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the same, Pierre castle with the appurtenances, the ballie of Poullelle, also Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aiz, Alpermont, Rochet, mont Paga, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this side the mountaines with their appurtenances, the said Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Canuozeth with the appurtenances, and all the fees which the earles of Canaues held of him, together with the fealties and seruices. And also, the fees, fealties, and seruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the ballie called Vale Dosta; and in like manner, the towne of Castellone.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellensis.

All the forenamed places the said earle gaue and granted to the said John, sonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, so free, whole and quietlie (in men and cities, castels, fortresses, or other places of defense, in medowes, leaschies, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, ballies and mountaines, in customes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the same. And furthermore, the said earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleased the king of England) his people should doe homage and fealtie to the king of Englands sonne, reseruing the fealtie due to him so long as he liued. Moreover, the said earle Hubert granted to the said John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Cranople, and whatsoeuer might be got and euided in the same countie. It was also couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the said John should marrie the yonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he should haue enioied with the first.

The countie of Cranople.

Finallie, that these couenants, grants and agreements should be performed on the part and behalfe of the said earle Hubert, both he, the said earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of those countreies receiued an oth, and undertooke to come and offer themselves as hostages to remaine with the king of England, in case the said earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforesaid articles, till he framed himselfe to satisfie the kings pleasure in such behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbishop of Arensalia, and Arduene the bishop of Geneua, and also William the bishop of Poitouenne, with the abbat of S. Michell promised vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the censures of the church the said earle and his lands, refusing to performe the foresaid couenants, and so to keepe him and the same lands bound, till he had satisfied the king of England therein.

William earle of Handeuill, and William earle of Arundell swaie on the part of king Henrie, that he should performe the articles, couenants and agreements on his part, as first to make paiement immediatlie vnto the said Hubert of one thousand markes, and as soone as he should receiue his daughter, he should pay him an other thousand markes at the least, and the residue then remaining of the said sum of five thousand markes, should be paid when the marriage was consummate.

The earles of Handeuille and Arundell.

It was provided also, that the said earle Hubert might marrie his yonger daughter where he would, with

without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

The earle of
S. Giles.

Nk. Triuett.

Tribute for
Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

Math. West.
N. Triuett.

March. Paris.

Connect
holden at
Westmin-
ster.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Montfer-
rat & one Gessrey de Blozac with his sonne Miles and other noble men came to the king as ambassa-
dors from the earle of Poixenne, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the couenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as seemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the sonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guen, concerning the controuersie that had bene moued for the countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further couenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable maner. Moreover, the said earle condescended & agreed to giue yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horses with 10. marks a peece. Now also, whilst the king sojourned at Limoges, the earle of Poixenne came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne John. Whereupon the king resolved to allot vnto him the chappell of Chiron, Lodon and Mirabell, whereby he offended his eldest sonne the young king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets saie to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceited purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vntill the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarrell then taken for his best advantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

This peece the monks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Dover, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life, as he well shewed, in that he waisted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellon was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulness and idleness (as some take it) than for modestie or wisdom: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they be or flow in profit and gain.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (*Solito semper ordine suo*, His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was done at Westminster in the chappell of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his assent thereto, where a counsell was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, containing amongst other things this that followeth.

Abreefe extract or clause of a letter

which the pope sent to the clergie of
England, &c. for the making of a
new holie daie.



Edmonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemn sort, & that with deuout praiers ye endeavour your selues to purchase forgiveness of sins; that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdom in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithfull people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarceie read, but euerie man with a loud voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, *Te Deum laudamus*. Furthermore because his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their errour and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdom. Thus

Laca superstitionis

Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sacris.

Notwithstanding all which honour of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memorie in all ages succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shynes that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruined? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such tokens to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

*Exegi monumentum are perennius,
Regallique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series & fuga temporum,*

Yet is he growne not into renowne, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Romish raskels ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Paie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Becketts) that he is growne in obliuion euen at Rome, and his name rased out of the popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whom he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his owne children, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratefull, and not worthy of the dutifullnesse wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their helthy holie I would faine father.

This yeare the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbess of Werking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find, that coming to Canturburie on the saturday after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was

I collect de-
scribed in hono-
r of the archbishop
Becket.

W. Maghan
at S. pite the
tucke in
Easter weeke
1585.

Ger. Dor.
The arch-
bishops con-
secration dis-
turb-
ed by the
young king,
was

without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

The earle of
S. Giles.

Nic. Triuet.

Eributo for
Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

March. West.
N. Triuet.

March. Paris.

I counsell
holden at
Westmin-
ster.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the covenants afore cited, the marques of Montfer-
rat & one Gestepe de Plozac with his sonne Giles and other noble men came to the king as ambassa-
dors from the earle of Poienne, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the covenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as seemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the sonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there
20 accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guisen, concerning the controuersie that had bene moued for the countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further covenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And
30 if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable manner. Moreover, the said earle condescended & agreed to giue hereafter for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horsles with 10. marks a peece. Now also, whilst the king sojourned at Limoges, the earle of Poienne came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne John. Wherevpon the king resolved to allot vnto him the chappell of Chy-non, Loudun and Spirabell, whereby he offended his
40 eldest sonne the young king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets saie to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to him his conceited purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vsing the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best advantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

This yere the monks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Dover, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life, as he well shewed, in that he waisted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellonin was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulness and idleness (as some take it) than for modestie or wisdom: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they be or slow in profit and gain.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (*Sed: semper ordine suo*, His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was done at Westminster in the chappell of S. Katharine, the kings iustier giuing his assent therevnto, where a counsell was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, containing amongst other things this that followeth.

A breefe extract or clause of a letter

which the pope sent to the clergie of
England, &c. for the making of a
new holie daie.



Edmonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemnne sort, & that with deuout praier ye endeavour your selues to purchase forgiveness of sins; that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdom in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithful people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarce read, but euerie man with a loud voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, *Te Deum Laudamus*. Furthermore because his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their error and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge
30 our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen.

This praier was used by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdom. Thus

Loca superstitionis

Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita seculis.

Notwithstanding all which honour of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memorie in all ages succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shynes that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruined? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such ikons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

Exegi monumentum are perennius,

Regalique situ pyramidum altius,

Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens

Posset diruere aut innumerabilis

Annorum series & fugatempus.

Yet is he growne not into renowne, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Konnly rakehell is ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Saie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to
60 passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Becketts) that he is growne in obliuion euen at Rome, and his name rased out of the popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemnne audience at a high festiuall time) by whom he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his sworne childzen, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratefull, and not worthy of the dustfulness wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they overcharge their bellie (holie I would saie) father.

This yere the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbesse of Berking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find, that comming to Canturburie on the saturday after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was

A collect devised
in honor of
the archbishop
Becket.

At Wagham
at 5. p. the
tuesday in
Easter week
1585.

Ger. Dor.
The archbis-
hops consecra-
tion celebrat-
ed by the
young king.

was disappointed by letters that came from king
Henrie the sonne, in forme as followeth.

*A letter of yong king Henrie touching
the disappointment of archbishop
Richards consecration.*

Henrie by the grace of God king of
England, duke of Normandie, and
earle of Aniou, sonne of king Hen-
rie; to our deere and faithfull freend
Odo, prior of the church of Canturburie, and
to all the conuent there, sendeth greeting. By
the assured report of some we vnderstand, that
in your church and in other churches also, my
father goeth about to institute certain persons
not verie meet for such calling: and bicause
(without our consent) it ought not so to be
doone, who by reason of our kinglie annoin-
ting haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and
charge of the whole realme: herypon we haue
in the presence of many persons appealed to
the see of Rome, and haue signified our appeale
in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers
and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals
and legats of the apostolike see, by our writing
and messenger, who like wise and discreet per-
sonages haue assented therevnto. We haue
likewise signified the same our appeale to our
faithfull freends the bishops of London, Exce-
ster, and Worcester, and as we haue appealed,
so likewise we doo appeale vnder your testi-
monic.

After the perusal of this letter, and the due con-
sideration of the substance and summe of the same,
(albeit no such afterclaps were suspected before)
the bishops were altogether diuident to their thits,
some of them desiring to go forward with the con-
secration, and some supposing it better to yeld vnto
the appeale. The elect archbishop therefore first sent
messengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie
by himselfe, but also by all the bishops and conuent
of Canturburie. After this he followed himselfe in
person, and coming to the popes court, found there
diuers aduersaries to his cause. For some were there
that toke part with the king the father, and some
with the king the sonne, and so his businesse could
haue no speedie dispatch. In the meane time the ran-
our which king Henrie the sonne had conceived a-
gainst his father was so ripened, that it could not but
burst out, and shew it selfe to the breach of all dutifull
obedience which nature requirerth of a sonne towards
his father.

You haue heard how king Henrie promised the
earle of Spotiennne, when the marriage was conclu-
ded betwixt his son John and the said earles daugh-
ter, to giue vnto the said John certaine townes in
Normandie, for the better mainteining of his estate
and his wiues. This gift of the fathers caused his el-
dest sonne the yong king Henrie, the soner to poyze
out his poison which he had suckt before at his being
with his father in law king Lewes. For conceiuing
an offense, that his father should giue away any por-
tion of his inheritance, he would not condescend to
any such gifts, but alledged that sithens he was
king of England, and that all belonged to him, his
father could not now haue any title to giue awaie
that which did in no wise appertene vnto him.

There was another cause that troubled his mind
also, and moued him to grudge at his father, which
was; for that the proportion of his allowance for

maintenance of his household and port was verie
sleender, and yet more slenderlie paid. Also his father
remoued from him certaine of his seruants, as Al-
tulle de S. Hilarie, and other whome he suspected to
giue him euill counsell. Wherefore those that were
procurers of him to attempt the seizing of the go-
uernement into his hands, vpon this occasion slept
not, but put into his head such matter, that at length
he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule commit-
ted to him: which when he saw would not be obtai-
ned of his father by quiet meanes, he fled secretlie a-
waie vnto his father in law king Lewes, requiring
aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie
the elder vniuillie detained from him.

The French king comforted him, and bad him be
of god cheare, for he ment to do for him all that in
him laie. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Nor-
mandie, and receiued homage of him for the same.
King Henrie the father vnderstanding that his
sonne was thus fled to the French king, sent am-
bassadors forthwith to the same king, requiring
him to giue his son some good & wholesome counsell,
that he might repent, and not follow such wilfulnesse
of mind in swaruing from his fathers frendship, but
rather with speed to returne home againe; & to pro-
mise in his name, that if any thing were otherwise
than well, he would be contented the same should be
reformed by his order and correction. But so farre
was king Lewes from meaning to set a quietnesse
betwixt the father and the sonne, that he would not
heare the ambassadors declare their message, bicause
they named the father, king, to the derogation of
the sonnes right, to whome he said he offered mani-
fest hysong in vsurping the gouernement, which he
had already giuen ouer and resigned. Insomuch that
when the ambassadors had declared some part of
their message, he asked them what he was that willed
such things of him: and when they answered that the
king of England had sent them with that message,
That is a false lie (saith he) behold here is the king
of England, who hath giuen you no commission to
declare any message from him vnto me at all.

¶ Here we see Philautie or selfe-loue, which rageth in
men so preposterouslie, that euen naturall dutie and
affection quite forgotten, they vnder take what mis-
chiefe soeuer cometh next to hand, without excepti-
on of place or person; and all for the maintenance of
statelie titles, of lostie stiles, of honorable names,
and such like vanities more light than thistle-downe
that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath bene noted to
reigne in all ages, among all pères and people of all
nations, both at home and abroad, as one verie well
noteth and giueth his verdict therevpon, saieing,

*proh dy, nunc nomina tantum
Magnifica, & claros titulos sibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, sequitur, rapit; ut merito iam
Et si asinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illustres præclaræq; nomina profunt?
Qua cito mors rapit, & lethæas mergit in undas.*

*M. Palam. vñz.
& sag.*

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that
warres would follow, prepared the best he could for
his owne defense: but he was in great doubt on e-
uerie side, not knowing whome he might trust. And
to increase this mischiefe, his wife queene Elianor
studied to mainteine the strife betwixt hir sonnes.
The yong king then getting an armie together en-
tered into Guien.

King Henrie was not hasty to go against him,
but sought rather with gentlenesse and all courteous
meanes to reconcile him: insomuch that whereas
diuers graue personages being of the yong kings
counsell, and doubting to runne into the displeasure
of his father, revolted from the sonne to the father,
and brought with them the sonnes scale, which he used

*Richard
Barre chan-
celor to the
yong king, &c.
so has cha-
laine sir Wil-
liam de Bur-
gh with others.
Rog. Houard*

Wil. Parous.

in sealing of letters. Howbeit, the father received them not, but sent them backe againe to his sonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in serving him as he should appoint them, and herewith he sent ambassadours vnto his sonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Now whilst the father went about to asswage the sonnes displeasure, the mother quene Glanor did what she could to picke him forward in his disobedient attempts. For she being enraged against his husband because he kept sundrie concubines, and therefore delited the lesse in his companie, cared not what mischief she procured against him. Hereupon she made his complaint so greivouslie vnto his sons Richard and Geoffrey, that they iolned with their brother against their father, & came to him into Gtuen, to aid him to the uttermost of their powers.

This may well seeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his incontinent, vnchaste and libidinous life; who hauing *Chara coniugij pignora*, a notable motiue to kinde and continue honest loue in wedlocke, did notwithstanding most inordinatlie abandon his bodie to beaustie and vnlawfull companie keeping with strange flesh. Note here how God stirreth by the wife of his owne bosome, & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eyes and godes in his sides for profaning so diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did so honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obseruation thereof, but denounced vnboubted vengeance for the violation of the same, as appeareth in this old testimonie,

Heliod. in lib. viii. tit. op. & di.

*Patrat & ingreditur quicquid cubilia fratris
Proxorem maculans, & sancta cubilia supro,
Hunc pater ipse deum Saturnius odit, & ipse
Hunc male dixit vexant, &c.*

But we will remit this to the readers consideration, and note the issue of this mischief now broched. The young king resoluing that he had his brethren thus on his side, readie to take his part, became more stout than before, and for answer vnto the messengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer by the whole government into his hands, he would be content to breake by his armie. As for such souldiers as would willingly take his part in this quarell, he caused them to sweare that they should faithfullie serue him against his aduersaries: and those that had rather serue on the other side, he licenced them freely to depart and go to his father.

King Henrie the father receiuing such a rebellious answer from his sonne, much lamented the matter, and so much the more, for that he saw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuersie decided by the sword. Therefore least he should be taken vnprovided, he kept his armie in a readinesse about him, hauing retained certein bands of *Wabanders* called the *Howlers*.

The lords that took part with his sonne, being aduertised by espials of the doings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were constrained) to defend himselfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his sons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they took great care how to cause his sons to persist in their enterprise, till the father were compelled by force to resigne the government vnto them. But none more than the French king courted to maintaine the discord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therefore sent vnto King Henrie the sonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he caused a counsell to be called, & there made a league betwixt the said Henrie and himselfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Chester, William Patrike the elder, the three sons of Robert earle of

Wellent, whose castles King Henrie the elder had in possession, Roger Mombay, Hugh Wigot, and diuerse other complices of the conspiracie, *Flabella seditionum*, that took part with Henrie the sonne.

Here after they had consulted of the maner how to maintaine warre, because they would assure the young king that they ment not to forsake him, first King Leues, and after all the residue took an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father should either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agree with him at his will and pleasure. On the other part, he swore neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their consent and good will. He also promised vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his seale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the castles of Douer and Rochester. And to Mathew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewise promised and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earldome of Poxtoun, with the honour of Hef. Also to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted five hundred marks of yearelie reuenue in Anion with the castill of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countie of Touraine, and surrendered to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the King of Scots (for his assistance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tyne. And to his brother Dauid (to haue his seruice) he granted the counties of Huntington and Cambridge. To Hugh Wigot (for his seruice) he gaue the castill of Poxtowich. All these gifts and grants (with diuerse other to other persons) promised & granted, he confirmed with his new seale, which the king of France had caused him to make. These things being thus ordered at Paris, euery man resorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all speed conuenient.

King Henrie the father aduertised of this new league of the conspirators against him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he saw himselfe in danger, not onelie of outward enemies, but also of his owne subiects at home. Yet because the winter season was already at hand, taking awaie all conuenient occasions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compasse some agreement with his sons per the spring of the yeare should returne, and therefore he made not so great prouision for his defense, as had bene necessarie in so dangerous a case. But the Frenchmen, who were bent to set forward this war with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatlie vpon the coming of the spring with King Henrie the sonne, and euen at one instant made their inuasions vpon the lands of King Henrie the father in three severall parties; namelie, in Normandie, Gtuen, and Britaine, which (against the will of his sonne Geoffrey duke thereof) King Henrie the father did hold and retaine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus inuading the foresaid countries, did much hurt with robbing and spoiling, and also took diuerse castles and townes.

Whereouer, about the same time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, first into Cumberland, and besieged Carlisle: but hearing that an armie was prepared against him in the south parties of the realme, and readie to set forward, he raised his siege, and entred into Northumberland, (which prouince King Henrie the sonne had giuen him in the last assemblee holden at Paris) endeavouring to bring it into his possession. But the more earnestlie he went about to enforce the people to his will, the more wislie did they withstand his purpose, hating him

The French king taketh an oth to aid King Henrie the sonne.
Rog. Houed, Ger. Dor.

Philip earle of Flanders.
Mathew earle of Bullongne.

Chateau Reignold.

Earle Dauid.

Hugh Wigot.

Polydor.

The confederates inuade & dominions of King Henris the father.

The King of Scots inuadeth Cumbreland.

These thousand Wabanders were retained by King Henrie the father as faithfull Houed.

W. Parvus, N. Triuct, Polydor.

N. Triuct, Polydor.

Wil. Parous.

him so much, that in no condition they were willing to come under his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great losse. The kings power also comming into the countrie followed them, and passing ouer the water of Tweed, which diuided them (as it doth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like spoile in the land of the enemies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Uernueil besieged.

Reloued.
Hugh Beauchampe.

But in Normandie, whilst others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enemies countrie, king Lewes besieged Uernueil, which towne being strong of it selfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valiantly defended, so that the French king was a moneth before it, yet he could win arie part thereof. This towne of Uernueil was in those daies diuided into three portions, beside the castell, euerie of them a part from other with mightie wals and deepe ditches full of water. One of these parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitcht his field & planted his engines. About a moneth after whose coming thither, vittels began to faile them within, so that at length they required a truce onlie for three daies, & if no succour came within those three daies, they promised to yeeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the bigill or seue of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hostages deliuered by the burgeses unto the French king. Now it was agreed that if they yeelded the towne at the daie appointed for want of succour, king Henrie the son, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earls of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbish. of Sens, undertooke upon their othes that the hostages should then be restored free & without any hurt or damage.

The French king requireth to talke.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the composition thus made, was driuen to a verie hard shift: for he doubted nothing lesse than that any such thing should haue chanced. Yet considering with himselfe, that the saving of the towne stood in his speedie comming to the rescue, he hastied thither without any staie, and came to the place the daie before the third and last daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiving him to be come, doubting least he should lose the preie which he looked for, sent unto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next daie, touching some means of agreement to be had betwixt him and his sons. This did he of policie, to feed him with hope of some end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his sons, till he had gotten possession of the towne.

Reg. Houed.

The ninth of August being Thursdaye last; K. Houed. king Lewes firste awoke in the night.
Prob. Mo.

Now as he forsooke that matter, euen so it came to passe, for whilst a great pece of the next daie was spent in feined talke about an agreement; K. Lewes appointed a great part of his host to close the towne about, and to declare unto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Uernueil beleauing, yeelded the towne & themselves to the French men. Some after, king Lewes mistrusting least he should not be able to keepe it, set it on fire, and so burnt it, contrarie to the composition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded upon. He kept also the souldiers that had yeelded it into his hands, together with the hostages as prisoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went awaie in the night with as still noise as was possible. Which euill dealing had not inuaded his hart, but that euill meaning had possessed it before, euen at the composition making; but he neuer learned that,

Idem qui perdit nihil potest ultra perdere.

King Henrie at length perceiving the fraud, sent certaine bands of his horsemen after to pursue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was already got

ten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, those which were sent, turned upon those that were left in the hindermost ward, of whom they slue a great number both horsemen and footmen.

K. Henrie following his men, came to Uernueil, and staing there that night, took order for the repairing and new fortifying of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the castell of Danuile, and lian it, taking diuerse knights and yeomen within it: this castell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to passe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Uernueil, as in some authors we find reported. Other wise otherwise of the mater, as thus, the French K. being summoned by K. Henrie the father, either to depart from the siege of Uernueil, or to loke for battell; hearing also that in performance of the message K. Henrie approached with his power, he sent a bishop & an abbat unto him to vnderstand if he meant to giue battell in deed. The messengers met king Henrie as he was aduanced before his host upon some occasion, with a small companie about him, unto whom they declared that their maister the French king required to be assured whether he should haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this short answer; Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand. The messengers returning to their maister, declared what they had sene and heard. Whereupon (without longer staie) he raised his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great dishonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the same author it should appere.

About the same time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats besieged the towne of Albe marie, and the earle thereof within it, which earle was thought to betraie the towne, because it was so easilie wonne, and both he himselfe, and those which king Henrie the father had sent thither to defend the towne were taken prisoners. Diuerse other places which belonged to the same earle were also immediately deliuered into the enemies hands, which increased the suspicion.

After this towne of Bebecastell (otherwise called Drincourt) in those frontiers was besieged, and finally wonne by surrender, by the said earle of Flanders, who reioiced nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew the earle of Bullongne who should haue bene his heire, was shot into the knee with an arrow, as he approached to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was so penfise for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iournie and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war against his cosen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had done him manie great and singular pleasures from time to time.

God cause had the earle to giue over the prosecuting of violence against his souereigne, being dauonted with so heauie a chance, & griped also with the grudge of conscience, in so unkindlie rewarding his wellwiller, at whose hands he confessed himselfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth arie so much as him or them in whom it is needed. And hereio alldoth the comedie-writer, when he saith verie neatly,

*morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt
Dum id impetrant, boni sunt: sed id ubi iam penes se habent,
Ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Moreover Henrie the elder (after the iournie of Uernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderstanding that Hugh earle of Chester, and Rafe de Foulgiere, men of singular prowesse (who long before were ruolted to his sonne Henrie) had taken the

Danuile.

Gilbert de Tileres.

Wil. Parous.

K. Henrie the short answer to the French kings messengers.

Fibermarie taken by the earle of Flanders.

R. Houed. Ja. Meir. Ger. Dor. The earle of Bullongne wounded, and died.

T. L. in. 3. CA.

the castell of Dole in Britaine, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, he sent forth strenghties certeine of his capitaines with the Wabanders to aid his people in those parts who on the twentieth day of August (being monday) encountering with the enimies, discomfited them in battell, take seauentene knights, besides diuers others both horsemen and footmen, slue aboute fiftene hundred of the enimies being Britaines, and pursuing the residue, entered the towne which they wan, and drave their aduersaries into the castell, where they besieged them, and with all speed aduertised the king of that enterpryse, who immediatly with all possible had came thither, applying his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them with inre within the same at his commandement.

To be that, it was not long per he had his desire, for being such a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within so streted a roome, for want of bittell they fell to a composition, yielding the castell unto the king, their lodies liues and lims saued, on the 25. day of August. There were taken within this castell 80. knights, besides peomen and other common souldiers. In like maner, and with the semblable god fortune, about the same time, his capitains in England ouercame his enimies: for whereas Robert earle of Leicester that toke part with king Henrie the sonne, had assembled at the towne of Leicester a great host of men, in purpose to set upon Reigolds earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie captiues on the side of king Henrie the father: they tendering his meaning, marched straight towards Leicester, and by the way met with their enimie earle Robert, whom they so fiercely assailed, that they put him to flight, and after approaching the towne, had it surrendered unto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the castell (which in those daies was of great strength by reason of the situation) they could not win.

Wherwith some write, that by undermining, the walles of the towne were subuerted and throwne downe, so that the towne was entered by force, although they within withdrew themselves into the castell and other strong houses, which they defended for a time, till at length they surrendered all, one parcell of the castell excepted, for the which by composition they paid by way of a fine the sum of three hundred pounds to the use of R. Henrie the father. The siege began the seauenth day of Iulie, and on the 28. day of the same moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to those that still defended a certeine tower of the castell into the which they were withdrawne.

William also the Scottis king, with an armie of horse and Collovainmen invaded Northumberland and passing by the confines of the bishopricke of Durham did much hurt by slaughter, burning and spoiling the countrie. Neuerthelesse, hearing of cosider raised by the English lords in those parts to resist him, he withdrew into his countrie. The English armie following him, wasted the countrie of Scotland, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to endure till the feast of S. Vilarie. For the which truce hapilie some rewards went betwixt, and so the English lords with spoiles and gaires returned homeward.

A few daies after these luckie chancies thus happening to king Henrie, king Leices perceiuing fortune to be on that side, determined to assaie whether he could obtaine his purpose by some means of treating or at the least putting Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather suffer all

discommodities whatsoever, than once to trie the matter by battell with his sonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gisors and Etrie, shewing bread in the one hand (as they say) and hiding a stone in the other.

King Henrie was easilie intreated to heare of a nie talke for peace, and therefore coming to the place on tuesday the fiftenth daie of September, made so large offers, that he had almost conuered the pong mens minds vnto concord. First he offered to his sonne Henrie the yong king, the moitie of one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and foure conuenient castels within the same. And if his sonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that dutchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers pertaining to the earldome of Anjou, with certeine castels in Normandie, one castell in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Tozaine. To his sonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues of Guien, and foure conuenient castels in the same. And to his sonne Gesteire he offered all those lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conaricle of Britaine, if he might by the popes god licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yielded himselfe to stand to the order of the archbishop of Eberent and other the popes legats, not refusing to giue his sonnes what rents and reuenues sooner they should say were reasonable, reseruing onlie to himselfe the administration of iustice, and the power roiall.

These seemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine sonnes of Bechal, set upon nothing but mischief, troublers of common peace and quietnesse, wrought so with them, that no conditions of peace (were the same neuer so reasonable) could content them, so that without effect this communication brake by, but not without continuall words passed betwixt the parties, inso much that the earle of Leicester (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchase aid at his hands) could not refrain but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus suum est cum irascitur,

after many opprobrious words uttered against king Henrie the father, laid hand on his sword to haue stricken him, but the standers by would not suffer him: and so they departed; which rash attempt or rather discollall enterpryse,

Non fuit esse hominis non fuit iret Orestes.

On the morrow after, the French and English skirmished together betwixt Cursells and Gisors, in which consist Enguerane Chastillone de Etrie was taken prisoner by earle William de Handeuille, who presented him to the king of England. King Leices though he indged it his part to preferue his sonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing lesse than to soine battell with the English at that present. But within a few daies after, he sent Robert earle of Leicester into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to soine with Hugh Wigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promises and gentle persuasions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the sonne.

The earle of Leicester therefore landing at Wals-ton the 21. of September, passed through the countrie into Frenningham, where he was receiued of Hugh Wigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other host of Flemings were arrived for their aid, they went vnto Gipswich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Wigot, they went to the castell of Baghenet

Reg. Houed. A treacous peace.

Reg. Houed. The offer of R. Henrie the father to his sonnes.

Pub. Mios.

The earle of Leicester offered to strike the king.

Additions to John Pike.

Reg. Houed.

The earle of Leicester put to flight

with Paris, a castle which by force.

The earle of Leicester was taken prisoner

The English army followed him, wasted the countrie of Scotland

that belonged unto Ranulph Bosc which they took, spoiled & burned, & then returned to Fremmingham.

After this, hearing that the countesse of Leicester was arrived at Oxford with an other power of Flemings, they went to meet her: and so the earle of Leicester, having now a strong armie about him, took leave of earle Wigot, and went to passe through the countrie into Leicestershire, there to succour his friends, and to worke some feat for the behoufe and furtherance of their quarrell.

Reg. Henric.

In the meane time the arrivall of the earle of Leicester being knowne, the people of the countrie were assembled together. Also Richard Lucie lord chiefe iustice, and Humfrey de Boun high constable of England, with the kings power of horsemen which lately before had bene in Scotland and made invades there (as before is mentioned) came with all speed to saue the countrie from spoile, having first taken a truce as before is said, with the king of Scots, till the feast of Saint Hilarie next ensuing (or rather Easter, hostages being delivred on both sides. Upon knowledge then had where the enemies were lodged, and what they intended to do, the said Richard Lucie & Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundsburie, whither Keignold earle of Cornewall the kings uncle, Robert earle of Glocester, and William erle of Arundell resorted.

Reg. Henric.

In the meane while, the earle of Leicester passed forward on his waie so farre as Fornham a little village beside S. Edmundsburie. The lord chiefe iustice & the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongst others the said Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundsburie, having the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, & in a marsh ground betwixt Fornham & Edmundsburie, they encountered with the said earle of Leicester, and after long and cruell fight discomfited his people, and took him prisoner, together with his wife the countesse Petronill, after he had done all that belonged to a valiant capteine.

The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.

Reg. Henric.
Polycon.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thousand (and almost as manie taken) herelic [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or five thousand were either taken or slaine:] the residue that escaped fled towards Leicester, that they might both defend the towne & themselves from the danger of their foes.

Will. Parvus.

But here is to be noted, that it seemeth by the report of some writers, how the earle of Leicester had not so great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number slaine and taken it should appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Wigot, he took upon him to passe through the countrie (as some write) partly upon trust that he had of the force and number of his souldiers, being about foure or five thousand stout and valiant footmen, besides 80 chosen and well appointed horsemen; and partly in hope that manie of those which were in his adversaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight against him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indeed presumed much upon their owne strength, so that they made account of some great conquest, in such wise, that when they came into any large plaine where they might rest, they would take each others by the hand and leading a danse, sing in their countrie language,

Rich. Paris.

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine.

King Henrie receiving advertisement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was marvellous ioyfull, and commanded that the prisoners should be brought over unto him into

Normandie: which being done, he went into Anion, and there fortified the towne and castles of the countrie with sure garrisons of men, to resist all sudden invasions, secret practices, and other attempts of the enemies. On the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, he took the towne of Clarendone by force, which Richard de Lauerdin held against him, having first expelled his father the earle of Clarendone.

R. Henric.
The towne of Clarendone taken.

About this season, or rather somewhat before, king Henrie the father, contrarie to the prohibition of the king his sonne) and after the appeale made unto the pope, gave not onlie unto Richard prior of Dover, the archbishoppe of Canturburie; but also to Ketbold Fitz Joceline the bishoppe of Bath; to Richard de Worcester archdeacon of Poitiers the bishoppe of Winchester; to Robert Foliot the bishoppe of Hereford; to Geoffrey Ribell archdeacon of Canturburie he gave the bishoppe of Ely, and to John de Orenford the bishoppe of Chichester.

But now to our purpose. The nobles of the realme of England (after the battell of S. Edmundsburie) with an infinit number of men went against Hugh Wigot in purpose to abate his pride. But whereas they might easilie have had him at their pleasure, by means of such summes of monie as he gave in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Christmas, within which time having gotten together fourtene thousand Flemings, he passed through Essex, and so getting over into Kent, came to Dover, where he took ship and transported over into France.

Matt. Paris.
Which was fought on the 27. of October.

King Henrie the father held his Christmasse this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Easter, or (as others write) for the terme of six moneths. For ye haue to understand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father against the earle of Leicester (being not onlie spread through England, but also blown over into France) put those that took part with him in great feare; but speciallic king Lewes mistrusting the matter began to wax wearie that he had attempted so far, and sustained so great travail and expences in another mans cause.

Anno. Regni.
1174.

Whilste this truce indured, the archbishop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in despair of his businesse, upon a feigned rumour spread that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and sonne, he was called backe and consecrated by the pope the sundaie after Easter: and then furnished with the dignities of pimat and legat of England, and other privileges according, he took his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid forth great summes of monie to display point the purposes of his adventures.

Ger. Dor.

This yeare in June, the lord Geoffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings sonne besieged the castell which Roger de Molubray had repaired at Linard Ferie, within the Ile of Wyholme, and compelling the souldiers within to yeld, he beat downe and rased the same castell unto the verie ground. Robert Molubray constable of that castell, as he passed thorough the countrie towards Leicester, there to procure some aid, was taken by the men of Clait, and kept as prisoner. Moreover, the said elect of Lincolne took the castell of Halesfert that belonged to the said Roger Molubray, which being now taken, was delivred unto the keeping of the archbishop of York. The said elect also fortified a castell at Topelise, and took it to the keeping of William Stuteville. In this meane while the king took the strengths and fortresses which his sonne Richard had fortified at Harwates, and in the same forts and church (which was also fortified against him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archbalifers, that is, the best of them that bare

The orh of
the earle of
Flanders.

Aditions to
John Pike.

Math. Paris,
Gen. Dor.

Aditions to
John Pike.

The king of
Scots was
both Eng-
land.

Cassels won
by the Scots.

bare crossebowes.

Philip earle of Flanders in the presence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laien his hand vpon the holie reliques, sware that within 15. daies next insuing the feast of S. John then instant to enter England with an armie, and to doe his best to subdue the same to king Henrie the son. Upon trust wherof the young king the more presuming came downe to Whitland, the 14. daie of Iulie, that he might from thence send ouer into England Kase de la Haie with certeine bands of souldiers. Before this the earle of Flanders had sent ouer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call them. But after their arrivall at Dorwell, which chanced the 14. of June, by reason that their associats were dispersed, and for the more part subdued, they toke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Dorwich, assaulted the citie and won it, gaining there great riches, and spectallie in readie monie, and led awaie a great sort of prisoners whome they ransomed at their pleasure. This chanced the 18. of June.

I remember that William Parvus writeth, that the citie of Dorwich was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the earle of Leicester in the yeare last past, by the conduct of the said earle before he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie, being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led those Flemings also vnto Dunwich, purposing to win and sacke that towne also; but the inhabitants being better provided against the coming of their enemies than they of Dorwich were, shewed such countenance of defense, that they preferred their towne from that danger, so that the two earles with Flemings were constrained to depart without achieving their purpose. But whether that this attempt against Dunwich was made by the earle of Leicester (before his taking) in companie of earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verelie for the winning of Dorwich, I suppose that William Parvus mistaketh the time, except we shall saie that it was twice taken, as first by the earle of Leicester in the yeare 1173. For it is certeine by consent of most writers, and especiallie those that haue recorded particularie the incidents that chanced here in this land during these troubles betwixt the king and his sons, that it was taken now this yeare 1174. by earle Bigot (as before we haue shewed.)

But now to proceed. The lords that had the rule of the land for king Henrie the father, perceiuing earle Bigots proceedings, sent knowledge thereof with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in the parties beyond the seas. Whilst these things were a doing, although the minds of manie of the conspirators against king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Hovwray, and Hugh Bigot (by reason of this new supplie of men got out of Flanders) ceased not to attempt fresh exploits; and cheslie they solicited the matter in such wise with William king of Scotland, that whilst they in other quarters of the realme played their parts, he entered into the confines of Cumberland, and first besieged the citie of Carlisle, but perceiuing he could not win it in any short time, he left one part of his armie to keepe siege before it, and with the residue marched into the countrie alongst by the riuer of Eden, taking by force the cassels of Bourgh and Applebie, with diuerse other. This done, he passed ouer the riuer, and came through Northumberland (wasting the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place he attempted to win, though his labour therein proved but in vaine.

This enterprise which he made into Northumberland, he toke in hand cheslie at the suit and request

of Roger Hovwray, from whome Gestepe (who after was bishop of Lincoln) B. Henries eldest base son had taken two of his cassels, so that he kept the third with much adoe. He had given his eldest sonne in hostage vnto the said king of Scots for assurance of such covenants to be kept on his behalfe as were passed betwixt them. In the meane time one Dun-
Polydor,
Duncane a
Scottish cap-
taine wasteth
Kendall.
tane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scottish armie entered into Kendall, and wasteth that countrie in most cruell wise, neither sparing age nor sex, insomuch that he brake into the churchies, Rue those that were fled into the same for safegard of their liues as well preests as other. The English power of horsemen which passed not the number of 400. was assembled at Newcastell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteville, Kase Glanville, William Arsie, Bernard Ballioll [and Adonot de Umfreville.]

Wil. Parvus,
R. Houed.

These capteines hauing knowledge that Dun-
cane was in one side of the countrie, and king William in another, determined to issue forth and trie the chance of warre (which is doubtfull and vncertaine, according to the old saienge,

Fortuna belli semper accipit in loco est)

Sen. in The.

against the enemies, sith it should be a great rebuke to them to suffer the countrie to be wasted after that sort without reuengement. Herevpon riding forth one morning, there arose such a thicke fog and mist that they could not discern any waie about them, so that doubting to fall within the laps of their enemies at brivares, they staid a while to take aduise what should be best for them to doe. Now when they were almost fullie resolved to haue turned backe againe, by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of Bernard Ballioll, they changed their purpose, and rode forward, till at length the northerne wind began to waken, and droue awaie the mist, so that the countrie was discovered vnto them, and perceiuing there Alnewike stood, not knowing as yet whether the Scots had wone it or not, they staid their pace, and riding softly, at length learning by the inhabitants of the countrie, that the Scottish king despairing to win Alnewike, had raised his siege from thence the same day, they turned freight thither, and lodging there all night, in the morning got to their hostes verie carelie, riding forth towards the enemies that were spred abroad in the countrie to forrey the same. They had anon espied where the king was, and incontinentlie compassed him about on euerie side, who perceiuing the English horsemen readie thus to assaile him, with all diligence called backe his men from the spoile; but the more part of them being straid far off through the sweetnes they found in getting of preies, could not heare the sound of the trumpets, yet notwithstanding with those his horsemen which he could get together, he encountered the English men which came vpon him verie hastily.

Bernard de
Ballioll.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the first, and well fought for a time, but the Scottish horsemen being toiled before in forreling the countrie, could not long continue against the fierce assault of the English, but were either beaten downe, or else constrained to saue themselves by flight. The king with a few other (who at the first had begun the battell) was taken. Also manie of the Scots who being far off, and yet hearing of the skirmish, came running toward the place, & were taken yet they could vnderstand how the matter had passed. This taking of the king of Scots was on a saturday, being the seventh of Iulie.

The king of
Scots taken.

Gen. Dor.

The English capteines hauing thus taken the Scottish king in the midst of his armie, containing the number of 80000. men, returned to Newcastell, greatlie reioysing of their good successe, aduertising

Wil. Parvus.

J. Y. king

Matt. Paris.
Matth. West.
Wil. Parvus.
Ger. Dor.

king Henrie the father herof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scottis king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after it shall appere.)

Polydor.

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketill Malozie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Portsmouth, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, toke two hundred prisoners, and sue or wounded nere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterpryse returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set forth. The kings hostemen here vpon came streightwaies to Portsmouth, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

This chanced
a little after
Whitsunide.

Rob. Ferreis.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of hostemen, suddenly made to Nottingham, which Reigold de Lucie had in keeping, and comming thither earlie in the morning toke it, droue out the kings souldiers that laie there in garrison, burned the towne, sue the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselves vnto him.

Polydor.
Rog. Houed;
Nottingham
taken.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his friends here in England, sometimes conceiued some good hope to obtaine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Herevpon he purchased aid of king Letwes, who (because the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterpryse so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine hostemen, and of a number of Zabanders.

Wil. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the doings in England, with all possible speed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboard, among whom were certeine bands of his Zabanders: and so sone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoised vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting least the blood of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and toke order for the placing of captains with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arrive. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Julie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yelded themselves to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saued.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Huntington
castell wonne.

R. Houed.

Matth. Paris.
Earle Wigot
is accorded
with the R.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremmingham, which the earle Hugh Wigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agreed with the king to haue peace, paying him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agreement was concluded the 25. of Julie. Herevpon

on a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Rafe de la Haie departed without impeachment by the kings sufferance.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Portsmouth. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bound vnder the horses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Poatham, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Howbzaie, and surrendered to him the castell of Trefke, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vpon into his hands the castels of Lutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Malozie, and William de Due constables to the earle of Leicester yelded to the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsozell, to the intent that he should deale more courteously with the earle their master. Also William earle of Gloucester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselves to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished: so that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enimies returned to London.

R. Houed.

The king of
Scots was
brought to the
king of Eng-
land.

The earle of
Gloucester.
The earle Ri-
chard of Clare

¶ All this hurlie burle and blondie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did defect and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obtaine the monarchie, and the old king doe him homage: and partlie to the quenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had bene (notwithstanding such dishonour done hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asleepe, and done what she possible could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath bene said long ago,

*Mulier nihil nouit nisi quod vult,
Et plenum malorum est onus.*

Pub. Mha.

But what ensued herevpon euen by waie of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namely, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie: For the king after this haplie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quene Eliauo had proued himselfe to be) should still annioie his eyes, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, because she had procured his sons Richard and Gesefrey to foine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Quene Eliauo
is com-
mitted to close
prison.

But to proceed, king Letwes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a powder, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streittlie. Shortly after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obtaine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they stood, without faint hearts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue over their citie for any threats or menaces of their enimies.

Polydor.

Rouen be-
sieged by the
French king.
Wil. Paruus.

Matt. Paris.
Matth. West.
Wil. Parvus.
Ger. Dor.

Polydor.

This chanced
a little after
Whitson-tide.

Rob. Ferreis.

Polydor.
Rog. Houed.
Notingham
taken.

Wil. Parvus.

Polydor.

Wil. Parvus.

Huntington
castell wone.

R. Houed.

Matt. Paris.
Carle Bigot
is accorded
with the R.

king Henrie the father hereof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scottish king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after it shall appere.)

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester under the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketille Malozie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Portsmouth, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, took two hundred prisoners, and due or wounded nere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterpryse returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set forth. The kings hoysmen here vpon came streightwaies to Portsmouth, and following the enemies, could not ouertake them.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of hoysmen, suddenly made to Nottingham, which Reigbold de Lucie had in keeping, and comming thither earlie in the morning took it, drew out the kings souldiers that laie there in garrison, burned the towne, due the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselves vnto him.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his friends here in England, sometimes conceiued some good hope to obtaine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Wherevpon he purchased aid of king Letwes, who (because the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterpryse so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine hoysmen, and of a number of Brabanders.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the doings in England, with all possible speed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboard, among whom were certeine bands of his Brabanders: and so sone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoised vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting least the blood of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and took order for the placing of capteins with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arrive. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 10. of Iulie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yelded themselves to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saved.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castles of Wingham and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agreed with the king to haue peace, paing him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agreement was concluded the 25. of Iulie. Wherevpon

on a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enemies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Raife de la Haie departed without impeachment by the kings sufferance.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Portsmouth. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bound vnder the hoyses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castles of Durham, Rotham, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Spowbate, and surrendered to him the castell of Treke, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vp into his hands the castles of Lutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Malozie, and William de Due constables to the earle of Leicester yelded to the king the castles of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsozell, to the intent that he should deale more courteously with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Glocester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselves to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished: so that the king hauing atchised the vpper hand of his enemies returned to London.

All this hurle burle and bloudie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did dield and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obtaine the monarchie, and the old king do him homage: and partlie to the quenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had bene (notwithstanding such dishonour done hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asleepe, and done what she possible could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath bene said long ago,

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Et plenum malorum est onus.*

Pub. Mta.

But what ensued herevpon enen by waile of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namely, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie: For the king after this haple atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quene Eliano had proued himselfe to be) should still annoie his eyes, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, because she had procured his sons Richard and Geoffrey to soine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

But to proceed, king Letwes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streittie. Shortly after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obtaine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiving in what danger they stood, without saint harts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue over their citie for any threats or menaces of their enemies.

R. Houed.

The king of
Scots pre-
sented to the
king of En-
gland.

The earle of
Glocester.
The earle Ri-
chard of Clare

Quene Eli-
anoz is com-
mitted to close
prison.

Polydor.

Rouen besie-
ged by the
French king.
Wil. Parvus.

emies. Now whilst they within were busie in devising how to repell the assault, and to defend themselves, the adversaries about midnight came forth of their campe, and approaching the walles with their ladders, raised them up, and began to scale the citie. But the citizens being aduised thereof, boldlie got them to the loops and towers, ouerthrew the ladders, stones and darts beat them backe, to their great losse and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the enemies could not preuaile thus to get the citie by this assault, yet they continued the siege, and suffered not them within to be in quiet, but daye and night assailed them by one meane or other.

Rog. Houed.
King Henrie
returneth into
Normandie.

King Henrie the father being aduertised hercof, after he had set his businesse in order, touching the saertie and safe defense of the English estate, he returned into Normandie, and landed at Harflet on a thursdaie being the eight daie of August, bringing backe againe with him his B. and a thousand Welshmen. In this meane while, king Lewes continued still his siege before Rouen, confreining them within by all meanes he could deuise to yeld up their citie. At length came the feast of Saint Lawrence, on which daie the French king commanded that no man should attempt any enterpryse against the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in worship of that saint. This truce was so acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themselves, without all respect to the danger wherein the citie stood, threw off their armour, and gaue themselves to sleepe and rest. Some also fell to banquetting and other pastimes in verie dissolute maner.

¶ But through this their remisse vsage and loose behauiour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is no safe warrant of securitie and peace, they deriued danger and destruction to themselves; which it had bene their parts prouidentlie to haue prevented, and not through their carelesnesse to set open a gap of aduantage to their enemies, who pursued them with professed hostilitie, notwithstanding they reposed confidence in the truce that was granted. Wherein they are to be resembled to the coks of whome Plautus speaketh verie neatly, saying,

*coquos equidem nimis
Demiror, qui tot videntur condimento is eos co
Condimento non vti quod praestat omnibus,*

Meaning sobrietie: so these delighting more in their dishes, than mistrusting their enemies, remembred to take the use of any pleasure that the conuenientnesse of this present time might proffer; onlie as cokes among all their sauces do mind nothing lesse than sobriety: so these in the abundance of their ioies, thought nothing of afterclaps, which afterwards made them (like folcs) to sing an unhappie had I wist. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this their negligence, required licence of the French king to giue assault to the citie, declaring in what state the matter presentlie stood; who not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promised faith, with any such vnlawfull attempt, commanded his men of warre that made the request in no wise to stirre. Howbeit the souldiers upon conuention of the spoile, raised the ladders to that part of the wall which they indged to be most without warders, so that some of them mounting aloft, got up, and were about to helpe by their fellowes.

The French-
men assault
the citie, with-
out comman-
dement of
their king.
Two praests.

Now it happened (as God would haue it) that two praests being gone up into the steeple of the chiefe church, to looke about them for their pleasures, fortun- ed to see where the French men were about to enter the citie, and straightwaies gaue knowledge to the citizens beneath. Whereupon the alarm rose, in- somuch that with all speed the people ran to the place,

and with such violence came vpon their enemies which were entred vpon the walles, that straightwaies they slue manie of them, and chased the residue out of the ditch, so that they returned with bleeding wounds to their campe, repenting them of their unhappie enterpryse, that turned them to such wo and grauaunce.

The French-
men are re-
pelled.

The same day a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the citie with great ioy and gladnesse: for he came thither by chance, euen about the time that the citie had thus like to haue bin surprisid & taken at vnwares.

Polydor.

¶ There be that write, how the French king (immediatlie vpon the arriual of king Henrie) left his field and departed, greatlie to his dishonour, burning by his engines of warre, and not staling till his men might haue leisure to charge their wagons with their armour and other stuffe, which they were glad to leaue behind for a prey to the English men illusing forth vpon them. But other declare, that the French king being nothing abashed of king Henries comming, continued the siege, in hope to win the citie.

Matt. Paris.

The next day earlie in the morning (or as other say in the night season) the king did send forth a certein number of Welshmen to passe ouer the riuer of Saine, which they did, and by force made themselves waie through the French campe, getting without losse or danger vnto a great wood, and slue that day of their adversaries aboue an hundred men. After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they skirmished daillie with the French horsemen, and oft times cut off such prouision of vittels as came to nourish the campe. The king himselfe on the other side remaining within the citie, caused his people to issue out at the gates, and to keepe the enemies occupied with skirmishes afore the citie. And moreover, where there was a great trench cast betwixt the French campe and the walles of the citie, he caused the same to be filled up with sagots, stones, and earth. But although the French men sawe this the kings deed well enough, yet none of them issued forth of their tents to hinder the English of their purpose.

R. Houed.
The welsh-
mens good
seruice.

Nic. Triuet.

Rog. Houed.

Now king Lewes being fore bered with his enemies on each side, and perceiuing the citie would not be wone within any short time, began to wax wearie, and to repent himselfe (as afore) for taking in hand so chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell. Whereupon he caused William bishop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to king Henrie, and to promise vpon forbearance from warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and his sonnes, betwene whome vnnaturall variance rested. Whereof k. Henrie being most desirous, and taking a truce, appointed to come to Cisors [in the feall of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and bring it to some good end.

The French
king maketh
an ouerture
for peace.

N. Triuet.
A truce.

The French king, so soone as he knew that truce was taken, raised his siege, and returning home, within a few daies after (according to the appointment) came to Cisors, and there communed with king Henrie: but because he could not make any agreement betwixt him and his sonnes at that time, he appointed another time to meet about it. King Henrie the father (whilst the truce continued with the French king) and his sonne Henrie went to Poitou, where his sonne Richard (whilst his father had bene occupied in other places) had gotten the most part of the countrie into his possession. But now hearing of his fathers comming, and that a truce was taken with the French king and with his brother, he considered with himselfe, that without their assistance he was not able to withstand his fa-
thers

The French
king leaues
his siege.

Richard the
kings sonne
prepareth to
resist his fa-
ther.

He beghineth
to despaire of
good successe.

Polydor.

The son sub-
mitteth him-
selfe to the
father.

Ger. Dor.
The father &
sonnes are ac-
corded.

The conditi-
ons of the a-
greement.

R. Houed.

R. Houed.

Richard.

G. Grey.

thers power. Wherbeit at length choosing rather to
trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie
to yield, he prepared for defense, furnishing diuerse
townes and castels with garisons of men: and as-
sembling togither all the other power that he was
able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents
not far off from his father. In the meane while, which
way soeuer his father passed, the townes and castels
submitted themselves vnto him, so that Richard be-
gan to despaire of the matter, inso much that he durst
not approach nere his father, but kept aloofe, doubting
to be entrapped.

At length when he had considered his owne state,
and weled how vnthankfullie the French king and
his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no con-
sideration of him at such time as they took truce,
he determined to alter his purpose, and hauing some
good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought best to
trie it, which he found to be the best waie that he could
haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter
thoughts are better aduised than the first, as the old
saing is,

Δελήσας Φερώνες σφόνδρος.

Hereupon Richard laing armour aside, came of
his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of Sep-
tember, and asked pardon. His father most courte-
ously receiuing him, made so much of him as though
he had not offended at all. Which example of courte-
sie preuailed much to the alluring of his other sons
to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing where-
of to speedie effect, he sent this Richard vnto king
Leues, and to his other sonne Henrie, to comment
with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did so
effectualie his message, that he brought them both
in godd forwardnesse to agree to his fathers purpose,
so that there was a daie appointed for them to meet
with their father, betwixt Tobyes in Touraine and
Ambois.

King Henrie reioicing hereat, kept his daie (be-
ing the morrow after the feast of S. Michael) and
there met him both king Leues, and his two sonnes
Henrie and Gessrey, where finally the father and
the sonnes were accorded; he promising to receiue
them into fauour vpon these conditions.

1 First the prisoners to be released & take with-
out rancome on both sides, and their offenses, which
had taken either the one part or the other, to be like-
wise pardoned.

2 Out of this article were excepted all those which
before the concluding of this peace had already
compounded for their ransomes, as the king of
Scots, the earles of Leicester and Chester, and Rafe
Fulgier, with their pledges.

3 It was also agreed, that all those castels which
had bene builded in time of this warre, should be ra-
ced and throwne downe, and all such cities, townes,
castels, countries and places, as had bene wonne by
either part during these wars, should be restored vnto
those persons that held the same, and were in pos-
session of them 15. daies before the departure of the
sonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father should assigne
to his sons more large reuenues for maintenance
of their estates, with a caution included, that they
should not spend the same riotously in any prodigall
sort of manner.

5 To the king his sonne, he gaue two castels in
Normandie, with an increase of yearelie reuenues,
to the summe of 15. thousand pounds Anouin.

6 To his sonne Richard he gaue two houses
in Poitou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of
the countie of Poitou to be receiued and taken in
readie monie.

7 And to his sonne Gessrey he granted in monie,

the moitie of that which he should haue by the ma-
riage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had
married hir by licence purchased of the pope, he should
enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that de-
scended to hir, as in hir fathers writing therof more
at large was conteined.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the son couenan-
ted to & with the king his father, that he would per-
forme and confirme all those gifts, which his father
should grant out of his lands, & also all those gifts of
lands which he either had made and assured, or here-
after should make and assure vnto any of his men
for any of their seruices: & likewise those gifts which
he had made vnto his sonne John the brother of king
Henrie the sonne; namely, a thousand pounds in
lands by yeare in England of his demaine and ex-
cheats with the appurtenances, and the castell and
countie of Potingham, with the castell of Harle-
brough, & the appurtenances. Also a thousand pounds
Anouin of yearelie reuenues in Normandie, and
two castels there. And in Aniou a thousand pounds
Anouin, of such lands as belonged to the earle of
Aniou, with one castell in Aniou, and one in Tou-
raine, and another in Paine.

Thus were the father and sons agreed and made
friends, the sonnes couenancing neuer to withdraue
their seruices and bounden duties from their fa-
ther, but to obeie him in all things from that day for-
ward. Herewith also the peace was renewed betwixt
king Henrie and king Leues, and for the further
confirmation, a new alliance was accorded betwixt
them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter
of king Leues should be giuen in marriage vnto
earle Richard the sonne of king Henrie, who because
she was not yet of age able to marie, she was con-
uied into England to be under the guiding of king
Henrie, till she came to lawfull yeares.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie
forgetting all iniuries passed, brought home his sons
in manner aforesaid, who being well pleased with the
agreement, attended their father into Normandie,
where Richard and Gessrey did homage to him, re-
ceiuing their othes of allegiance according to the
manner in that case required. But king Henrie the
sonne did no homage, for his father (in respect that he
was a king) would not suffer him, and therefore took
onlie sureties of him for performance of the coue-
nants on his part, as was thought expedient.

¶ All this dissention and strife was kindled (no
doubt) by the meanes of certeine sowers of discorde,
sycophants, parasites, flatterers, clawbacks, & pick-
thanks, who had learned their lesson, that

Principibus placuisse viuis non vltima laus est,

and thinking by their embossed speech to tickle the
eares and harts of the young princes, who by reason
of their young yeares and nakednesse of experience
in the course of worldlie matters, sought their owne
aduancement, even by slingeing fire faggots of dis-
sention betwene them, whose harts naturall affecti-
on had vnited. For by the tenor of the storie (marke
it who will) we shall see that no attempt of the sons
against the father but had originall from the sugge-
stions of euill disposed persons, who (like eeles that
fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie
motes and ponds) sought honour in hurle burlies,
& reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones
impouerishment. This to be true, the small euent
and issue proueth; namely, the mutuall attonement
and reconciliation wouen betwene the father and
the sonnes; their remorse for their vndutifulnes, his
louing fauour and graciousnesse; their promptnesse
to yield to conditions of agreement; his forwardnes
to giue consent to covenants required; their readi-
nesse to do the old king homage, his acceptable ad-
mission

A marriage
concluded.

Wil. Parus.

R. Houed.
Wil. Parus
saith that he
did homage
also.

million of their proffered seruice; with other circum-
stances to be collected out of the storie, all which do
proue that this their disloall resistance sprang ra-
ther by others incitement, than of their owne seek-
ing. Thus we see what alterations happen in the ac-
tions of men, and that euill things manie times
(though naturallie bad) do inferre their contraries,
as one aptlie saith,

Discordia fit charior concordia.

South. king of
Scots deliue-
red out of pri-
son with other

March. Paris.
prisoners re-
leased.

Cassels deli-
uered by the
k. of Scots.

N. Triuer.
March. Paris.

Reg. Houed.
1175

The kings of
England and
France meet
at Gisors.

Philip earle
of Flanders.

Polydor.

At length king Henrie went to Saleise, and there
deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scot-
land, Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh earle of Che-
ster, with diuerse other Noble men which were kept
there as prisoners, putting them to their ransomes,
and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of alle-
giance. This king Henrie the father released for his
part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men
of armes (if ye list so to terme them) which had bene
taken since the beginning of these passed warres.

As for king Henrie the sonne he also set at liber-
tie aboue an hundred, and that without ransome
pacing, according to the articles of the peace (as be-
fore you haue heard.) But yet some (as is already
specified) were excepted out of the benefit of that arti-
cle, as William king of Scotland, who being not a-
ble to paie his ransome in present monie, deliuered
vp in gage foure of the strongest castles within his
realme into king Henriess hands, namely, War-
wike, Edbourough, Korbourgh, and Sterling, with
condition, that if he brake the peace, and paid not the
monie behind due for his ransome, king Henrie
and his successors should enioy for euer the same
castles. He also couenanted, not to receiue any
English rebels into his realme. Other write that the
king of Scots did not onelie become the king of
Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to
do homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland,
and all other his lands, but also deliuered the castles
of Warwike, and Korbourgh to be possessed of the
same king of England and his heires for euer, with-
out any couenant mentioned of mortgage.

Things being settled thus in good order, king Hen-
rie leauing his sonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Ar-
genton, and there held his Christmase, and after
wards, namely in the feast of the purification of our
ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the sonne)
were at Pauns, and vpon their returne from thence
into Normandie, came to a communication with
the French king at Gisors, and then being come
backe into Normandie at Bure, the sonne (to put the
father out of all doubt and mistrust of any euill in-
tention in him) swore fealtie to him against all persons,
and so became his liegeman in the presence of Ro-
thob archbishop of Rouen, Henrie bishop of Baieux,
William earle of Spandeville, Richard de Bumez,
his conestable, and manie other.

After this they kept their easter at Chirebourgh,
from whence they came to Caen, where they met
with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before
taken on him the crosse, to go to the holie land: where
king Henrie the father required him to release all
such couenants as king Henrie the sonne had made
vnto him in time of his last warres, which he freely
did, and deliuered by the writing that he had of the
same king concerning those couenants, and so they
confirmed vnto him the yearelie rent which he was
wont to receiue out of England, before the said
warres.

Finallie, when king Henrie had visited the most
part of the countrie, he came to Warlew, and caused
his nauie to be decked and rigged, that he might saile
ouer into England. Whilste he tarried here till
his ships were readie, he sent letters to his sonne
king Henrie, willing him to repaire vnto him,

and meaning that he should accompanie him into
England. Who at the first was loth to obeye his fa-
thers will and pleasure herein, because some enu-
ous persons about him had put in his head a doubt,
least his father had not altogether forgot his former
grudge, and that he ment at his comming into Eng-
land to commit him to prison. Which was a surmise
altogether void of likeliehood, considering that the fa-
ther, in the whole processe of his actions betwene
himselfe and his sonnes, was so farre from the desire
of inflicting any corporall punishment, or leuening a-
nie fine vpon them for their misdemour, that he
alwaies sought meanes of reconcilment and paci-
fication. And though this Henrie the sonne for his
part deserued to be roughly dealt withall, yet the fa-
ther handled him so gentlie with courteous letters &
messages, that shortly after he came of his owne
acord vnto Warlew, from whence shortly after
they sailed both together ouer into England, landing
at Portsmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maye,
from thence they toke their iourne streight to Lon-
don, all the waies being full of people that came to
see them, and to shew themselves glad and ioyfull
of their concord and happie arriual. At their comming
to the citie they were receiued with great reioicing
of the people, beseeching God long to preserve them
both in health and honour.

The same yeare William de Breause having
got a great number of Welshmen into the castell of
Abergaunmie, vnder a colourable pretext of com-
munication, proposed this ordinance to be receiued
of them with a corporall oth: That no trauelier by the
waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other
vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refused to
take, because they would not stand to that ordinance
he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vsed
towards them in reuenge of the death of his uncle
Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon easter euen before,
they had through treason murdered, and were now
acquitted with the like againe.

The same yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall,
bassard sonne to king Henrie the first without heirs
male, by reason whereof the king toke into his hands
all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held
within England, Normandie and Wales, except cer-
teine portions which the daughters of the same earle
had by assignement allotted to them. Also Richard
earle of Gloucester deceased this yeare, and his sonne
Philip succeeded him.

The same yeare was a synod of the cleargie kept
at Westmister, wherein many things were decreed
for the conseruation of religion. Amongst other
things it was provided, that those abbeies and chur-
ches which were void of gouernours, and could haue
none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill
warres, should now be committed vnto men wo-
thy to enioy the same, for the reformation of disor-
ders growne and plentifulle sprung vp in time of
the vacations.

The realme now brought into good order and de-
livered from the troubles of warre, as well at home
as abroad, the king being at good leisure determined
to ride about a great part of the realme, and com-
ming to Powke, sent for the king of Scots to come
and do his homage. Now the king of Scots (accord-
ing to couenants before concluded) came vnto
Powke in the moneth of August, where doing his ho-
mage about the twentieth day of the same moneth in
St. Peters church, the king granted further by his
letters patents, that he and his successors kings of
Scotland, should do homage and fealtie to the kings
of England, so often as they should be necessarilie
required therevnto. In signe and token of which sub-
jection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his sab-
ble

Enuious per-
sons ready to
forge matters
of suspicion.

The two
kings the fa-
ther and the
sonne returne
into England.

William de
Breause.

The Welshme
not well dealt
withall.

N. Triuer.
Reignold erle
of Cornwall
departed this
life.

March. West.
A synod held
at London.

W. Partus.
The king of
Scots doth
homage to the
king of Eng-
land.

de upon the altar of S. Peter in Porke, which for a remembrance herof was kept there many yeares after that day.

The charter containing the articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings, which was read in S. Peters church at the same time, exemplified as followeth.

R. Houed.

Wilhelmus rex Scotie deuenit homo ligius domini regis Anglie contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, & fidelitatem ei fecit ut ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis salua fide domini regis patris sui.

2 Omnes vero episcopi, abbates & clerus terre Scotie & successores sui faciant domino regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & David & heredibus eorum.

3 Concessit autem rex Scotie, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines sui domino regi, quod ecclesia Scotie talem subiectionem amodo faciat ecclesie Anglie, qualem facere debet, & solebat tempore regum Anglie predecessorum suorum.

4 Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti Andree, & Richardus episcopus Dunkeldi & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin & Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt, ut ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat in ecclesia Scotie, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erunt contra ius Anglicane ecclesie. Et de hac concessione sicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde asscurauerint.

5 Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotie, per conventionem inter dominum regem Scotie & David fratrem suum & barones suos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotie (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem ut ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent, & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis salua fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter heredes regis Scotie & barones & hominum suorum homagium & ligiantiam facient heredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

6 Praterea rex Scotie & homines sui nullum amodo fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro feloniam receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & stare iudicio curie. Sed rex Scotie & homines sui quam citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iusticiarijs suis aut balliis suis in Anglia.

7 Si autem de terra regis Scotie aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro feloniam in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis Scotie, & stare iudicio curie, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotie per balliios domini regis ubi inuentus fuerit.

8 Praterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebunt, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotie & de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotie habebunt terras suas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conventionem & sine firmiter observando domino regi & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis a rege Scotie & heredibus suis liberavit rex Scotie domino regi castellum de Roxburgh, & castellum Puelarum, & castellum de Striueling in manu domini regis, & ad custodienda castella assignavit rex Scotie de redditu suo mesurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

9 Praterea pro predicta conventionem & sine exequendo liberavit rex Scotie domino regi David fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncannon, & comitem Waldenum, similiter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando castella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotie & David frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prenominati unusquisque postquam liberaverit obsidem suam, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes suos vel

propinquiores sibi heredes, & castella ut dictum est redditis liberabuntur.

10 Praterea rex Scotie & barones sui prenominati asscurauerunt, quod ipsi bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione faciant ut episcopi & barones & ceteri homines terre sue, qui non assuerunt quando rex Scotie cum domino rege finivit eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio suo quam ipsi fecerunt, & ut barones & homines qui assuerunt obsides, liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

11 Praterea episcopi, comites & barones conventionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio suo, quod si rex Scotie aliquo casu a fidelitate domini regis & filij, & a conventionem predictam recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt sicut cum ligio domino suo contra regem Scotie, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotie donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

12 Predictam itaque conventionem firmiter observandam bona fide, & sine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis a Wilhelmo rege Scotie & David fratre suo

20 & baronibus suis predictis, & heredibus eorum asscuravit ipse rex Scotie, & David frater eius, & omnes barones sui prenominati sicut ligij homines domino regi contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij sui (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Abbrincensi, & Iohanne Salisburie decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburie, & Radulpho abbate Mundeiburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs suis scilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things being recited in the church of S. Peter in Porke, in the presence of the said kings, & of David the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the bishops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland sware fealty to the king of England and to Henrie his sonne, and to their heires against all men, as to their liege and soveraigne lords.

King Henrie having ended his businesse at Porke with the king of Scots and others, which likewise did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaves of S. Michaele, and he called a parlement at Windsoe, whereat were present king Henrie the sonne, Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the same time the archbishop of Euanon, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancelor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambassadours from the said Roderike, unto king Henrie, who willinglie heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those savage people by some frendlie order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seeme to ffish with an hoke of gold. Therefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the request of the said ambassadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie unto him in token of subiection, a tribute of ox hides.

A parlement at Windsoe.

Ambassadours from R. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides.

The charter of the agreement was written and subscribed in forme as followeth.



Ecce est finis & concordia que facta fuit apud Windshore in octavis sancti Michaelis an. Gracia 1175. inter dominum regem Anglie Henr. secundum, & Rodericum regem Conacie, per catholicum Tuamensem archiep. & abbatem C. sancti Brandani, & magistrum Lancellarium regis Conacie.

1 Scilicet quod rex Anglie concedit predicto Roderico ligio homini suo regnum Conacie, quamdiu ei fideliter serviet, & sit rex sub eo, paratus ad servicium suum sicut homo suus, & ut teneat terram suam ita bene & in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Anglie intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tribu-

The tenor of the charter of the agreement.

sum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terra habeat sub
se, & iusticiis et tributum regi Anglie integre persoluant,
& per manum eius suam in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis
Anglie, & fideliter & integre persoluerint tributum &
alia iura sua que ei debent per manum regis Conacie, salvo in
omnibus iure & honore domini regis Anglie & suo.

2 Et si qui ex eis regi Anglie & ei rebelles fuerint,
& tributum & alia iura regis Anglie per manum eius
soluere noluerint, & a fidelitate regis Anglie recesserint, ipse
eos iusticiis & amoneat. Et si eos per se iusticiare non poterit,
constabularius regis Anglie, & familia sua de terra illa iuna-
bunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, &
ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet
predictus rex Conacia domino regi Anglie tributum singulis
annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus unum corium
placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra sua, quam de a-
liena.

3 Excepto quod de terris illis quas dominus rex Anglie
retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, ni-
hil se intromittere, scilicet Dunelina cum pertinentiis suis, &
Midia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam Marchat
Wamailethlachlin cum melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui
qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wescfordia cum omnibus
pertinentiis suis, scilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Water-
fordia cum tota terra illa, que est a Waterford usque ad Dun-
carnensis, ita ut Duncarnensis sit cum omnibus pertinentiis suis
infra terram illam.

4 Et si Hibernenses qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad
terram baronum regis Anglie, redeant in pace, reddendo tri-
butum predictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua ser-
uitia que facere solebant pro terris suis. Et hoc sit in arbitrio
dominorum suorum. Et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domi-
ni eorum & rex Conacie accipiat obsides ab omnibus quos ei
commisit dominus rex Anglie ad voluntatem domini regis
& suam. Et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis
Anglie illos vel alios, & ipsi seruiant domino de canibus &
auribus suis singulis annis de presentis suis. Et nullum omnino
de quacunque terra regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem
domini regis & mandatum. Hys testibus, Richardo episcopo
Wintonie, Gaufrido episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Dunelinen-
si archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao, & Rogero capellanus regis,
Guilhelmo comite de Essex, & alijs multis.

Moreover, at this parlement the king gaue an
Ireishman named Augustine, the bishoppe of Wa-
terford, which see was then void, and sent him into
Ireland with Laurence the archbishop of Dublin to
be consecrated of Donat the archbishop of Cassels.
The same yeare, both England and the countries ad-
ioining were soze bered with a great mortalitie of
people, and immediatlie after followed a soze dearth
and famine.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor,
and about the feast of the conuersion of saint Paule
he came to Northampton, & after the mortalitie was
well ceased, he called a parlement, whereat was pre-
sent a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being
sent into England as a legat from the pope, to take
order in the controuersies betwixt the two arch-
bishops of Canturburie and Poike. This cardinall
whose name was Hugh Petro Lion, assembled in
the same place a conuocation of synod of the bishops
and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in
which conuocation, after the ceassing of certeine
strifes and decrees made as well concerning the
state of common-wealth, as for the honest behaui-
our of mans life, the cardinall consented that (acco-
ding as by the kings lawes it was already orde-
ned) all manner of persons within the sacred orders
of the cleargie, which should hunt within the kings
grounds and kill any of his deare, should be conue-
ned and punished before a tempozall iudge. Which li-
bertie granted to the king, did so infringe the immu-

nitie which the cleargie pretended to haue within this
realme, that afterwards in manie points, preests
were called before tempozall iudges, and punished
for their offenses as well as the laitie, though they
haue grudged inoed and mainteined that they had
wzong therein, as they that would be exempted
and iudged by none, except by those of their owne
order.

Moreover, in this counsell the matter came in
question touching the obedience which the bishops of
Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbishop of
Poike, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome
had constituted and ordeined to be primate of all
Scotland, and of the Isles belonging to that realme,
as well of the Orkneys as all the other. Which con-
stitution was obserued by the bishops of those parts
manie yeares together, though after they renounced
their obedience. Whereupon the archbishops of Poike
(for the time being) continuallie complained, so that
these popes, Paschall the second, Calixt the second,
Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and A-
drian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and
with often sending their letters, went about to re-
duce them to the prouince of Poike. But the Scots
still withstanding this ordinance, at length the mat-
ter thus in controuersie was referred to pope Alex-
ander, who sent the foresaid cardinall Hugh as well
to make an end of that contention, as of diuerse o-
ther: but yet he left it vnderdecided.

William king of Scotland came personallie un-
to this parlement at Northampton, by commande-
ment of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard
bishop of S. Andrew, and Josseline bishop of Glas-
cow, with other bishops and abbats of Scotland, the
which being commanded by king Henrie to shew
such subiection to the church of England as they
were bound to do by the faith which they owgnt to
him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to
him, they made this answer, that they had neuer
shewed any subiection to the church of England, nor
ought. Against which dentall, the archbishop of Poike
replied, and brought forth sufficient priuileges gran-
ted by the foresaid popes, to proue the subiection
of the Scottish bishops, and namelie Glascow and
Whiterne vnto the see of Poike. But bicause the
archbishop of Canturburie meant to bring the Sco-
tish bishops vnder subiection to his see, he wrought so
for that time with the king, that he suffered them to
depart home, without yielding any subiection to the
church of England. The letters which the foresaid
popes did send touching this matter, were remain-
ing safe and sound amongst other writings in the
colledge at Poike, when Polydor Virgil wzote the
hystories of England, the copies whereof in an old
ancient booke he confessed to haue seene and read.

But to speake further of things ordered and done
at this parlement holden at Northampton, the king
by common consent of his Nobles and other states,
diuided his realme into six parts, appointing three
iustices itinerants in euerie of them, as here follow-
eth, Hugh de Cressie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Ro-
bert Pantell, were deputed vnto Northfolke, Suff-
olke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Bedford-
shire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Hertfordshire:
Hugh de Cundeuille, William Fitz Rafe, and
William Ballet were appointed to Lincolnshire,
Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, War-
wickshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire:
Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Gifford, Roger Fitz
Kemfey, were assigned to Kent, Surrey, Hamp-
shire, Suffer, Berksheire and Oxfordshire: William
Fitz Stephan, Bertham de Werton, Thurstan Fitz
Simon were ordeined to Herefordshire, Gloucester-
shire, Worcestershire, and Salopshire: Rafe Fitz
Sige

Obedience of
the church of
Scotland to
the church of
England.

Rog. Houed.
The king of
Scots com-
meth to the
parlement.

R. Houed.
Diuision of
circuits for
iustices ite-
nerants.

Anno Reg. 22.
1176
A parlement
at North-
ampton.

Math. Paris.

An act against
preests that
were hunters.

Stephan, William Kusse, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Summer-
setshire, Devonshire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanville, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Dorsetshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, Copeland, Westmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

The oth of
the iustices.

The king caused these iustices to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that they should keepe his assises which he first had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & also caused all his subiects within the reime of England to keepe and obserue the same.

Ger. Dor.

Whereafter at this councell, king Henrie restored vnto Robert earle of Leicester all his lands, both on this side the sea, and beyond, in maner as he held the same fiftene daies before the warre. To William de Albennie earle of Arundell, he gaue the earldome of Suffex. About midlent, the king with his sonne and the legat came to London, where at Westmin-
ster a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was set, and the archbishop of Canturburie on his right hand as primate of the realme, the archbishop of Poike comming in, and disdainning to sit on the left, where he might seme to giue preeminence vnto the archbishop of Canturburie (in manerlie inough indeed) swast him downe, meaning to thrust himselfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And where belike the said archbishop of Canturburie was loth to remoue, he set his buttocks in his lap, but he scarce touched the archbishops skirt with his bum, when the bishops and other chaplains with their seruants slept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the archbishop of Canturburie yelding god for euill, sought to saue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence,

The prelan-
tious de-
meanor of
archbishop
of Poike.

Pub. Mim.

Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur.

The archbishop of Poike with his rent rochet got by, and awaie he went to the king with a great complaint against the archbishop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and that was all the remedie he got. As he departed so be-
cuffed south of the conuocation house towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that diddest betray that holy man Thomas, go get thee hence, thy hands yet stinke of blood. The assemblie was by this means dispersed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with shame enough, which is the common panion and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well said,

Pub. Mim.
Appeales
made.

Cito ignominia fit superbi gloria.

After this, followed appealing, the archbishop of Poike appealed to Rome, and the legat also for his owne safegard appealed the archbishop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbishop submitting himselfe and his cause vnder the popes protection, made a like solenne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwise than he wished, and seeing little remedie to be had at that present, gaue ouer his legatship as it had bene of his owne accord, though greatlie against his will, and prepared himselfe to depart. Neuerthelesse, through mediation of friends that toke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either side, and dissembled the displeasures which they had conceiued either against other, but yet the conuocation was dissolved for that time, and the two archbishops presented their complaints to the king, who kept his Casser this yeare at Winchester, and about the same time or shortly after, licenced his sonne Henrie to saile ouer into Normandie, meaning

The conuoca-
tion dissol-
ued.

shortlie after to go vnto Compostella in Spaine, to visit the bodie of saint James the apostle, but being otherwise aduised by his fathers letters, he discontinued his purpose and staid at home.

The same yeare, the ladie Johan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Also the same yeare died the lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwise Chepfolm, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord cheefe iustice in his place, who seized into the kings hands all those fortresses which the said earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Irishmen also paid to the king a tribute of twelue pence pearelie for enerie house, or else for euerie yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died also this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wintonham.

This yeare, when it might haue bene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made against king Henrie the father by his sons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he caused the walls both of the towne and castell of Leicester to be rased, and all such castels and places of strength as had bene kept against him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewise ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the castels of Huntington, Waleton, Crowby, Wep, Stutesbirrie or Stedebirrie, Malafert, the new castell of Allerton, the castels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the castels of Walsie, and Mountferrat he retained in his owne hands as his of right, being so found by a iurie of freholders impanelled there in the countrie; further, he seized into his hands all the other castels of bishops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, appointing keepers in them at his pleasure. This yeare also he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alonse king of Castile.

Whereafter, Gilbert the sonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had slaine his brother Althez cosen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, swearing fealtie to him against all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thousand marks of siluer, and deliuered into his hands his son Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred also, that in this yeare, Richard earle of Poitou sonne to king Henrie, fought with certeine Breabanders his enemies betwixt Sevegrine and Buteuille, where he overcame them.

¶ Here I haue thought good to aduertise the reader, that these men of war, whom we haue generalie in this part of our booke named Breabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerslie, as Breabazones, Brebanceni, and Brebationes, the which for so much as I haue found them by the learned translated Breabanders, and that the French word somethat yeldeth thereto, I haue likewise so named them: wherein whether I haue erred or not, I must submit mine opinion to the learned & skillfull searchers of such points of antiquities. For to confesse in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnresolved doubt herein, I can not satisfie my selfe with any thing that I haue read, whereby to assure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihood is great, that the Breabanders in those daies for their trained skill and vsuall practise in warlike feats, wan themselves a name, whereby not onelie those that were naturallie borne in Brebant, but such also as serued amongst them, or else vied the same warlike furniture, order, trade and discipline, which was in vse among them, passed in that age vnder the name of Breabanders. Or else I must thinke, that by reason of some old kind of ba-
bit

N. Triuer.

R. Houed.

N. Triuer.

A tribut gi-
ted by the J.
rish.

R. Houed.

The walls of
the towne and
castell of Le-
icester rased.

Elianor the
kings daugh-
ter married
the king of
Castile.

Gilbert son
of Fergus.

Richard earl
of Poitou.

bit of other speciall cause, a certeine sort of souldiers purchased to themselves the privilege of that name, so to be called Brabanceni or Brebatones (where ye will) as hath chanced to the Lanquenety and Keisters in our time, and likewise to the companions Arminaces and Escorthers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewise it hath continued amongst men of warre. Which if it so chanced to these Brabanceni, I know not then what countie-men to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of such souldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye shall heare) is reported by some authors to be a Brebatoncois.

It should seeme also that they were called by other names, as the Kronts (in Latine *Ruparij*) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would say some vnrallie and headstrong companie, or of the Dutch word Kutters, that signifieth a rider, I cannot say. But it may suffice for the course of the historie to understand that they were a kind of hired souldiers, in those daies highly esteemed, and no lesse feared, in so much that against them and others there was an article contained among the decrees of the Laterane councill holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all those were to be denounced accursed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nourish those Brebatones, Aragonois, Panarrois, Basques and Coterelles, which did so much hurt in the christi- an world in those daies.

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beside the above mentioned victorie against those Brabanders, if we shall so take them; he also vanquished Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angouleme, with the vicounts of Clemtadoze and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion against him, whome earle Richard subdued, and tooke prisoners, with diverse castles and strong holds which they had fortified.

The departure of the legat fourth of the Realme. Liberties obtained for churchmen.

About the feast of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find that as he granted to the king some liberties against the privileges which the cleargie pretended to have a right unto: so he obtained of the king certeine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

1 First, that for no offense, crime or transgression any spirituall person should be brought before a temporall iudge personallie, except for hunting, or for some laie sex, or that for which some temporall service was due to be payed, either to the king, or some other that was cheefe lord thereof.

2 Secondlie, that no archbishops sex, nor bishops sex, nor any abbaie should be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except upon some euident cause or necessitie constraining.

3 Thirdlie, that such as due any spirituall person, and were of such offense convicted, either by evidence or confession before the iustice of the realme in presence of the bishop, should be punished as the temporall law in such cases required.

4 Fourthlie, that spirituall men should not be compelled to fight in lists for the trial of any matter or cause whatsoeuer.

N. Triuet,

It should appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbishop of Cantuarburie procured the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich, three prelates highly at that present in the kings fauour, to further these grants; namelie, that such as due any prelat or spirituall person might haue the law for it: where before, there was no punishment for a season used against such offenders but onelie excommunication. At now to leaue prelates, we will passe to other matters.

In this meane time, king Henrie the sonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuise new practi-

ses how to remove his father from the government and to take it to himselfe: but one of his seruants named Adam de Chereboudine being of his secret counsell, aduertised king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maister king Henrie the sonne

(*Cereus in vinum flecti, monitis vobis asser*)

put him to great shame and rebuke, causing him to be stripped naked, and whipped round about the streets of the citie of Poitiers, where he then was upon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whom he had bene to aid him against his enemies. King Henrie the father perceiving the naughtie mind of his sonne, and that he ceased not from his wilfull maliciousnesse, thought to dissemble all things, sith he saw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be poulded against his wicked attempts, he furnished all his fortresses both in England and in Normandie with strong garisons of men, and all necessarie munition.

About this time, the sea rose on such a heighth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Also a great snow fell this yeare, which by reason of the hard frost that chanced therewith, continued long without wa-king away, so that fishes both in the sea and fresh water died through sharpenesse and vehemencie of that frost, neither could husbandmen till the ground. A soze eclipse of the sunne chanced also the first daies of Ianuarie. The monasterie of Westwood or Lel- nos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord chiefe iustice. The same yeare also at Woodstocke the king made his sonne the lord Gessrey knight.

In the yeare 1177, king Henrie held his Christmas at Portsmouth, with his two sonnes Gessrey and John, his other two sonnes the yong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poitou, were in the parts beyond the seas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gascoigne, where he besieged the citie of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Wigore had fortified against him, but he wan it within ten daies after his coming thither. Within the like terme also he wan the citie of Baion, which Arnold Berthram had fortified against him, and coming to the uttermost frontiers of that countie adioining to Spaine, he tooke a castell called saint Piero which he destroyed, and constrained the Basques and Panarrois to receiue an oth, that from thenceforth they should suffer passengers quietlie to come and go through their countie, and that they should liue in quiet and keepe peace one with another, and so he reformed the state of that countie, and caused them to renounce manie euill custumes which they before that time had vnlawfullie used.

Moreouer, king Henrie, to auoid further slander, placed for bishop in the see of Lincolne a bastard son which he had named Gessrey, after he had kept that bishopricke in his hands so long till he had almost clerelic destroyed it. And his sonne that was now made bishop to helpe the matter for his part, made haucke in wastling and spending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forsoke his miter, and left the see againe in the kings hands to make his best of it.

Furthermore, the king in times past made a voto to build a new monasterie in satisfaction of his offenses committed against Thomas the archbishop of Cantuarburie: wherefore he required of the bishops and other spirituall fathers, to haue some place by them assigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whilste they should haue taken aduise here- in, he secretly practised with the cardinals, and with diuerse other bishops, that he might remove the secular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, so to saue monie in his costs,

The yong R. beginneth new practises against his father.

R. Houed.

Rog. Houed. 1177

The citie of Aques or Vigues.

Anno Reg. 23. Polydor. Gessrey the kings base sonne made bishop of Lincolne.

Præfils dif-
placed, & ca-
nons regular
put in their
romes.

R. Houed.
Nunnes of
Amesburie.

Philip earle
of Flanders.

John de
Curcie.
The citie of
Dun taken.

Roderike R.
of Alneftre
banquished.

Aluiano a
cardinall.

Wil. Parvus.

The legat
holdeth a
councell at
Dublin.

coffers, planting in another mans vineyard. Howbeit, because it should not be thought he did this of such a courteous meaning, he promised to give great possessions to that house, which he after but slenderly performed, though upon licence obtained at the bishops hands, he displaced the præfils, and brought in to their romes the canons as it were by waite of exchange.

The same yeare also he thrust the nunnes of Amesburie out of their house, because of their incontinent living, in abusing their bodies greatly to their reproch, and bestowed them in other monasteries to be kept in more straightlie. And their house was committed unto the abbess and countess of Founte-mered, who sent over certeine of their number to furnish the house of Amesburie, wherein they were placed by the archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of the king and a great number of others.

Philip earle of Flanders by sending over ambassadours to king Henrie, promised that he would not bestow his two daughters to his brother Marthe earle of Bullongne, without consent of the same king: but shortly after he forgot his promise, & married the elder of them to the duke of Zaringes, & the younger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

John de Curcie lord chiefe iustice of Ireland discomfiting a power of Irishmen, wan the citie of Dun in Alneftre, where the bodies of S. Patrike and S. Colme confessors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of which citie, Roderike king of Alneftre being sore offended, raised a mighty host, and coming into the field, fought with the lord chiefe iustice, and in the end received & took the overthow at his hands, although the lord chiefe iustice at that encounter lost no small number of his men. Amongst prisoners that were taken, the bishop of Dun was one, whom yet the lord chiefe iustice released and set at libertie, in respect of a request and suit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that was there in Ireland at that time.

This cardinals name was Aluiano, intituled the cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was sent from the pope the yeare before, and coming into England, though without licence, was pardoned upon knowledge of his fault for his entring without the kings leave first obtained, and so permitted to go into Scotland, whither as also into other the north-west regions, he was sent as legat, authorized from the pope. Now when he had ended his businesse in Scotland, he passed over into Man, and there held his Christmas with Cathred king of Man, and after the feast of the Epiphanie, sailed from thence into Ireland, and chanced the same time that the Englishmen invaded that countrie, to be in the citie of Dun, where he was received of the king & bishops of that land with great reverence.

The invasion then of the Englishmen being signified to them of the countrie aforehand, they asked counsell of the legat what he thought best to be done in that matter; who straightwaies told them, that they ought to fight in defense of their countrie, and at their setting forward, he gave them his benediction in waite of their good speed. But they coming as ye have heard to encounter with the Englishmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the citie, which was herewith also wone by the Englishmen, so that the Romane legat was glad to get him into the church for his more safeguard, and like a wise fellow had provided afore hand for such haps if they chanced, having there with him the king of Englands letters directed to the captains in Ireland in the legats favour, so that by the assistance and authority of the same, he went to Dublin, and there (in the name of the pope and the king of England) held

a councell.

But when he began to practise, after the manner of legats in those daies, somewhat largelie for his owne advantage, in the churches of that simple rude countrie, the English captains commanded him either to depart, or else to go forth to the wars with them: whereupon he returned into Scotland, having his bags well stuffed with Irish gold, for the which it seemed he greatly thirsted.

¶ There we have to note the drift of the pope and all popelings to be far otherwaies than they pretend. For who, unless he will be wilfullie ignorant knoweth not, that he and his never attempt any thing, but the same beareth the help and colour of holinesse and honestie: Hereto tend the sendings out of his legats and cardinals to make pacifications, to redresse disorders, to appease tumults, & I wot not what infinit enormities (for he must have his ore in euerie mans bote, his spone in euerie mans dish, and his fingers in euerie mans purse) but the end and scope of all his doings consisteth in this, namely, to set himselfe above all sovereignty, to purchase and assure to himselfe an absolute and supremement jurisdiction, to rob christian kingdomes, to impoverish churches, chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are full of these his pranks, and here we have one practised by a lim of his, who as you see, verie impudentlie and licentiouslie preyed upon the church-goods, and converted the same to his owne profit and commoditie: which he had if not trembled, yet blushed to do, considering that the goods of the church are the treasure of Christ (or at leastwise ought to be) and that none ought to alienate or change the proprietie of such goods, as the canon law hath provided. Besides, the which ought to have remembered that which euen the verie pagans did not forget; namely,

*Hand vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas,
Nudus ad infernas fultus vchererates.*

P. 117. b. 3.

But now to the doings of John de Curcie, and of those Englishmen that were with him, who did not onelie defend such places as they had wone out of the Irishmens hands against those kings and their powers, but also enlarged daile more and more their frontiers, and wan the towne of Armagh, wherein is the metropolitane see of all that land, with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

About the same time came ambassadours unto king Henrie from Alfonse king of Castile and Gasias king of Nauarre, to aduertise him, that in a controuersie risen betwixt the said two kings touching the possession of certeine grounds nere unto the confines of their realms, they had chosen him for iudge by compromise, promising upon their othes to stand unto & abide his order and decree therein. Wherefore they required him to end the matter by his authority, sith they had wholie put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, either king had sent a most able and valiant knight furnished with horse and armour ready in their princes cause to fight the combat, if king Henrie should hapilie commit the trial of their quarrell unto the iudgement of battell. King Henrie gladly accepted their request, so that thereby on calling his counsellors together, he consulted with them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opinion, at length he gave iudgement so with the one, that the other was contented to be agreeable thereto.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders came over into England to do his deuotions at the towe of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, of whom the most part of men then had conceived an opinion of such holinesse, that they reputed him for a saint. The king met him there, and verie frendlie entertained him, and because he was appointed shortly after to go over into the holie land to war against

Marth. Park
Polydor.

R. Houed.

Polydor.

Gods

Gods enemies, the king gaue him fine hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Handenile earle of Essex to go in that iourneie with other lordes, knights and men of warre of sundrie nations that were of his dominions.

The king then returning vnto London, toke order for the establishing of things touching the suertie of the realme, and his owne estate. And first he appointed the custodie of such castels as were of most importance by their situation, vnto the keeping of certeyne worthie capitaine. So sir William de Stuteville he assigned the custodie of Rochefburgh castell, to sir Roger de Stuteville the castell of Edenburgh, to sir William Penulle the castell of Porham, to sir Gessie Penulle the castell of Berwikke, and to the archbishop of Yorke he deliuered the castell of Scarborough, and sir Roger Conie. s he made capitaine of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the bishop, because he had shewed himselfe an vnstedfast man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therefore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thousand marks, with condition that his castels might stand, and that his sonne Henrie de Putley alias Pudsey, might enioy one of the kings manors places called Wighton.

After this, the king went to Drenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he created his sonne John king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the same time it rained blood in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies together, so that linen clothes that hong on the hedges were coloured therewith: which vnused wonder caused the people, as the manner is, to suspect some euill of the said Johns gouernement.

Moreover, to this parlement holden at Drenford, all the chiefe rulers and gouernours of Southwailes and Northwailes repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, swearing fealtie to him against all men. Whereupon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin prince of Southwailes the land of Merioneth, and to David ap Owen he gaue the lands of Ellesmere. Also at the same time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is said) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the seruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his sonne John by a charter which he made thereof. Also he diuided there the lands and possessions of Ireland with the seruices to his subjects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing some to hold by seruice to find fortie knights or men of armes, and some thirtie, and so forth.

Vnto two Irish lordes he granted the kingdome of Corke for the seruice of fortie knights, and to other thre lordes he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his sonne John, reseruing to himselfe & to his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adeline his sewer, he gaue the citie of Waterford with the appurtenances and seruices: and to Robert de Poer his marshall, he gaue the citie of Waterford, and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the safe keeping of the citie of Ducline. And these persons, to whom such gifts and assignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his sonne for those lands and possessions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requisite.

The cardinall Adrian hauing dispatched his business in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings safe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a counsell holden at Edenburgh, he suspended the bishop of Whiterne, because he did refuse to come to that counsell: but the bishop made no

account of that suspension, hauing a defense good enough by the bishop of Yorke, whose suffragane he was.

After the king had dissolved and broken vp his parlement at Drenford, he came to Harleborough, and there granted vnto Philip de Beause all the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and William the bryethren of Keignold earle of Cornwall, and John de la Pomeray their nephue, refused the gift thereof, because it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, surnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie slaine, one of his kinsmen got possession of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any subiection to king Henrie, nor would obeye his officers, because of the losses and damages which they did practise against the Irish people, without occasion (as they alleadged) by reason thereof the king of Corke also rebelled against the king of England and his people, and so that realme was full of trouble.

The same season, queene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the sonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not past thre daies. In that time there was also through all England a great multitude of Jewes, and because they had no place appointed them where to burie those that died, but onelie at London, they were constrained to bring all their dead corpses thither from all parts of the realme. To ease them therfore of that inconuenience, they obtained of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place assigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The same yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was instructor to saint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S. Albones, and there in the monasterie of that towne buried with great and solemne ceremonies.

In the meane time, king Henrie passed oner into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Leloes began to be renewed vpon this occasion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promised in mariage vnto his sonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till the were able to companie with his husband, king Henrie being of a dissolute life, and giuen much to the pleasure of the bodie (a vice which was graced in the bone and therefore like to sticke fast in the flesh, for as it is said,

Quod natus res la caput inueterata capit) at leastwise (as the French king suspected) began to fantasie the yong ladie, and by such wanton talke and companie keeping as he used with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to consent to his fleshlie lust, which was the cause wherefore he would not suffer his sonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (vpon consideration of the other kings former lose life) what an inconuenience & infamie might redound to him and his, be thought himselfe that

Turpe senex miles turpe senilis amor, and therefore daemed iustlie that such a vile reproch wrought against him in his blood, was in no wise to be suffered, but rather prevented, resisted & withstood. Whereupon he complained to the pope, who for redresse thereof, sent one Peter a preest & cardinall intituled of saint Crisogone as legat from him into France, with commission to put Normandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder interdiction, if he would not suffer the mariage to be solemnized without delaiue betwixt his sonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertised hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Paris, vpon the 21. of September,

Philip de Beause.

Marth. Paris. Polychr.

Jewes in England.

R. Houed.

The kings met at 7ur.e.

117.

117.

Henrie de Putley.
a parlement
at Drenford.

John the
kings sonne
created king
of Ireland.
Polydor.
3. reigned
blond.

R. Houed.

Marth. Paris.
Polydor.

William Fitz
Robert.
Robert de
Poer.
Hugh Lacie.

117.

Polydor.

and there offered to cause the marriage to be solemnized out of hand, if the French king would give in marriage with his daughter the cite of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and also unto his sonne king Henrie the countrie of Neulgeine, that is to say, all the land betwixt Bisoys and Bussie, as he had likewise coucnanted.

But because the French king refused so to do, king Henrie would not suffer his sonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice: howbeit at this enterbrow of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other noble men of both sides, they agreed to be friends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuersies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auvergne and Berry, and for the fee of Chateau Kaoul; then should the matter be put to twelve persons, six on the one side, and six on the other, authorising them to compound and finish that controuersie and all other which might rise betwixt them. For the French king these were named, the bishops of Claremont, Preuers, and Trois; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtneie, the kings brethren. For the king of England were named the bishops of Pauns, Bergegozt, and Paunts; with three barons also, Maurice de Croume, William Paigot and Peter de Mountabell.

At the same time also, both these kings promised and undertooke to ioine their powers together, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Ierusalem, whom the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did sore oppresse with continuall and most cruell war. This done, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Wernuell, where he made this ordinance, that no man should trouble the vassall or tenant, as we may call them, for his lords debt.

After this, king Henrie went into Berry, and toke Chateau Rour or Kaoul, and marching towards Castre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, surrendering into his hands the daughter of Rafe de Dolis latelie before deceased, whom the king gaue unto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honour of Chateau Rour or Kaoul. Then went he unto Crauidemont, where Audebert earle of March came vnto him, and sold to him the whole countrie of March for the summe of sixtene thousand pounds Antonin, twentie mules, and twentie palfreys. The charters of this grant and sale made and giuen vnder the seale of the said earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countrie of March, after he had satisfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the coucnants.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Angiers, and meaning shortly after to returne into England, he sent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and sent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings letters of protection.



*L*udovicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenierint salutem. Nouit universitas vestra quod nos recipimus in protectione & custodia nostra totam terram Henrici regis Anglie charissimi fratris nostri, in asmarinis partibus sitam, si contigerit eum in Angliam transire vel peregrinari proficisci. Ita plane, ut quando balliui sui de terra transmarina nos requisierint, bona fide & sine malo ingenio eis consilium & auxilium prestabimus, ad eisdem terrae defensionem & protectionem.

Item. A Cham apud Nicens. The English wherof is thus.

Lewes king of France, to all those to whom these present letters shall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & custodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this side the sea, if it chance him to passe ouer into England, or to go any waie forth from home, so that when the bailiues of his lands on this hither side the sea shall require vs, we shall helpe them and counsell them faithfully and without male-engine for defense and protection of the same lands. Giuen at Nicens.

Shortly after, king Henrie returned into England from Normandie, and at Woodstocke made his sonne Geoffrey knight. This yeare pope Alexander sent into all parts legats to summon the bishops and prelates to a generall councell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Whereabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commission to summon them of England and Normandie; and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to summon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isles about the same: whereupon obtaining licence to passe through the king of Englands dominions, he was constrained to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that he should not attempt any thing in his legatship that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he should come and visit the king againe as he returned homewards.

This yeare on the Sunday before the nativite of S. John Baptist, being the 18 of June, after the setting of the sunne, there appeared a marvellous light in the aire vnto certaine persons that beheld the same. For whereas the new mone shone forth verie faire with his hornes towards the east, straightwaies the upper horne was diuided into two, out of the mids of which diuision a burning bzard sprang vp, casting from it a farre off coles and sparkes, as it had borne of fire. The bodie of the mone in the meane time that was beneath, seemed to waxe and wryth in resemblance like to an adder or snake that had bene beaten, and anon after it came to the old state againe. This chanced about a dozen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke.

In September following, the mone being about 27 daies old, at six of the clocke, a partile eclipse of the sunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned, shooting the horns towards the west as the mone dooth; being twentie daies old. The residue of the compasse of it was couered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightnesse that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either side to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwarde, the hornes at length were turned towards the west, and so the blacknesse passing awaie, the sunne receiued his brightnesse againe. In the meane time, the aire being full of clouds of diuerse colours, as red, yellow, Greene, and pale, holpe the peoples sight with more ease to discern the maner of it.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Winchester, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Wrenhale, within the lordship of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it selfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie towre, and so it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noise, so that as such as were thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall was swallowed

A generall councell summoned at Rome.

Ger. Dor.

A strange sight about the mone.

A strange eclipse of the sunne.

Anno. Reg. 1179. A strange wonder of the earth.

R. Houed. A law.

The purchase of the eribone of March.

Anno Reg. 24.

1178

ed by, leauing a great dēpe pit in the place, as was to be seene many yeares after.

Touching these celestiall apparitions, the common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be mere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipses, as well such as are proper to the sunne, as also those that are peculiar to the mone, the position is not so generallie deliuered, as it is konstantlie belieued. For the philosophers giue this reason of eclipses.

— radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec sinit in terras clarum descendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non est quam terræ atque æquoris umbra,
Quæ si forte ferit nocturnæ corpora lune,
Eclipsin facit.

In so much as obseruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpasse and nothing regarded. Howbeit Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipses, and of other strange sights preceeding the bloody battels betwene Pompeie and Cesar; intimating thereby, that prodigious wonders, and other rare and vnaccustomed accidents are significations of some notable euent ensuing, either to some great personage, to the common-wealth, or to the state of the church. And therefore it is a matter worth the marking, to compare effects following with signes and wonders before going; since they haue a doctrine in them of no small importance. For not many yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall state toke end; a prediction whereof might be imposed by the extraordinary eclipse of the sunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the skie.

Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholikus the archbishop of Tuam, with fise or six other Irish bishops, and diuerse both bishops and abbats of Scotland, passed through England towards the generall councill, and withall toke their oth, that they wuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure bishops out of England, to wit, Hugh Butley or Pudley bishop of Durham, John bishop of Norwich, Keigbold bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Hereford, beside abbats: for the English bishops firmed stood in it, that there ought but foure bish. onlie to go forth of England to any generall councill called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lincle lord chiefe iustice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbey of Westwood or Leshos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, enuoluing it with great reuenues, and in Julie after he died there.

Richard de Lincle lord chiefe iustice of England deceased.

A parlement at Windsoze.

Blanche de Glanville.

Cestrey earle of Britaine son to king Henrie, Guideron de Leons.

The mone eclipsed. The French is, commeth a madding to visit the archbishop Sec-kers towne.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windsoze, at the which was present king Henrie the sonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, so that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine sage personages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the same, but not by the name of iustices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanville was made ruler of Northshire, & authorized iustice there, as he that best vnderstood in those daies the ancient lawes and customes of the realme. The same yeare, Cestrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leied an armie, and passing ouer into Britaine, wasted the lands of Guideron de Leons, and constrained him to submit himselfe vnto him.

The 18. day of August, the mone was eclipsed, which was seene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to meet the French king, who was coming towards England to visit the towne of archbishop Thomas Becket, as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of August. There came ouer with him

Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Span-deuille, and diuerse other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water side, and the morow after brought them with great honoz to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnspokeable ioy receiued of archbishop Richard, and diuerse other bishops there assembled together with the couent of

10 Christes church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the towne of the said archbishop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the monks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued yearelie of his gift for euer at Poisse in France. Further he granted to the same monks, that whatsoever was bought in his dominions of France to their vse, should be free from toll, tallage, and paing any manner of excise for the same. These grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Butley, son to the bishop of Duresme that was his chancelor, king Lewes hauing performed his vot, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and shortly after causing his sonne to be crowned king, resigned the gouernment to him (as by some writers appeareth.) About the same time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his answer to diuerse accusations exhibited against him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings safe conduct, was laid for by his enemies, and slaine, to the kings great slander, though he were not gilty in the matter. After this, king Henrie the father held his Christmasse at Nottingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

The French sword is thus.

Polydor.

Math. Paris. Cadwallon prince of Wales.

Anno Reg. 26. R. Houed. 1180

40 The same yeare fell discord betwixt the young king of France, and his mother and vncles, his bethzen, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themselves not well bled, procured king Henrie the sonne to ioin with them in friendship, and to go ouer into England to purchase his fathers assistance in their behalfe against their nephue. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole matter, and did so much by his earnest suit therein, that before the feast of Easter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arrivall in those parts, the old French quene, mother to the young king Philip, with their bethzen the said earles, and manie other Noble men of France, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hostages into his hands, and receiued an oth to follow his counsell and aduice in all things.

Discord betwixt the French is, and his nobles.

Herevpon king Henrie assembled a great armie, in purpose after Easter to invade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an enteruue with the new king of France, betwixt Gisors and Treodfont, where partlie by gentle words, and partlie by threatnings which king Henrie bled for persuation, the French king relealed all his indignation conceiued against his mother and vncles, and receiued them againe into his fauour, coucnanting to allow his mother for euerie day towards his expenses seven pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, she should inioy all his dower, except the castles which king Philip might retaine still in his hands. Also at this assemble, king Henrie the father in the presence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the same a thousand markes of silver, to be receiued yearelie out of the chequer at London, so that in consideration thereof he should find five hundred knights or men of armes, to serue the king of England for the space of 40. daies, when

R. Houed.

The earle of Flanders both homage to the king of England.

As if,

soeuer

sooner he should haue warning giuen vnto him.

Moreover, the two kings at this assemblie concluded a league together, and whereas certeine lands were in controuersie betwixt them, as the fie of Chateau, Raoul, and other small fees, if they could not agree among themselves concerning the same, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuersies betwixt them vnto six bishops, to be chosen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to chuse three, and the other three.

Math. Paris.
Tailbourg
sowne.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine say) in the yeare last passed, Richard earle of Poitou subdued the strong fortreffe of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppressed them that kept it so feze with strenght siege, that first in a desperate mood they issued forth, and assailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet nevertheless they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortreffe, which finallie they surrendered into the hands of earle Richard, who caused the wals thereof to be rased. The like fortune chanced to diuers other castles and fortreffes that stood in rebellion against him within a moneth space.

Math. Paris.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geoffrey de Harcin, who of a proud and loftie stomach practising rebellion against duke Richard, took this enterprise in hand, and when he had atchiued the same to his owne contentation, he passed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

W. Parus.
The forme of
the kings
coine chan-
ged.

About the same time, the forme of the kings coine was altered and changed, because manie naughtie and wicked persons had deuised waies to counterfeit the same, so that the alteration thereof was verie necessarie, but yet græuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

Anno Reg. 27.
R. Houed.
1181

King Henrie the father, whilst he was at Spaine after Christmase made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Anouin, should keepe one horse able for service in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Also that such as had goods worth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the same monie, should at the least haue in his house for his furniture an harbergeon, a cap of steele, a speare, and a sword, or bowe and arrowes. Further more he ordeined, that no man might sell or late to gage his armour and weapen, but should be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertised that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongst his subiects, they gaue commandement that their people should be armed after the like manner.

Math. Paris.

This yeare after Candlemasse, Laurence archbishop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie, and brought with him the son of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of covenants passed betwixt them, as the payment of tribute and such like. The said archbishop died there in Normandie, whereupon the king sent Geoffrey de Haie one of his chaplains, and chapleine also to Alerius the popes legat into Ireland, to seize that archbishops see into his hands. He also sent John Lacie constable of Chester, and Richard de Peake, to haue the citie of Dublin in keeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before, and now was discharged, because the king took displeasure with him, for that without his licence he had married a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

This yeare also, Geoffrey the kings bassard sonne, who was the elce of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that bishopricke by the space of seuen years, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feast

of the Epiphanie at Harlebridge, in presence of the king and bishops renounced that preferment, of his owne free will. Within a while after the pope sent a streit commandement vnto Richard archbishop of Canturburie, either to cause the same Geoffrey by the censure of the church to renounce his miter, or else to take vpon him the order of priesthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his especiall friends, iudging himselfe insufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and thereupon wrote letters vnto the said archbishop of Canturburie, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Geoffrey the kings base
sonne elect of Lincolne to Richard
archbishop of Canturburie.

Menerabili patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apostolica sedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Anglie filius & cancellarius salutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maiestati apostolica vestre iniungere sanctitati, ut me certo tempore vocaretis ad suscipiendum ordinem sacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego vero considerans quamplures episcopos maturiores ac promouitiores prudentia & atate vix tanta administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum suarum sui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus sum onus importabile senioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc non ex leuitate animi, sed ob reuerentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super eo cum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meisque rege & Picuensi & Britannorum comitibus: episcopis etiam Henrico Baiocensi, Frogerio Sagienensi, Reginaldo Batoniensi, Sefido Cicestrensi, qui presentes aderant, aliter de vita & statu meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequijs militare ad tempus, & ab episcopatibus abstinerere: omne itaque ius electionis inde & Lincolniensem episcopatum spontaneè libere, quietè, & integrè, in manu vestra pater sancte resigno, tam electionem quam episcopatus ablationem postulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apostolica sede specialiter delegato. Bene vale.

The king for his maintenance, now after he had resigned his bishopricke, gaue him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreover lord chancellor.

This yeare also after Easter, the kings of England and France came to an enteruew together, at a place in the confines of their countries called by some writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaye being the 17. of April, in which assemblie of those two princes, the knights templers and hospitallers presented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all christian princes, aduertising them of the danger wherein the holie land stood at that present, if of the holie speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. Wherefore he exhorted them to aduise their helping hand towards the relese thereof, granting vnto all such as would enterprise to go thither in person (to remaine there vpon defense of the countrie against the infidels) great pardon, as to those that did continue there the space of two yeeres, pardon of penance for all their sins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and blurie; in which cases restitution was to be made, if the parties were able to do it; if not, then he should be absolved as well for those things as for other. And those that remained one yeare in those parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their sinnes. And to those that went to visit the holie sepulchre, he also granted great pardon, as remission of their sinnes, whether they came thither or peradventure died by the waie. He also granted his free indulgence vnto those that went to waie against the common, the professed and open enemies of our religion

religion in the holie land, as his predecessors the popes Urbanus and Eugenius had granted in time past: and he receiued likewise their iurors, their children, their goods and possessions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letter s read, and taken god aduice thereof, promised by Gods fauour hostlie to prouide conuenient aid for relæse of the holie land, and of the christians as yet remaining in the same. This was the end of their communication for that time, and so they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two bishops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whom he had lately before banished, and driuen out of his realme. Whereafter, as king Henrie laie at Warke set ready to saile ouer into England, disoord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, so that the king of England at desire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Gilsons, where the French king met him, and so did the erle of Flanders, betwixt whom vpon talkes had in the matter depending in controuersie, he made a concord, and then coming downe to Chirburge, he and the king of Scots in his companie passed ouer into England, landing at Portesmouthe the 26. of Iulie.

In ordinance
for armour.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a statute for armour and weapon to be had amongst his subiects here in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights fee should be bound to haue a paire of curasses, an helmet, with shield and speare; and euerie knight or man of arms should haue as manie curasses, helmets, shields and speares as he held knights fees in demaine. Euerie man of the laitie hauing goods or reuenues to the value of sixteen marks, should haue one paire of curasses, an helmet, a speare, and a shield. And euerie free man of the laitie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, should haue an habergeon, a Steele cap, & a speare; and all burgeses, and the whole communalte of free men should haue a wantbais, a cap of Steele, and a speare.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, should be sworn to haue the same before the feast of S. Hilarie, and to be true vnto king Henrie fitz emper, in defense of whome and of his realme they should keepe with them such armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furnished with such armour, should sell, pledge, lend, or otherwile alien the same, neither may his lord by any means take the same from him, either by waile of forfeiture, by distresse or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing such armour, he shall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the custodie of his bodie shall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

There might
have no or-
mour,

If any burgesse of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this statute, he shall sell it or giue it to some man that may weare it in the kings seruice. No Jew might haue armour by this statute: but those that had anie, were appointed to sell the same to such as were inhabitants within the realme, for no man might sell or transport anie armour ouer the sea, without the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inquests should be taken by sufficient iu-

rors, what they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Also the law would, that none should be sworn to haue armour, except he were a free man of birth and blood.

The same yeare, the king being at Waltham, assigned an aid to the maintenance of the christian souldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thousand marks of siluer, and five hundred marks of gold. Hugh Boson otherwile called Keucloche the sonne of Ranulfe the second of that name earle of Chester, died this yeare, and was buried at Leke. He left behind him issue by his wife the countesse Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iustice of England, a sonne named Ranulfe, who succeeded him, being the first erle of Chester, & third of that name after the conquest. Besides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his said wife; to wit, Maude married to Dauid earle of Angus, Huntingdon and Galloway; Pa-bell coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derby, and Hauise joined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincoln.

The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbishop of Yorke died, who (when he perceiued himselfe in danger of death by force of that his last sicknesse) deliuered great summes of monie vnto certeine bishops and other graue personages to be distributed amongst poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and seized it to his vse, alleadging a sentence giuen by the same archbishop in his life time, that no ecclesiasticall person might giue any thing by will, except he deuised the same whilst he was in perfect health: yet the bishop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to distribute amongst the poore, alleadging that he dealt the same awaie before the archbishops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, must go gather it by of them to whom he had distributed it, which he himselfe would in no wise do. But the king toke no small displeasure with this indiscreet answer, inasmuch that he seized the castell of Durham into his hands, and sought means to disquiet the said bishop by diuerse maner of waies.

The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Waltham, and afterwards sailed ouer into Normandie, because he heard that the king his sonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practice euillones new trouble, which was true indeed: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and toke an oth, that from thenceforth he would neuer swaue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Annuall by the daie, and ten pounds a day of the same monie for his wife. His father granted this, and also covenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the seruices of an hundred knights. Nevertheless all this did little amend the matter, for though he set a new copie of countenance thereupon, yet he retained his old peruerse purpose in his discontented mind, hauing learned that

Qui nescit fingere nescit regere.

After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the earle of Flanders touching controuersies betwixt them did so much in the matter, that he set them at one for that time.

About the same season, king Henrie the father sent William de Mandeville earle of Albemarle, and other ambassadoes vnto the emperour Frederike, to intreat for his sonne in law the duke of Saxonie, that he might be againe restored into his land, which could not be obtained: for he was already condemned to erile, but yet thus much to pleasure the king of England the emperour granted, that so manie as went with him out of their countrie, might re-

Matt. Paris.

The decess of
Hugh earle of
Chester.
Ran. Higd.

The archbish,
of yorke de-
cesseth.

I 182
The k. passeth
ouer into
Normandie.

The k. & his
sonne estons
reconciled.

Rog. Houed.

The duke of
Saxonie.

B. 15. turne

turne againe at their pleasure, and that his wife the dutchesse should the k. of Englands daughter, should inioyn his dowrie, and be at libertie, whether she would remaine upon it, or follow his husband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he must depart out of his countrie, he set forward with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finallie came into Normandie, where he was right iustlie received of his father in law king Henrie.

Shortlie after his coming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himselfe went into Spaine to visit the bodie of S. James the apostle. His wife being great with child, remained with his father in Normandie, and at Argenton she was deliuered of a sonne. This yere the Welshmen sue Ranulfe Poer thirfe of Gloucestershire. King Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, with his three sons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poitou, and Geoffrey earle of Britaine. There was also Henrie duke of Saronie, with his wife and their children, besides the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other bishops earles and barons in great number.

Here would king Henrie the father, that his son the king should receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poitou, and Geoffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not staie at the matter, but the earle of Poitou refused, alledging that it was not conuenient so long as their father liued, to acknowledge any superiortie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldest sonne, so he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall so much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue done homage, he would not receiue it, whereupon Richard departed from the court in great displeasure, & coming into Poitou, began to fortifie his castles & towne, that he might be in a readinesse to stand vpon his safegard, if his father or brethren should come to pursue him. King Henrie the sonne followed him, set on by the earles and barons of Poitou, which for the sharpe and cruel government of earle Richard, hated him mortally. Againe on the other side, the fauourable courtesie, seemlie personage, and other noble qualities which they saw in the yong king, moued them to take part with him against Richard, and shortlie after their brother Geoffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in so much that earle Richard not knowing how to shift off the present danger, sent to his father for aid, who being verie sorie in his mind to see such vnnaturall dealing among his sonnes, gathered an armie and set forward.

He had a little before travelled to see them at one, in so much that where earle Richard held a castle named Claveaux, which after the fathers deceasse ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the son, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did so much with the earle, that he surrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the three sonnes came to Angers, and there swore to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to serue him against all men: whereupon he appointed them a daie to meet at Spirabell, where the barons of Guien should also be, vnto whom king Henrie the sonne had sworne to aid them against earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geoffrey sent vnto them to persuaade them to peace and quietnesse, and to come vnto Spirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in stead of persuaading them to peace (contrarie to his oth so oftentimes receiued) he procured them to pursue the warre both against his father and his brother

earle Richard: and no maruell for

Male facta gratia nunquam bene coalescit.

King Henrie the sonne remaining with his father, shewed outwardlie that he wished for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and so obtained licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geoffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietnesse. But such dissembling was put in practise by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in stead of receiuing him with hono, as it had bene their duties to haue done, they shot at him, and perced through his uppermost armour, so that both he and his sonne Richard were constrained to depart. Whobbeit afterwards he entered that citie, and coming forth of it againe to talke with his sonnes, those within Limoges effronies rebelled, so that certeine of them within, shot the horse whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had so chanced, that the horse in casting vp his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings brest, to the great danger & perill of his person. Neither did his sonnes the king and his brother Geoffrey go about to see such an heinous attempt punished, but rather seemed to like well of it, and to mainteine those most malicious enemies of their ouerlign lord and father, for they ioined with them against him, although king Henrie the sonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of some agreement: but his double dealing was to manifest, although indeed he abused his fathers patience for a while, who was desirous of nothing more than to win his sonnes by some courteous means, and therefore diuerse times offered to pardon all offences committed by his enemies, at the suit of his sonne the king, who in deed offered himselfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with such Brabanders and other souldiers as he had with him in aid, beside the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more mischief against their father and their brother earle Richard, in waisting and destroientg their countreies that stood steadfast on their side.

In the meane time Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other bishops and abbats both of England and Normandie assembled together at Caen, and in the abbey church of S. Stephan pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all those that did hinder and impeach their purpose, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king and his sonnes, the same sonnes onlie out of the said sentence excepted.

Diuerse gifts were made by king Henrie the sonne, and his brother earle Geoffrey also to get monie for the payment of their souldiers, as spoiling of houses, and such like. But at length when things framed not to their purpose, and that the harme which they could do against their father was much lesse than they wished, if power had bene answerable to their wishes, king Henrie the sonne through indignation and displeasure (as some write) fell into a grievous sickness in a village called Spertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father late at siege.

At the first he was taken with an extreme fever, and after followed a sore fluxe. Now perceiving himselfe in danger of death, and that the physicians had given him ouer, he sent to his father (better late than neuer) confessing his trespasses committed against him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come & see him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himselfe into the hands of such vngratious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing,

and

The dutchesse of Saronie deliuered of a sonne. Ranulfe Poer thirfe. Anno Reg. 29. 1183

Will. Parous.

Polydor.

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. war betwixt the brethren.

The father seeketh to appease the quarrell betwixt his sonnes,

Earle Geoffrey dealeth vnfaithfullie.

The dissoluing of the yong king.

The last

King Henry the sonne taketh sick.

He sendeth his father.

and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiven him his unnatural doings against him. The son receiving it with great humilitie, kissed it, and so ended his life in the presence of the archbishop of Bourdeaux and others, on the day of saint Barnabie the apostle. He died (as some write) verie penitent and sorrowfull.

His report
before
his death.

A strange
and of super-
stitious deu-
otion, if this
report of our
author be true

He is drawn
out of his bed,
a thing unlike
to be true.

His death.

His buriall.

The bodie of
the young king
being buried
at Rouen.

And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a iourneie into the holie land against Gods enemies, and taken upon him the crosse for that intent, he deliuered it unto his familiar friend William Parthall to go thither with it in his stead. Moreover when he perceived present death at hand, he first confessed his sinnes secretlie, and after openly before sundrie bishops and men of religion, and received absolution in most humble wise. After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put upon him, and after tying a cord about his necke, he said unto the bishops and others that stood by him: I deliuer my selfe an vnwor-
thy and greuous sinner unto you the ministers of
"God by this cord, beseeching our Lord Iesus Christ,
"which pardoned the these confessing his faults on the
"crosse, that through your prayers and for his great
"mercies sake it may please him to be mercifull vnto
"my soule; whereunto they all answered, Amen.
Then he said unto them, Draw me out of this bed
with this cord, and laie me on that bed strawed with
ashes (which he had of purpose prepared) and as he
commanded so they did: and they laid at his feet and
at his head two great square stones. Thus being pre-
pared to die, he willed his bodie after his deceasse to
be conueied into Normandie, and buried at Rouen.
And so after he had receiued the sacrament of the bodie
and bloud of our Lord, he departed this life as a
foe is said, about the 28. yeare of his age.

His bodie after his death was conueied towards
Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had
willed: but when those that had charge to conueie it
thither were come vnto the citie of Mauns, the bi-
shop there and the cleargie would not suffer them to
go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in
honourable wise within the church of saint Julian.
Whereof when the citizens of Rouen were aduertised,
they were sore offended with that doing, and
straightwaies sent vnto them of Mauns, requiring
to haue the corpes deliuered, threatening other wise
with manie earnest words to fetch it from them by
force. Wherefore king Henrie, to set order in this
matter, commanded that the corpes of his sonne the
king should be deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be
buried in their citie, as he himselfe had willed before
his death. And so it was taken vp and conueied to
Rouen, where it was at last buried in the church of
our ladie.

Thus ended this young king in his flourishing
youth, to whome though his owne iust deserts long
life was iustlie denied, sith he delighted to begin his
gouernment with vnlawfull attempts, as an other
Absolon against his owne naturall father, seeking
by wrongfull violence to pull the scepter out of his
hand. He is not put in the number of kings, because
he remained for the more part vnder the gouernance
of his father, so that he rather bare the name of king
as appointed to reigne, than that he may be said to
haue reigned in deed. So that here by the waie a no-
table obseruation doth occurre and offer it selfe to be
noted of vs; namely, that euen princes children,
though borne to great excellencie, and in high degree
of dignitie, are to consider with themselves, that not
withstanding their statelie titles of souerainie,
they haue a dutie to discharge vnto their parents,
which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof dis-
obedience is substituted, God himselfe (when politike

lawes prouide not to punish such offenses) will take
the cause in hand, & will potize vengeance vpon such
vngenerous children. For he will be true of his word
both in blessing and cursing, in blessing the dutifull
child with long life and happie daies, and in cursing
the obstinate and stoward with short life and vnfor-
tunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If
this man had liued in the old Romans time, when a-
ged persons were so reuerenced and honoured (much
more parents) he had bene cut off in the prime of his
disobedience, and present death had bene inflicted vpon
him as a due and deserued reward; which Iudicial
noteth excellentlie well in these words,

*Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piamdam,
Si iuuenis vetulo non assurrexerat, & si
Barbato cuiusq. puer licet ipse videret
Plura domi farra, & maioris glandis acernus,
Tam venerabile erat precedere quatuor annis,
Primaz par adeo sacra lanugo senectæ.*

Iuuen. sat. 13.

King Henrie (after his sonne the king was thus
dead) enforced his power more earnestlie than be-
fore to winne the citie and castell of Limoges which
he had besieged, and at length had them both surren-
dered into his hands, with all other castels and places
of strength kept by his enemies in those parts, of the
which some he furnished with garisons, and some he
caused to be laied flat with the ground.

Limoges ren-
dered to king
Henrie.

There rose about the same time occasion of strife
and variance betwixt king Henrie and the French
king, about the enioieng of the countrie lieng vpon
Gisors, called Neulquesne, on this side the riuer of
Hept, which was giuen vnto king Henrie the sonne,
in consideration of the marriage betwixt him and
quene Margaret the French kings sister. For the
French king now after the death of his brother in
law king Henrie the sonne, required to haue the
same restored vnto the crowne of France: but king
Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length
they met betwixt Trie and Gisors to talke of the
matter, where they agreed that quene Margaret
the widow of the late deceased king Henrie the son,
should receiue yearelie during hir life 1750 pounds
of Antouin monie at Paris, of king Henrie the fa-
ther and his heires; in consideration whereof she
should release and quit claime all hir right to those
lands that were demanded, as Neulquesne and o-
thers. Shortly after, Westrey erle of Britaine came
to his father, and submitting himselfe, was reconcil-
led to him, and also to his brother Richard erle of
Poitou. Also I find that king Henrie at an enter-
taine had betwixt him and the French king at their
accustomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Gi-
sors on saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the
same French king for the lands which he held of him
on that side the sea, which to do till then he had refu-
sed. The same yeare king Henrie held his Christmas
at the citie of Mauns.

Neulquesne.

The kings of
England and
France talke
together.

Anno Reg. 30

When the king had set the French king and the
earle of Flanders at agreement for the controversie
that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Mer-
mendois, he passed through the earle of Flanders
countie, and comming to Wiland, took ship and
sailed ouer into England, landing at Dover the
tenth day of June, with his daughter the dutches of
Saronie, who was afterwards deliuered of a sonne
at Winchester, and hir husband the duke of Saronie
came also this yeare into England, and was iustlie
receiued and honourable interteined of the king his
father in law.

1584

The dutchesse
of Saronie
deliuered of
a sonne.

And whereas the archbishop of Colen came ouer
into England this yeare to visit the tomie of Tho-
mas late archbishop of Canturburie, the king tra-
uelled to make an agreement betwixt him and the
Saronish duke touching a certaine variance depen-
ding

The archbishi-
of Colen.

Hugh Po-
nant.

The duke of
Saracene par-
doned and re-
uoked out of
exile.

Death of Ro-
ble men.

The govern-
ment of the fo-
rests diuided.

ding betwixt them, wherin the king did so much, that the archbishop forgave all injuries past, and so they were made friends. Also by the counsell of the same archbishop the king sent Hugh Poissant archdeacon of Liscur and others, ambassadours from him unto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made some waie to obtaine a pardon for the said duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Those that were sent demeaned themselves so discretly in doing their message, that the emperor comming where the pope then was, that is to say, at Verona in Italie, at the earnest suit of the said pope was contented to release all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things past, and licensed him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being clerlicke reuoked.

There died this yeare sundrie honorable personages, as Simon earle of Huntingdon son to Simon earle of Northampton, after whose decease the king gaue his earldome unto his brother Dauid, or (as Radulfus de Diceto saith) because the said Simon died without issue, the king gaue the earldome of Huntingdon unto William king of Scots sonne to earle Henrie that was sonne to king Dauid. Also the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chiefe iustice of the forests, which came Alaine de Neuill had inioined before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his forests into sundrie quarters, and to euery quarter he appointed foure iustices, two of the spiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beside two generall wardens that were of his owne seruants, to be as surueyers aboue all other foresters of vert and venison, whose office was to see that no disorder nor spoile were committed within any grounds of warren contrarie to the assises of forests. Diuerse prelates died this yeare also, as foure bishops, to wit, Gerald surnamed la Buncelle bishop of Chester, Malcan bishop of Rochester, Joceline of Salisbury, and Bartholomew of Excester.

Besides these, diuerse abbats, & on the 16. of February died Richard archbishop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his first entring into the government of that see. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and was called the gods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a vision, which said, Thou hast waisted the gods of the church, and I shall rot thee out of the earth. Whereupon he took such a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was bishop of Worcester succeeded him, he was the 40. archbishop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and bishops procured his election not without much adoe: for the monks pretending a right thereto, were soze against it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white monke, he neuer eat flesh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and asked him if it were true that he neuer eat any maner of flesh; It is true said he. It is false quoth she, for I had but one colw to find me with, and thy seruants haue taken hir from me. Whereunto he answered, that if it so were, he should haue as good a colw restored to hir by Gods grace as hir owne was. The same time also Margaret the wife of the late deceased king Henrie the son, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioined in marriage with Bela king of Hungarie.

But after long digression to returne againe to our purpose. The king being aduertised of the destruction and spoile which the Welchmen daile did practise against his subiects, both in their persons and substance, assembled a mightie armie, and came with

the same unto Worcester, meaning to inuade the enemies countries. But Kees ap Griffin fearing his puissance thus bent against him and other the leaders of the Welchmen, came by safeconduct unto Worcester, and there submitting himselfe, swore fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promising to bring his sonne and nephues unto him as pledges. But when (according to his promise) he would haue brought them, they refused to go with him, and so the matter rested for a time.

After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Windsor, and the same yeare Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger master of the house of St. Johns of Jerusalem came into England, to make suit unto king Henrie for aid against the Saracens that daile wan from the christians, townes and holds in the holie land, taking and killing the people most miserable, as in the description of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the doings of Saladine the Saracen are touched. The patriarch made earnest request unto the king, proffering him the keies of the citie of Jerusalem, and of the holie sepulchre (with the letters of Lucius the thirde then pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iourne, and to haue mind of the oth which before time he had made.

The king deferred his answer for a time, and calling a counsell of his lords together at Clerkenwell, on the 15. of Aprill, asked their aduise in this matter: who declared to him, that as they took it, he might not well depart so far out of his realme and other dominions, leaving the same as a prey to his enemies. And whereas it was thought by some, that he might appoint one of his sonnes to take vpon him that iourne, yet because they were not as then with in the realme, it was iudged that in their absence there was no reason why it should be so decreed.

Notwithstanding in the meane time vpon licence granted by the king, that so manie might go as would, Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon them the crosse to effectualie, that a great number receiuing it, fullie purposed to go on in that iourne. At length the king gaue answer to the patriarch, excusing himselfe in that he could go, for he declared that he might not leaue his land without keeping, being in danger to remaine as a prey to the robberie and spoile of the French men: but he offered to giue large summes of gold and siluer to such as would take vpon them that voyage. With this answer the cardinall was nothing pleased, and therefore said, We seeke a man and not monie: euery christian region well nere sendeth vs monie, but no countrie sendeth vs a prince; and therefore we require a prince that needeth monie, and not monie that needeth a prince. But the king still alledged matter for his excuse, so that the patriarch departed from him comfortlesse, and greatlie discontented in his mind: whereof the king hauing knowledge, and intending somewhat to recomfort him with sweet and pleasant words, followed him to the sea side. But the more the king thought to satisfie the patriarch with words, the more wroth and discontented he shewed himselfe to be; in so much that at the last he said unto him, Whitherto hast thou reigned gloriouslie, but hereafter shalt thou be forsaken of him, whom thou at this time forsakest. Consider of him, and remember that he hath giuen thee, and what thou hast yeilded to him againe, how first thou wast false to the king of France; and after succeeded archbishop Becket, and now lastlie thou forsakest the protection of Christes faith.

The king was stirred with these words, and said unto the patriarch, Though all the men of the land were one bodie, and spake with one mouth, they durst

Heraclius pa-
triarck of Je-
rusalem.

A counsell at
Clerkenwell.

Baldwin
archbishop
of Cantur-
burie exhor-
teth men to
go to warre
against the
Saracens.

Five thou-
sand marks
saith Geni
Dor.

Ran. Hig.

The words
of the patri-
arch to the
king.

not

not utter such words against me. No wonder (said the patriarch) for they love thine and not thee; that is to say, they love thy temporal goods, and stand in feare of thee for losse of promotion, but thy soule they love not. And when he had so said, he offered his head to the king; saying, Do by me even as thou diddest by archbishop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be haine here in Europe of a wicked christian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art worse than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and spoile and not a man. The king kept his patience, and said, I may not go out of my land, for if I should, mine owne sonnes would rise and rebell against me. No maruell (said the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they shall. And thus he departed from the king in great displeasure. ¶ Thus haue some written: but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himselfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went also (as after shall appeare.)

Had iudge-
ment in an ho-
lie father.

R. Houed.
John the
kings sonne
made king
of Ireland.
Ger. Dor.

This yere the last of March, king Henrie made his sonne John knight, and shortly after sent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his comming into Ireland, he was honourable receiued of the archbishop of Dublin, and other noble men that had bene sent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treasure, but he hauing learned that

Non minor est virtus quam querere parta tueri,
keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a strange place, and not knowing what he shuld want) would not depart with it so freely amongst his souldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reason whereof their seruice was such, that in diuerse conflicts he lost manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and souldiers to remaine in places most expedient for the defense of that countrie. ¶ But hereof ye may read more at large in the historie of Ireland.

In earth-
quake.

On the mondaie in the weeke before Easter, chaunced a sore earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, such a one as the like had not bene heard of in England sithens the beginning of the world. For stones that laie couched fast in the earth, were remooued out of their places, stone houses were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downewards.

The king and
the patriarch
paue ouer in-
to France.

The kings
messenger to his
sonne earle
Richard.

Earle Richard
obeyeth his
father.

R. Houed.
Particular
and not gene-
rall, such
Ger. Dor.

The day next after this terrible wonder, the king and the patriarch with the bishop of Durham and a great sort of other noble men of this realme, passed the seas from Douer to Wiltand, and so rode forth towards Normandie, where immediatlie upon his comming thither he raised a power, and sent word to his sonne Richard earle of Poitou (which had fortified the townes and castles of Poitou against him, and taken his brother Geoffrey prisoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poitou, he would surely come to chastise him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience smallie to his ease. Upon this message earle Richard being somewhat better aduised, obeyed his fathers commandements in all points, rendering vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poitou, and comming to his father as an obedient sonne, shewed himselfe readie to serue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Some after this, and about the seauenth houre of the day, the sunne suffered a generall eclipse, so that no part of it appeared, and therewith folloved great thunder with lightning and sore tempest, with the violence whereof both man and beaſt were destroyed, and manie houses burned.

Shortly after this, the kings of England and France met and communed together for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promised indeed to send thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made small account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to passe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his sonnes, or some other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but because that would not be, he departed from the court verie sorrowfull and sore displeased, so that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he spake his mind so plainlie vnto the king (as before ye haue heard.)

Moreover, about this time king Henrie obtained of pope Urbane the third, that he might crowne which of his sonnes it shoulde please him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the said pope sent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner woven in with gold.

Anno Reg. 32.

This yere the king held his Chiffmalle at Danfrount, and shortly after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he took a solemne oth that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings sister (whome he had as yet in his custodie) vnto his sonne Richard erle of Poitou in mariage. For the which mariage to be had and solemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the said Richard the towne of Cisors, with all that which his father king Lewes promised vnto king Henrie the sonne (latelie deceased) in mariage with queene Margaret the wife of the same Henrie, receiuing an oth thereto, neuer to make anie claime or chalenge to the same towne and lands.

I 186

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finished his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maye, and then was Hugh prior of Wiltsham instituted bishop of Lincolne after that the see there had bene void and without any lawfull gouernour almost the space of seauenteene yeres. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Constance was nominated to that see, but because he was made archbishop of Rouen before he was inuested in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the bishops of Lincolne.

King Henrie
returneth in-
to England.
Ger. Dor.
Hugh prior of
Wiltsham made
bishop of Lin-
colne.

Moreover king Henrie shortly after his returne at this time into England, assembled a great armie, and went with the same to Caerleill, in purpose to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chastised Rouland lord of that countrie, who was sonne to the sonne of Fergus, for the iniuries done to his cosine germains, namelie to Duncane sonne to Gilbert, who was sonne to the same Fergus, in spoiling him and the residue (after the deceasse of the said Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, vsurping the whole to himselfe. But as the king was now readie to invade his countrie, Rouland came to him, and vsed such meanes vnder pretense of satisfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who thereupon brought backe his armie, and did no more at that time.

About the same time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was slaine in Ireland by an Irish gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Irish historie you may read) whereof the king was nothing sorie, because the same Hugh was growne to so high degree of puissance in that countrie, that he refused to obey the kings commandement when he sent for him.

Hugh Lacie
slaine.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the most part of Ireland, and set the countrie in some good order, after his comming from thence, such capteines as he left there behind him, were

Hugh Lacie's
diligence to
inlarge his
possessions in
Ireland.

were not idle, but still did what they could to inlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernance: but amongst them all this Hugh Lacie was the chiefeft, in fomuch that after the death of Richard earle of Strigule, the king made him gouernour of the countrey in place of the faid earle, by reafon whereof he fo inlarged his poffeffions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onelic to the enimies, but alfo to his affociats, as to fuch Englifh capteins as were abiding in Ireland vpon gard of the Eng-
10 lifh frontiers. For if any of them difobeyed his commandement, he would not ftrike to chaftife them at his pleafure, fo that by fuch meanes he feared rather to conquer the countrey to his owne vfe, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not fo directlie or discretlie as he might; for,

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had alfo ioined himfelfe in marriage with a daughter of the king of Unneffer, not making king Henrie partie to the fame. Wherevpon the king ha-
20 uing fundrie informations prefented to him of fuch his prefumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his prefence, which to doe (as before I haue faid) he refufed, by reafon whereof he confirmed the fufpicion which was conceiued of him, to rife vpon no vaine con-
futes, and therefore the euill that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good caufe was highlie offended towards him for the con-
tempt and confiderations aforefaid.

King Henrie
not foze for
the death of
Lacie.

The death of
Geffrey the
kings fonne.

This yeare Geffrey the kings fon who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the
fame citie, leauing behind him (befides two daugh-
ters) one onlie fonne as then in his mothers wombe,
of whom fhe was deliuered in the night of the feaft
of Eafter next infuing his hufbands death: he was
named Arthur, and fucceeded his father in the earle-
dome of Britaine. His fathers death was occa-
fioned (as men iudge) by a fall which he caught at a iour-
nie, for he was foze buyffed therewith, and neuer had
his health, but finally fell into a flir and fo died.

About this feafon pope Urbane wrote vnto Bal-
win archbifhop of Canturburie, granting him li-
cence to build a church at Alkinton, in honour of S.
Stephan and Thomas Becket now reputed a mar-
tyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which
came to the boz of Thomas the martyr fould be af-
figned to the vfe of the monks, & an other fourth part
to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth
part to be giuen to the poze, and the other fourth part
remaining he might referue to himfelfe to beftow
at his pleafure. But within a while after, at the fuit
and fupplication of the prior and conent of Can-
turburie (who liked nothing of the former partition)
the pope fent letters of prohibition to the faid arch-
bifhop, that he fould ceaffe from building of the fore-
mentioned church, becaufe the building thereof would
be prejudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

The ladie
Ermenegard
the bicount
Beaumonts
daughter, ma-
ried to Will-
am king of
Scots.

Caftell of E-
denborough.

About the fame time alfo king Henrie gaue his
cofen the ladie Ermenegard (who was daughter to
Richard Vicount Beaumont) in marriage vnto
William king of Scotland, caufing the archbifhop
of Canturburie to iointe them together in the bond
of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodfocke,
where he kept great there in honour of that marri-
age for the fpace of foure daies together. And further
he gaue at the fame time vnto the king of Scots the
caftell of Edenborough: and the king of Scots freit-
waies gaue it vnto his wife the fo:faid Ermenegard,
as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hun-
dred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights
free.

The French king required to haue the cuftodie of
the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Bri-

taine: but king Henrie would in no wife grant
thereto. Wherefore he fent Walter archbifhop of
Rouen, William de Handeuille earle of Alber-
marle, and Ranulfe de Glanville lord chefe iufice
of England to the French court, to talke with king
Philip about that matter, fo that king Philip hauing
heard them, was contented to ftale from attempt-
ing force till the feaft of S. Hilarie. But in the
meane time it chanced, that one fir Richard de Wal-
les a knight of the realme of France went about to
fortifie a caftell in a village that belonged to him cal-
led Walles, fituated betwirt Erie & Giffoz. Where-
vpon Henrie Wre (conftable of Giffoz vnder Wil-
liam earle of Albemarle) was nothing content ther-
with, and therefore got a companie together, & went
forth to difturbe the worke. Vpon this occafion the
feruants of the faid fir Richard de Walles came
forth, and encountred with him in the field, in fomuch
that kafe the fonne of fir Richard de Walles was
kaine, and the refidue that were with him fled, many
of them being foze beaten and wounded.

Embaffados
fent to the
French king.

Sir William
de walles.

When the French king was informed hereof, he
caufed all the kings of England his fubiects, that
could be found within his countrees and dominion
of France to be apprehended, and their goods feized.
The ftewards, ballifes, & officers then of king Hen-
rie, did the like by the French kings fubiects that
chanced to be at that prefent within the king of En-
glands countrees, on that further fide of the fea. But
within a little while after, the French king fet the
Englifh fubiects at libertie, and fo likewife did the
30 k. of Englands officers releafe the French fubiects.

The king of
Englands
fubiects are
fled in ffrat.

The French
fubiects are
fled in ffrat.

At this time king Henrie held his Chriftmasfe at
Wilford, and fhortlie after came one Drauanus a
fubdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Poiant from the
court of Rome, fent as legats from pope Urbane
into Ireland, that they might crowne earle John the
kings fonne king of that land. But king Henrie
made a delate therein, taking the legats with him
into Normandie, whither he failed at the fame time,
and landing at William, he went from thence into
Normandie, and fhortlie after came to a communi-
cation with the French king, at a place called Va-
dum Sancti Remigij, where after much talke they
could not agree, by reafon the French king deman-
ded things vnreasonable, and fo they departed with-
out any thing concluded [fauing a truce] till after
Whitfuntide.

Anno Reg. 1187.
Drauanus
a cardinall.

King Henrie
paffeth our
into Norm-
mandie.

Ger. Doc.

About the fame time, the citie of Ierufalem was
faken by Saladine the chefe prince of the Sara-
cens. Wherevpon much conference was had among
the chiftian princes for the fuccozing of thofe chifti-
ans, which as yet held and defended other peeces in
the holie land, fo that by publifhing of the popes buls,
manie toke on them the croffe: and amongst other
Richard the fonne of king Henrie (without anie li-
cence obtained of his father) receiued the fame, bow-
ing to go thither out of hand, and to fight againft
Gods enimies to the vttermof of his power.

Ierufalem
faken.

In the meane time the grudge ftill increased be-
twirt king Henrie and Philip the French king, part-
lie for one caufe, and partlie for an other, but special-
lie one chefe occafion was for that earle Richard de-
ferred the dawings of his homage vnto king Philip
for the dutchie of Poitou, which by his fathers ap-
pointment he now inioied and held. The French
king to preuent his enimies, immediatlie vpon the
expiring of the truce raifed a power, and entring in-
to the dominions belonging to king Henrie, wafted
the countrey till he came vnto Chateu Raoul: about
which caftell alfo he forthwith planted his ftege.

Out of the
annales of
France writ-
ten by Phi-
coll Galles.

When king Henrie was aduertifed hereof, he
raifed his power alfo, and together with his fonne
earle Richard came with all fpeed to fuccour his peo-
ple,

Ger. Dor.

A truce
granted.Eric Richard
gave his fa-
ther faire
words.He fetcheth up-
on his fathers
treasure.Anno Reg. 34.
1188
King Henrie
returneth into
England.King Henrie
passeth againe
into Norma-
ndie.
Polydor.
Beauclerc
from the east
part.

ple, and to saue his castell from the hands of his eni-
mies. Now when he approached nere vnto the place,
he pitcht downe his tents ouer against the one side of
the french campe, and earle Richard on the other, so
that they were readie to assaile the french king on
both sides at once, but before they came to ioine bat-
tell, by the mediation of a cardinall (as some write)
or (as other saie) through meanes made by the earle
of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For earle
Richard through perswasion of the said earle of Flan-
ders came to the french king, and agreed with him,
before that his father king Henrie was resolu'd of
any such matter for his part, so that he was now in a
marvellous perplexitie, & almost to take what was
best to do, as a man fearing his owne suertie, by rea-
son of mistrust which he had in his sonne Richard: but
yet at the length through humble suit made by his
said sonne vnto the french king, a truce was gran-
ted by the space of two yeares.

Carle Richard, after the matter was thus taken
vp, went into France with the french king, of
whom he was so honoured whilst he was there, that
they kept one table at dinner and supper in the daie
time, and (as was said) one bed serued them both to
sleepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all
this, fell into great suspicion thereto this great fa-
miliaritie betwixt the french king and his sonne
would tend, and doubting the likeliest, sent for him
to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing
his father to mistrust his loialtie, gaue faire words,
and promised to returne with all conuenient speed.
Howbeit he ment an other matter, and so departing
from the french court, came to Chinon, where he got
into his hands a great portion of his fathers trea-
sure that was kept there, against the will of him
that had the custodie of it, and taking it thus auaile
with him, he began to fortifie his castels and towne
within his countrie of Poitou, and cleaue refused
to come backe to his father for a time, although at
length forsaking the counsell of naughtie men, he
turned home vnto him, and humbly submitted
himselfe, in such wise as to his dutie appertained. And
for the more assurance therof, he renewed his fealtie,
in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangelists.
Which done, king Henrie went into Britaine with
an armie, and tooke the castell of Mountreleis by
siege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Gui-
nemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after
the decesse of Geoffrey earle of Britaine.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of
Chichester was almost wholie consumed to ashes by
mischance of fire. The head church with the bishops
palace, and the houses of the canons were burnt e-
uen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie
held his Christmalle at Caen, from whence he went
to Harfleur, and there taking the sea passed ouer into
England. The french king hearing by and by of his
departure, assembled a great armie, and threatned
to despoile the countrie of Normandie, and other
lands on that side the sea, except king Henrie would
deliuer into his hands the towne of Gisors, with the
appurtenances, or cause his sonne Richard earle of
Poitou to take to wife his sister Alice, according to
his promise.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he
turned with all speed into Normandie, that he might
prouide for timely resistance, if the french king
came forward to inuade his dominions. About the
selfe same time came newes out of the holie land,
that Saladin after the winning of Jerusalem, pur-
sued his victorie with such successe, that he had taken
from the christians the more part of all other towne
and strengths within the land. These newes were no

thing pleasant to the christian princes, and namelie
the two kings Henrie and Philip seemed sorrowfull
for the same, and therefore came to an enterbiew to-
gether on the 21. day of Iannuarie betwixt Erie and
Gisors, where the archbishop of Erie was present,
through whose earnest exhortation the two kings
were made friends, and the same day receiued the
crosse at his hands in purpose to make a iourneie to-
gether against those Saracens that had done such
injuries to the christian name. And for a difference
that one nation might be knowne from an other, the
french king and his people toke vpon them to
weare red crosses, the king of England and his
subiects white crosses: but the earle of Flanders and
his men wore greene.

Herewith they departed asunder, each one repai-
ring to their countries to prouide their armies, and
make them in a readinesse to set forward by a day
towards this necessarie iourneie. King Henrie com-
ming to Chinon, by aduise of his counsell, ordeined
that euerie one of his subiects should yeld a tenth
part of his reuenues and moueable goods for that
yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land (coyne
of that yeares growth excepted, and also all armour,
horses, bookes, apparell, ornaments of chappels, and
precious stones, which should not come in the rate of
goods now taxed, nor be charged with this payment.)
Moreover those knights and men of warre that were
appointed to go in this iourneie paid nothing, but
had that monie also towards their furniture, which
were gathered of their tenants and farmers, holu-
beit burgeses and others that toke vpon them the
crosse without licence of their lords, paid his tenth, so
that none of them went free.

There were also good orders devised, both for the
aduancement of Gods glorie, and the reliefe of the
common wealth, as that no man should sweare in
any outrageous maner, that no man should plaie at
cards, dice or tables, and that no maner of person af-
ter Easter should weare any costlie furs or cloth of
scarlet, nor that men should vse to haue their tables
serued with more than two dishes of meat at one
meale, nor should haue their apparell cut, tagged, or
laced: and further, that none of them should take
any women forth with them in this iourneie, except
such a landresse, of whome there might not growe a-
nie suspicion of wanton life. It was also ordeined,
that the monie of such as died in this iourneie, should
go towards the finding and maintenance of their
seruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of
the christians in the holie land. Moreover, the pope
granted that all those that went forth in this iourneie,
repenting and confessing their sinnes, should be ab-
solved and pardoned of the same. The king having
thus taken order for his businesse in the parts on the
further side the sea, came now ouer into England
again, landing at Winchelsey on a saturday the
thirtieth day of Iannuarie, and calling a counsell to-
gether at Caistering, which is eight or nine miles from
Northampton, he there declared what orders he had
taken for his iourneie into the holie land. Wherevpon
the bishops of Northwich and Lincolne, and a great
number of other people toke vpon them the crosse
at the preaching of the archbishop of Canturburie,
and the bishop of Rochester.

This done, king Henrie toke order also for the le-
uieing of the tenth, as well here in England, as he
had done in the parts subiect to him on the further
side the sea. He also sent Hugh bishop of Durham,
and other both spirituall and temporell persons, vnto
William king of Scots, to gather the tenth like wise
within his countrie, but he met them betwixt Mark
and Wightham, and would not suffer them to enter
into Scotland, but he offered to giue vnto the king of
England

An enterbiew
betwixt the
two kings.The two
kings receiue
the crosse.The french
were red
crosses,
The English
white,
The fle-
minges greene.An aid gran-
ted to them in
the holie land.
W. Parous.God orders
and discipline
instituted.The king re-
turneth into
England.A counsell
helden at
Caistering.
Ger. Dor.

A tenth leuied

The king
of Scots.

The good meaning of the two kings disappointed. Polydor.

Reimond erle of Tholouze.

where he shall be fullie & sufficientlie answered.

Horat. in art. poet.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poitou rebell against earle Richard.

Peter Seille.

Erle Richard invaded the earle Tholouze lands.

England in recompense of the tenths, and for to have againe his castels, the summe of 5000. marks of silver, which could not be accepted. The French king likewise gathered the tenths in his countie towards this intended iourne. But by the working of some wicked spirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the advancement of the chastian commonwealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and disappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long unviolated.

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto Englishmen, and the English writers laie it to French men. The French writers say, that earle Richard the son of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The English writers reprove the French king as a wicked man, in that he should of purpose breake the peace and moue warre against king Henrie, to with draw him from going to make warre against the Saracens, to the which enterpryse he was wholly bent and inclined. Such is the manner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countie than to the truth, do not obserue the law of histories in their writings, but rather inuie one against another in a bialling and reproving manner.

¶ Examples hereof are more than by any possible may be remembred, and namelie for bzenitie sake George Buchanan in the 8. booke of his Scottis historie berie reprochfullie speaketh of Richard Craiton (a right reuerend man whiles he liued and of enter name also being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a shamelesse lier. Whose case, because it is not so conuenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remit to the reigns of Edward the third, in whose time John Ballioll was king of Scots, and claue him (as well as we can) from a Scotis slander. Another example also we haue, and that most notozious, of Gabriel Praecolus the Iesuit, who hauing neuer bene in England, nor yet vnderstanding the English tong, blashphemy not to say that the translation of the English bible hath in it a thousand faults. A singular and insufferable impudencie, when men passe not what they haue and cast by out of a full gorge surfetting with malice and rancour! But what shall we say,

Omne superuacuum pleno de pectore manat.

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other do witness) the first earle Reimond, and also Rimer earle of Angouleme, Cestrey de Racon, and Cestrey de Lusignan, with the most part of all the nobles of Poitou, made warre against earle Richard, and he held tache against them all, and in the end ouercame them. Amongst other of earle Reimonds part whom he took, was one Peter Seille, by whose counsell earle Reimond had taken diuerse merchants of Poitou that were subiects to earle Richard, & done manie other displeasures to him and to his countie, therefore earle Richard kept this Peter in berie close prison, and would not put him to his ransom: in somuch that earle Reimond took two of the king of Englands knights, sir Robert Doer, and sir Richard Fraser, as they were returning from Compostella, where they had bene to visit the bodie of S. James, but they were quicklie set at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whose pilgrims they were.

After this, earle Richard entred with a great armie into the lands of earle Reimond, wasted the same, and took by siege a castell of his situate nere vnto Tholouze, called Poissac: whereof the French king hearing, sent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages done by his sonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were done by his commandement, for the

which he demanded restitution. Herevnto the king of England answered, that his sonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had signified to him by the archbishop of Dublin, what focuer he did therein, was done by the counsell of the French king himselfe.

¶ Howsoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a sudden entred into Berrie, and took from king Henrie Chateau Raoull, Bezancois, Argenton, Mount Richard, Mountrefoz, Wandosme, Leprose, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Polignon. Wherefore king Henrie (who was at this time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all speed possible he sent Balowin archbishop of Canturburie, and Hugh bishop of Durham ouer into France, to appeale the French kings displeasure with courteous words and reasonable perswasions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to passe, he sailed ouer into Poimandie himselfe, with an armie of Englishmen and Welchmen, landing with the same at Verdue the 10. daie of Iulie, after he had bene sore tossed by a cruell tempest that rose as he was on the sea, to the great danger of his person, & all that were with him.

Now after his coming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increasing his power by gathering by souldiers and men of warre out of Poimandie and other his countie on that side the sea. In the meane time his sonne Richard earle of Poitou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoull vnto the keeping of sir William de Berres returned into France, so that earle Richard spoiled and wasted the lands of those earls and barons which took the French part exceedingly. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durst not come forth now after the arrival of king Henrie, but manie enterprises were attempted by the capteines on both sides. Philip bishop of Beauuois invading the frontiers of Poimandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the earle of Angi, and the castell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the title of earle) and wasted the countie round about. The French king also came to the towne of Trow and burned it, and took 40. men of armes there, but the castell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poitou took a strong place called Les Roches, beyond Trow towards Wandosme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. peomen.

About this time king Henrie sent ambassadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbishop of Rouen, John bishop of Cureur, and William Marshall, to require restitution for the damages done to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refused to make restitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance against him. Wherevnto the French king answered, that he would not giue over to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countie of Meurin or Menigesme wholie in his possession. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the tuesday after the feast of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie towne and villages, approaching the same day nere to the towne of Gaunt, where the French king was thought to be. Now as it chanced, William de Berres and Drogode Perlo encountered with Richard earle of Poitou and William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, so that William de Berres was taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that should haue taken had to him, he escaped awaie vpon his pages horse. The morrow after also, earle Richard departed from

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Chester, Lanc.

Ger. Dor.

Chateau Raoull it is called in the French annales: but I thinke it Chateau Raoull, and rightlie as I thinke.

Sergeants.

The wally-
men.

from his father towards Berrie, and vpon the thurs-
daie the Welchmen burned manie villages, with
the castell of Denulle that belonged to Simon
Duneth, and toke manie rich preies and boties. Also
William Maudenille earle of Albemarle burned a
place called saint Clare, that was belonging vnto
the demaine of the French king.

The two
kings come
to a treatie.An elme cut
downe.

But see, when the English were fullie bent to pro-
secute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand,
there came messengers vnto king Henrie from the
French king, requiring him that he would grant a
peace to be had betwixt them, with promise that if he
would condescend therevnto, that he should receiue
by way of restitution all that the French king had
now taken from him in Berrie. Herevpon they
came to a communication betwixt Trie & Cisors,
and when they could not agree, the French king cau-
sed a great elme standing betwixt those two places
to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and
France were accustomed to meet when they treated
of matters in controuersie betwixt them, swearing
that from thenceforth there should neuer be anie
more meetings holden at that place.

A commenda-
tic protestat-
ion and word-
this to be
noted.

Castellum.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the
earle of Blois with diuerse other earles and barons
of the Realme of France, laid their armes aside, pro-
testing openlie that they would not put on the same
again to make warre against any christian, till they
should returne from their iourne which they had
bolved into the holie land, the French king bestitute
of men to serue him, made sute once againe to king
Henrie, that they might meet and talke of peace,
which was hardlie granted, and so they met on the
morrow after saint Faithes daie, or the seauenth of
October, at Castellon, where they entreated of a
forme of peace, so that the French king should
haue restored all that he had taken within the coun-
tries belonging to king Henrie, and likewise Ri-
chard earle of Poitou should deliuer by vnto the
earle of saint Giles (otherwise called earle of Tho-
loue) all that he had taken from him since the breach
of the last truce. But when king Henrie would not
deliuer the castell of Palsie in pledge to the French
king, they departed in sunder (as before) without
any thing concluded. The king of France after this
toke the castell of Valuel.

Another trea-
tie betwixt
the two kings

Vpon the eighteenth day of August the two kings
came againe together about a new treatie of peace
betwixt Bonsemlance and Sukennie, where the
French king offered king Henrie, to restore to him
all that he had taken by his last warres, if his sister
Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle
of Poitou, now eldest sonne aliuie to king Henrie,
and that all king Henries subiects might doe homage
and sweare fealtie to the same Richard. But king
Henrie after the old prouerbe, *Uetus piscator sapit*, ha-
ving bought his experience with the feeling of smart,
& bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his
sonne Henrie, after such his aduancement to king-
lie degree, would not grant the French kings re-
quest herein. Wherevpon a further mischefe hap-
ped, for his sonne earle Richard (taking displeasure
that his father should denie him that honour, which
made altogether for his more assurance to succeed
him as king) fell from his said father manifestlie,
and became the French kings man, doing homage
to him also without consent of king Henrie, for all
those lands that belonged to his said father on that
further side the sea. The French king for his homage
and fealtie gaue him Chateau Maoull and Poldur,
with all the honour thereto belonging.

Erle Richard
renoueth from
his father to
serue the
French king.

Polydor.

Some write, that the chiefe cause which moued
king Henrie to refuse to ioint his sonne earle Ri-
chard and the ladie Alice, daughter vnto the French

king in marriage together, was, for that he was lin-
ked in the comberfome chaine of hot burning loue
with the same ladie, and therefore he sought all the
shifts of excuses & delaies that might be imagined;
so that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir.
The truth was (as writers affirme) he had alreadie
persuaded hir to satisfie his lust, insomuch that he li-
ked hir so well, that he ment to be diuorced from his
wife quene Eliano, and to marrie this yong ladie,
which if he might bring to passe, and haue children by
hir, he purposed to disherit those which he had by
Eliano, and to make the other which he should haue
by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before
they departed from this communication, a truce
was taken to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. And
Henrie bishop of Alba a cardinall that was sent
from the pope to end this controuersie betwixt these
two mightie princes, accused Richard earle of Poi-
tou, for that by his meanes the troubles rose and
were continued betwixt them.

Rog. Houed.

The tostone of Wenerley, with the church of saint
John the archbishop, was in manner wholie consumed
with fire, on the 20. of September. Also the same
yeare died William of Sempzingham, the author
and first founder of the religious order of Sem-
pzingham. Moreover Gilbert de Ogerstan a knight
templer put in trust by king Henrie, with others, to
gather the tenths towards the reliefe of the holie
land, was proued to vse falshood in the receipt, and so
was deliuered vnto the maister of the temple at
London to be punished according to the statutes of
his order. Also this yere in the vigill of S. Laurence,
there was sene at Dunstable by diuerse persons a
figure of the crosse verie long and large in the aire,
with the shape of a crucifix thereon, and streames of
blond to their sight seemed to run out of the wounds
of the feet, hands and sides. This strange appearance
continued in sight from none till almost night.

Wenerley
burnt.
William de
Sempzing-
ham beceiteth.
Gilbert de
Ogerstan.A strange ap-
pearance in the
aire.

Some will deeme this a mere fable, and saie it
fauoureth of grosse superstition and idolatrie, where-
vpon they will conclude that no such fragments pow-
dered with papistrie should be inserted into a chon-
cle. But (to auoid all suspicion of iustificing the fan-
sies of men) note you this, that in the ecclesiasticall
hystorie, no small number of things no lesse strange
and true than this seemeth vaine and false, are reco-
ded; yea euen touching the verie crosse. But consi-
dering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in
making chosse of matter pleasing their owne humors,
we will not waide too farre in this kind of argu-
ment, which we know may as some offend as it is ta-
ken, as a thorne may prick, or a nettle sting when it
is touched. Neuerthelesse, we would not wish that
the forme of a thing should be quite condemned, for
some scandalous peoples pleasures, whome nothing
will please, vnlesse it come out of their owne dis-
uat or casket of conceits.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Saumur in
Aniou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon
from him, and toke part with the French king, and
with his sonne Richard earle of Poitou. Now when
the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Bri-
tains (which had a charter of couenants of the French
king and earle Richard, that if they concluded any
peace with king Henrie, the Britains should be par-
takers in the same) entred into the confines of those
countries, which still continued their due obedience
towards king Henrie, spoiling and wasting the
same on each side with barbarous crueltie. At which
time also a legat came from the pope named John
de Anagnia, who assaied both by courteous meannes
and also by threats and menactings to reduce the par-
ties vnto peace and concord: insomuch that by his
procurement they met this yeare after Easter nere

Anno. Reg. 35.

I 1 8 9

A legat.

L. j. into

unto fter Bernard, wolle wthin a few daies togither, to trie if by talke they might fort to some reasonable conditions of agrément.

Muth. Paris. The last time of those their meetings was in the Whitsuntwike, at that time the French king required not onlie to haue his sister Alice deliuered unto earle Richard for wife, according to the former covenants, but also some assurance giuen unto the same earle Richard, that he should inherit his fathers lands after his decesse. Also he required that earle John might take vpon him the croise to passe ouer into the holic land also, for otherwise earle Richard would not go. *R. Houed.* Holobest king Henrie would in no wise consent to any of these demands: but yet as some write, he offered thus much unto king Philip, that if he could be so content, his sonne John should marrie his sister Alice, and intoy with hir all such things as he demanded in preferment of his sonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requested the same. But king Philip would none of that.

Thus how soeuer it was, whilst the one demanded that which the other thought no reason to grant, they departed without concluding any agrément, so that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occasion to further his enterprises, with all his whole puissance entred into Spaine, where he destroyed a great part of that countie, and approached to the cite of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpose to besiege it. But king Henrie being warned of his coming set the suburbs on fire, because his enemies should haue no succour in them. *King Philip entereth the countie of Spaine.* Holobest it the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driuen so directlie into the cite, that what with heat and assault of the enimie, the king being without any force of souldiers to defend it longer, was constrained to forsake it. Herewith he was so moued, that in departing from the cite, he said these words of his sonne Richard to himselfe: With thou hast taken from me this daie the thing that I most loued in this world, I will requite thee, for after this daie, I shall deplete thee of that thing which in me should most please thee, even mine owne hart.

Being thus driuen to leaue the defaced cite of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens whereof being left destitute of aid, yielded themselues to the French king, who taking a great prize in his doings for that victorie, passed ouer Loire, and wain the cite of Tours, wherein he placed a garison, and so hauing sped his businesse with good successe, brought home his armie laden with prizes & booties. *Mauns yielded to the French king. Wil. Parisus.* King Henrie being thus put to the worse, and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recouer his losses, began to despaire in himselfe, and therefore of necessitie thought it best to seeke for peace, but his suit was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agree vpon any reasonable conditions.

Polydor. At the last Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbishop of Reims, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agrément, and to conclude the same betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Bretaines and them of Poitou confederate with him, vnder such conditions, as he might not agree with his father, unless they might be compassed in the agrément. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogether aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chateau Maoul was restored to king Henrie with all that had bene taken from him since the time that the French king & he took vpon them the croise: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which in the beginning

of this warre he had surrendred and renounced. He was bound also to paie to the French king 20 thousand markes for the aid which earle Richard had receiued of him: moreouer to resigne and acquite unto the French king, all that which either he or his predecessours held or possessed within Auergne. Other articles there were which king Henrie agreed vnto for against his will, as the deliuerie of the labie Alice or Adela, and such other, which (as not much materiall) we passe ouer.

This peace was concluded not farre from Tours, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to meet in, about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enterueiw and talke together, so that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithstanding such thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted a sunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which moued king Henrie the sooner to condescend to the agrément.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongst them, king Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promised to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was presented vnto him, he found his sonne John the first person that was named in that register, wherewith he was so troubled and disquieted in his mind, that coming to Chinon he felt such gréefe hereof, that he cursed euen the verie date in which he was borne, and as was said, gaue to his sonnes Gods curse and his, the which he would neuer release, although he was admonished to doe it both of sumrie bishops and other religious and good lie men. Thus saith Houeden.

Holobest, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother John to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather because earle Richard had some suspition, least his father would make John his heire and successor in the kingdom, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the said John.

¶ These evils were esteemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iust iudgement of God, for that being admonished diuerse waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholesome aduise of graue men, as Hugh bishop of Lincoln and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping by sinne vpon sinne, but still wallowed therein to his owne destruction. Wherevpon being brought to such an extremite as ye haue heard, he was taken with a grievous sicknesse, which bringing him to utter desperation of recouering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguish and gréefe of his late losse and troubles sustained, than by the force of his bodilie disease (as writers haue affirmed.) But howsoeuer it was, he ended his life the first of Iulie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at founteuerard, which is an abbeye situate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanson.

Immediatlie vpon his death, those that were about him, applied their market so busilie in catching and filching awaie things that laie readie for them, that the kings corps laie naked a long time, till a child couered

Chittie there
saw to the
and twenty
the barons of
France, from
Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed.
At Chinon
saith Ger.
Dor.

Strange
thunder &
lightning.

King Henrie
departed this
life.

his surname
whereof it
came.

A strange
manner of
fight betwixt
fishes.

The issue of
Henrie the
second.
his sonnes.

Big bang=
tcrq.

His base sons.
The constitu-
tion of his
body.

His Nature.

His qualities
and condi-
tions of mind:

Radulphus de
Diceto.

Salut plus de
Dixero.

uered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, and then it seemed that his surname was fulfilled that he had from his childhood, which was Shortmantell, being so called, because he was the first that brought short clothes out of Anion into England. As his sonne Richard met the corps going towards the buriall, suddenly there issued bloud out of the dead bodies nostrilles, which was taken for a signification that it abhorred the presence of so wicked a son, which in his life time had so persecuted the father. His death was signified by a marvellous strange wonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certaine mere or pool in Fozmandie, leapt forth on land in the night season, and fought together with such a noise, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the wonder, and could not find one fish alive in the mere.

He had issue by his wife quene Elianoꝝ (as may appere by that which already is rehearsed) foure sonnes, Henrie, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, besides two other that died young, as some authoꝝ haue recorded: also thre daughters, Maude, married vnto Henrie the duke of Saronic; Elianoꝝ the wife of Alphonse the eight of that name king of Castile, and Joane giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. He had also two bastard sonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Geoffrey. He was of bodie fleshye and strong, and could abide verie patientlie the displeasures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad heaull, a broken voice, and was furthermore verie spare of diet, cheselie because he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exercise himselfe in hunting or trauelling abroad. He was of a good stature and verie well furnished, of a comelic countenance, partlie red beared, with grate eyes, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, so that he would long remember those things which he had either read, heard, or sene. He was stout of stomack, and more constant in time of aduersitie than in time of prosperitie, except at the time of his death, when being destitute in manner of all his friends, he fliew himselfe almost in despair. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his souldiers ouer and besides their wages.

Moreouer, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerſe his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176. there was a great dearth & ſcarſitie of bread in the parts of Anjou & Maine, he ſed euerie daie with ſufficient ſuſtenance ten thouſand perſons, from the beginning of Aprill, till the time that new cozne was inned: and what prouiſion ſoeuer was laid by in garners, cellers and ſtorehouſes, for the kings neceſſarie uſes, he cauſed the ſame to be imploied towards the reliefe of religious houſes, and poore people. He toke of his ſubjects but ſildome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praiſed his captaines and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their loſſe more than he ſhelued to loue them when they were alieue. And this did he of policie, that they might vnderſtand that they ſhould be honoured after death, and the reſore feare it the leſſe. He was ſomewhat learned, and alſo knothome to be wiſe.

This care to haue iustice duly ministered in his realme was exceeding great, inasmuch that finding how the shreiftes were rather inclined to take their owne gaine, than to deale vprightlie with his subjects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their doings, as if they had bene controllers, that they knowing how there were such appointed to haue a sound oversight in their dealings, might be

the more circumspect in their duties . He ordered also punishments for hunters in forests and grounds of warren , either by fining them , or by imprisonment .

Howeuer, he ordeined that murderers should suffer death by hanging: and so for other transgressours he appointed other kinds of punishments, as some to be condemned to exile, and other to losse of limbs, &c. according to the qualitie of the offense committed. And to haue the lawes duly executed, and iustice by rightlie ministred on all hands, he was so careful that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in roones of iustice. And lastlie, trusting to find among the cleargie such as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for respect of feare or friendship decline from right iudgement, he chose forth the bishops of Winchester, Elye, and Norwich to be principall iustices of the reline, so as they might end and determine all matters, except in certaine cases referred to the hearing of the vniue himselfe.

His biwes were these, as they are remembred. In
time of aduerse fortune no man could shew himselfe
moze courteous, gentle, make, and promising moze
largelie than he would. But when fortune once be-
gan to smile, no man was moze sharpe, hard to deale
with, nor moze redie to breake his promise and faith.
He was also partie noted of countenances: for al-
though he was liberrall towards souldiers and stran-
gers, yet was he strict inough towards his owne
people, and namelie towards his sonnes, which cau-
sed them to estrange themselves and their good wils
from him. He was not so zealous toward the execu-
tion of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his
owne vniuat commoditie.

He was out of measure giuen to fleshly lust, and
satisfieng of his inordinate concupiscence. For not
contented with the vse of his wiue, he kept manie
concubines, but namelie he delisted most in the com-
panie of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose
of the woold (the common people named hir Rose-
mund) for hir passing beautie, propernesse of person,
and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, be-
ing verelie a rare and puerlesse péece in those daies.
He made for hir an house at Woodstocke in Oxford-
shire, like a labyrinth, with such turnings and wind-
ings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze,
that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, ex-
cept he were instructed by the king, or such as were
secret with him in that matter. But the common re-
poyrt of the people is, that the quene in the end
found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had
drauene after him out of hir chamber with his foot,
and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that
he liued not long after. She was buried in the nun-
rie of Woodstow beside Oxford, with these verses upon
hir tombe:

*Hic iacet in tumulo, Rosa mundi non Rosa munda,
Non redolet sed olet, quæ redolere solet.*

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an English septenarie.

Long time after the death of this damsell, in the said abbeye was shewed a cofer, that sometimes was hers, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, startling of beasts, swimming of fishes, and shewing of foules, so liuelie, that a man might behold at the fine deuise thereof.

Moreover, king Henrie was noted not to be so fauourable to the liberties & freedoms of the church as he might haue bene. For besides the persecuting of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, he would not suffer the legats sent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had sworne that they should doe nothing prejudiciall to the customes of his kingdom, neither by prescri-

Bishops chosen principal
iustices.

The vices of
R. Henric.

His Incontinen-
cencic.

* Rosamund, his
= concubine.

 $\mathbb{R}an.Hig_d$

Do not esteeme
in a king the
Christians as
guard the
Barbarians.

bing orders, nor any other manner of act or meanes. he was thought to be negligent in aiding the christian common-wealth in the holie land. For though he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in person, yet being letted by light occasions, he staid at home, and sent small relafe thither, though he was earnestlie called vpon for the same. His estimation was such amongst foren princes, that Philip king of France being newlie entred into the gouernment of that realme after his fathers decesse, committed himselfe and his kingdome to the disposition and order of king Henrie, as if he had bene regent of his realme, and gouernour of his person.

Bale.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the second, diuerse honourable personages and capteins of great fame, for their appointed valiancie and experience in warlike enterpises, as Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke, Ricgbold earle of Cornuwall, Robert Ferrers earle of Derby, Richard Lacie, Roger Mowbray, Rafe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun constable of England, Ranulfe Glanville, William Clesey, & Bernard de Ballioll. Also there flourished in his time here in this land, men of singular learning in arts and sciences, as Nicholas Breakespeare, Serlo surnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualensis, Adam de Cuesham, Thomas of Spunmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Seruasius Cicestrensis, Odo Cantianus, Calred Rheuellensis, Iohannes Sarisburicensis, Clemens Lanthoniensis, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought *alias* Camitus, Robert Folioth, William Ramsay, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Wircmuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Doner, William of Peterborough, Cicerciensis, Bartholomeo Acanus, and Gilbert de Hemppingham, with others.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and nightie prince Henrie the second, I haue thought god to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we find in Matthew Paris and others wrytten of him as followeth.

*Epitaphium in Henricum secundum
regem mortuum & hic sepultrum.*

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multipliciq; modo dixi, comisiq; fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terra
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hac, pensa discrimina mortis, & inde
Humane specula conditionis habes.

*Quod potes instanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Transit, & incautos reus inopina rapit.*

Aliud.

Tymuli regis superscriptio brevis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis,
Res brevis est ampla, cui fuit ampla brevis.

*An epitaph vpon king Henrie the
second dead and heere in-
toomed.*

OF late king Henrie was my name,
which conqured manie a land,
And diuerse dukedoms did possesse,
and earledoms held in hand.
And yet while all the earth could scarce
my greedie mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serues,
wherein my carcase lies.
Now thou that readeest this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that serue to shew the state
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doe good then here, forefslow no time,
cast off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full soone dooth faile,
and death dooth strike vnwares.

An other.

Small epitaph now serues, to decke
this toome off statelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could scarce his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that serues now life is spent.

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England toke end, a hundred thientie two yeares after the coming in of the Conquerour; for those that reigned after this Henrie the second, we may rightlie esteeme to be Englishmen, because they were borne in England, and vsed the English tong, customes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the countrie.

*Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Frenchmen
ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of Bul-
longne and Henrie the second.*





Richard the first, second sonne to Henrie the second.

anno Reg. 1.

1189

Wil. Paris.

Mact. Paris.

Stephan de
Turnham
committed
to prison.Mact. Paris.
Polydor.Isabell daugh-
ter to the earle
of Gloucester
married to
John & kings
brother.She is named
by divers au-
thors Ham-
lin. Mact. Paris.
R. Houed.

Mact. Paris.

The kings
mother set
at libertie.

Richard the first of that name, and second sonne of Henrie the second, began his reigne ouer England the first day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1189, in the seauen and thirtie peare of the emperour Frederike the first, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of Philip the second king of France, and king William surnamed the Lion as yet lining in the gouernement of Scotland.

This Richard, immediatlie after the solemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made hast to Rouen, where he was iustillie receiued, and proclaimed duke of Normandie, receiuing the inuesture according to the custome, on the twentieth day of Julie. Then studieng to set all things in good order on that side the sea, he made searck where his fathers treasure was preserued, and thereupon attached Stephan de Turnham, who was seneeschall or gouernour (as we may call him) of Anion, and committing him to prison, compelled him to make deliuerie of all such summes of monie as he had hid and laid up in certeine castels by the commandement of the late king his father.

Whilist he was thus occupied, his brother John came to him, to whom he iustillie gaue the welcome, and besides all other things which his father had bequeathed vnto him by his testament in England, amounting to the value of foure thousand pounds of ycarelie rent, with the earldome of Mortaigne, he procured a marriage for him (being now a widower) for his further aduancement with the ladie Isabell, daughter to Robert earle of Gloucester, which earle had appointed the said John to be his heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the archbishop of Canturburie forbade the marriage, because they were cosens in the third degree of consanguinitie. To Robert earle of Leicester also he restored all his lands which had bene taken from him, and such persons as his father had disherited, he restored likewise to their former rights and possessions, holobest those had forsaken his father, and taken part with him against his said father, he seemed now so much to mislike, that he remoued them vtterlie from his presence, and contrariwise preferred such as had continued faithfull vnto his father in time of the troubles.

At length, king Richard remembriug himselfe of his mother queene Elianor, who had bene separated from the bed of hir husband for the space of fiftene yeares, and was as yet deteined in prison in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to set hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patents, to take vpon hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his absence. The queene being thus deliuered, and hauing now the cheefe authoritie & rule in hir hands, rode in progresse about the realme, to see the estate thereof; and as she passed from place to place, the

shewed gladsome countenance to the people whersoever she came, doing also what she could to please them, that she might thereby win their good willes to hir, and to hir sonne: but speciallie remembriug by hir late experience and tast thereof, what an irksome & most greuous thing imprisonment was, she caused the gailes to be opened, and forthwith set no small number of prisoners at libertie by the way as she passed through the countries, according to the verse of Virgil,

Non ignara mali miseris succurreve disco.

In the meane time, king Richard concluding a league with Philip king of France, receiued all those places againe which were taken from his father by the same Philip, together with his wife Adela, whom vpon suspicion that she had bene dishonested in hir person before, without anie sufficient proofe thereof had, he forsooke, & sent hir home with hir dowrie, and otherwise with great and princelie gifts, most bountifullie enriched, hauing already concluded a marriage with the ladie Berengaria, daughter to Garcias king of Nauarre, who was sent into Sicill vnto hir sister Joane, that he might marrie hir there, as he passed that waie towards the holie land.

Whilist these things passed thus in these parties, the christians in the holie land dailie sent hither for aid, whereupon the two kings of France and England tooke counsell together, and determined with all conuenient speed to ioine their powers, & with ships prepared for that purpose to saile into Syria. Hauing thus concluded, they went about to prepare themselves of necessarie prouision for so long a iourne. Now when king Richard had set in order his affaires in Normandie and France, he came ouer into England, landing at Portsmouth the 13. of August. With him also came his brother John, vnto whom he assigned the castels of Warlebridge, Lutegreshall, Beake, Bolefour, the honoz of Wallingford, Wakehill and Cie, with the earldoms of Mortaigne, Dorset, Sumnerfet, Rottingham, Werbie, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, with the earldome of Lancaster, intituling him earle of the same, whereby he was so exalted in state and degree, that he seemed in manner of a tetrarch, hauing as it were a fourth part of the realme in gouernance: but yet the king held some of the castels (in those counties and honozs thus giuen to his brother) in his owne hands. Moreover, vnto William Marshall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard earle of Chepstote, together with the earldome which hir father possessed; and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the sonne of Rainsfey he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaster. After he was landed (as before ye haue heard) he halted to Winchester, where his mother queene Elianor, with the most part of the English nobilitie had laine a good space to attend his comming, and there on the euen of the assumption of our ladie, the king was by them receiued with great ioy and triumph.

¶ Here is to be noted, that whilist the queene and lords laie in Winchester waiting for the kings arrival,

The 2. kings
of England &
France deter-
mine to go ius-
to the holie
land.

At South-
hampton the
21 of August
saith Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed.
Mact. Paris.

naul, Cestrey Abbe the bishop of Elie departed this life. He is named by Geruafius Dorobernensis the proud bishop of Elie: but he might rather have named him the rich bishop, for he left in his cofers no small quantitie of treasure, of the which three thousand and two hundred marks came to the kings part towards the charges of his coronation. No marvell though Geruafius spake somewhat in his dispraise, for as he himselfe confesseth he was no friend but an enemy to monks.

The fathers treasure.

R. Hous. Gau. Nidat. Nic. Trinet. The second of September saith Ger. Dor.

The order of his coronation. Matth. Paris.

Fog. Hous.

Reg. Hous.

The king his oth.

But to let this passe, some after the kings coming into England, he was informed that the Welshmen had broken into the English marches, and destroyed certeine towines; to repress whole presumptions attempts he made towards them, but was yet failed for that time, & reuoked by his mother. At Salisburie he found his fathers treasure, highlie reioicing, for that the summe was far greater than he thought it would haue pceded, for besides the pretious stones, apparell, and iewels, it was reported he had there the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds in readie coine. With this god hap king Richard not a little aduanced, came to London on the first of September, where he had appointed prouision to be made for his coronation, and so calling a counsell of the Nobles of the realme, he received the crowne with all due and accustomed solemnitie, at the hands of Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie, the third daie of September.

At his coronation, first the archbishops of Canturburie, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, which were present, with all the other bishops, abbats and cleargie, apparelled in rich copes, and hauing the crosse, holie water and censures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the doye of his priuie chamber, and there receiuing him, they led him vnto the church at Westminister, till he came before the high altar with a solemn procession. In the middle of the bishops and cleargie went foure barons, bearing candlesticks with tapers, after whom came Cestrey de Lucie bearing the cap of maintenance, and John Warthall next to him, bearing a great and masseine paire of spurs of gold: then followed William Warthall earle of Striguill alias Pembroke, who bare the roial scepter, in the top wherof was set a crosse of gold: and William de Patrike earle of Salisburie going next him, bare the warder or rod, hauing on the top thereof a dove. Then came three other earles, David brother to the king of Scots, the earle of Huntingdon, John the kings brother earle of Portaigne, and Robert earle of Leicester, ech of them bearing a sword byright in his hand with the scabbards richlie trimmed and adorned with gold.

The earle of Portaigne went in the midd of betwixt the other two. After them folloved six earles and barons, bearing a checker table, vpon the which was set the kings scochens of armes, and then folloved William Mandeuill earle of Albemarle, bearing a crotune of gold a great heighth before the king, who followed the same, hauing Hugh bishop of Durham on the right hand, and Reignold bishop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a canopy was borne: and in this order he came into the church at Westminister, where before the high altar in the presence of the cleargie & the people, laicng his hand vpon the holie euangelists and the reliques of certeine saints, he took a solemn oth, that he should obserue peace, honour, and reuerence to almighty God, to his church, and to the ministers of the same all the daies of his life. Also that he should exercise byright iustice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disannull all euill lawes and wrongfull customes, if anie were to be found within the precinct of his realme, and mainteine those that were

god and laudable.

This done, he put off all his garments from the middle vptwards, his shirt excepted, which was open on the shoulders, that he might be annointed. The archbishop of Canturburie annointed him then in three places, to wit, on the head, on the shoulders, and on the right arme, with praiers in such case accustomed. After this, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his cap aloft thereon; and then when he had put on his roiall garments and uppermost robe, the archbishop took vnto him the sword wherewith he should beat downe the enemies of the church; which done, two earles put his shoes vpon his feet, and hauing his mantell put on him, the archbishop forced him on the behalfe of almighty God, not to presume to take vpon him this dignitie, except he faithfullie meant to performe those things which he had there sworne to performe. Wherevnto the king made answer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the king took the crotune beside the altar, and deliuered it to the archbishop, which he set vpon the kings head, deliuering to him the scepter to hold in his right hand, and the rod roiall in his left hand, & thus being crowned he was brought backe by the bishops and barons, with the crosse and candlesticks, and three swords passing forth before him vnto his seat. When the bishop that sang the masse came to the offertorie, the two bishops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him backe againe.

Finallie when masse was done, and all things ended in order as was requisit, he was brought with solemn procession into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and put on a crowne and other garments more light and easie, and so went to dinner, whereat wanted no store of meats & drinks, which were serued out in most princelie and bountifull wise.

Vpon this daie of king Richards coronation, the Jewes that dwelt in London and in other parts of the realme, being there assembled, had but soie hap, as it chanced, for they meaning to honour the same coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honorable gift, wherby they might declare themselves glad for his aduancement, and procure his friendship towards them, for the confirming of their priueleges & liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former kings: he of a zealous mind to Christs religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting some sorcerie by them to be practised) commanded that they should not come within the church when he should receiue the crowne, nor within the palace whilst he was at dinner.

But at dinner time, among other that pressed in at the palace gate, diuerse of the Jewes were about to thrust in, till one of them was stricken by a chrisitian, who alledging the kings commandement, kept them backe from comming within the palace. Which some of the unrulie people perceiuing, and supposing it had bene done by the kings commandement, took lightlie occasion thereof, and falling vpon the Jewes with staves, bats and stones, beat them and chased them home to their houses and lodgings. Wherewith rose a rumour through the citie, that the king had commanded the Jewes to be destroyed, and therevpon came running together, to assault them in their houses, which when they could not easilie breake vp nor enter, by reason the same were strongly builded, they set fire on them, so that diuers houses were consumed, not onlie of the Jewes, but also of their neighbours, so hideous was the rage of the fire. Here we see that

Regis ad exemplum totius compari;ur oris.

The king being aduertised of this riotous attempt of

Will. Paris.

The Jewes meant to present him with a rich gift.

Matth. Paris.

A Jew stricken.

The people fall vpon the Jewes and beat them.

Their houses are set on fire.

of the outrageous people, sent some of his counsellours, as Ranulfe de Glanville lord iustice, and other officers to appease the tumult: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their persuasions any whit reuerenced, but their thretnings rather brought themselves in danger of life among the rude sort of those that were about to spoile, rob, and sacke the houses and shops of the Jewes: to the better accomplishment of which their unlawfull act, the light that the fire of those houses which burned, gaue after it was once night, did minister no small helpe and occasion of furtherance. The Jewes that were in those houses which were set on fire, were either smolzed and burned to death within, or else at their coming forth most cruellie receiued vpon the points of speares, billes, swords and gleaues of their aduersaries that watched for them verie diligencie.

Jewes burnt to death.

This outrage of the furious and disordered people continued from the middell of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other; the commons all that while neuer ceassing their furie against that nation, but still killing them as they met with any of them, in most horrible, rash and vnrasonable manner. At length, rather wearied with their cruell doings, than satisfied with spoile, or moved with respect of reason or reuerence of their prince, they withdrew themselves from their riotous enterprise, after they had executed manie unlawfull and horrible enormities. This great riot well deservede soe and greivous punishment, but yet it passed ouer without correction, in respect of the great number of the transgressors, and for that the most part of men for the hatred generally conceived against the obstinate frowardnesse of the Jewes, liked the doings hereof well enough, interpreting it to be a good token, that the iollull daie of the kings aduancement to the crowne should be dolefull unto the Jewes, in bringing them to such slaughter and destruction. Finally, after that the tumult was ceased, the king commanded that no man should hurt or harme any of the Jewes, and so they were restored to peace, after they had sustained infinit damage.

The occasion of this tragedie and bloudie tumult (redounding to the Jewes great veneration and pittifull distresse, but to the satisfieng of the peoples furious and vnbidded prouesse to crueltie) sprang principallie from the king, who if he had not so lightly esteemed of the Jewes when they repaired vnto him with their present, in signe of submission and hope of obtaininge their sute then purposed to be exhibited; this hurle burlie had not ensued. For it was a violent crample & a mightie motiue to the people to maligne the Jewes; as also a hart-graefe to them in respect of their reietion, when the prince gaue them so discourteous a repulse. Here therefore is to be observed, that the people is the princes ape, as one verie well saith. For looke whereto he is inclined, note wherein he delighteth; the same is the practise of the people: in consideration whereof the mightie ones of the world haue speciall cause to haue an eye to their course of life, & to set caueats befoze their actions, that the people may in them see none but good signes of commendable & vertuous imitation. For

regis imago

Regius, et ad mores accedere principis optat.

Quis enim rex est talis quoque subditus illi.

Esse solet populus, studiisque tenetur iisdem.

A council at Westwell.

Shortly after, to wit, the 15. day of September, a counsell was holden at Westwell, where the bishops and abbats being assembled, there were in presence of the king and of the archbishop of Canturburie elected certeine bishops and abbats to such places as then were vacant: and amongst other, William de Longchampe the kings chancelor was elected to the

see of Elic, Gessrey the kings bassard brother vnto the archbishopricke of Poike, who was the 32. in number that had gouerned the same, Gessrey de Lucie to Winchester, one Hubert Walter to Salisbury, and Richard archdeacon of Elic, and the kings treasurer to the see of London. The abbies that were prouided of abbats were these, Claffenburie, Shirborne, Perfore and Feuertham. In like manner, John the elect of Whitherne was consecrated bishop of that see, by the hands of the archbishop of Dublin. Also in this counsell the king ordeined Hugh bishop of Durham, and William Handeuille earle of Albemarle, lord chiefe iustices of England, hauing deposed Ranulfe de Glanville from that come.

10

Moreouer, the king being thus established in the estate of the kingdome, did not forget his iourne which he had promised into the holie land, but with all diligence made his prouision, and namelie he sought to gather monie to furnish his charges, and so there vpon leuied a tax, engaged, sold, and let to farme his lands, tols, customs, and other his reuenues, with certeine counties and offices, so that he made an exceeding summe of monie. He also found, that Ranulfe de Glanville lord chiefe iustice, and other of the head magistrates had not behaued themselves by rightlie in the administration of their offices; so that he both deposed the said lord chiefe iustice as is aforesaid, and almost all the shiriffes and their deputies within the realme of England, putting them to greivous fines for their offences and transgressions, and so by that meanes he got no small deale of monie.

30

Here note by the waie, how William Parus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glanville, being a man of high wisdome and steep into age, saw that manie things were done by the new king, not so aduisedlie, nor with such foresight as they ought to be, sought of his owne accord to be discharged of his office, that he might the better prepare himselfe to go in that iourne to the holie land, as by taking vpon him the crosse he had vowed in the daies of king Henrie, and so he solemnely renounced his office, which other (nothing so worthy of it) did afterwards intop.

40

Moreouer, the king vnderstanding that Hugh Butley or Budley bishop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he sold to him the manour of Seggesfield or Sadberge, with the wapentake belonging to the same, and also found meanes to persnade him to buy his owne prouince, which he did, giuing to the king an inestimable summe of monie, and was therevpon created an earle by the king for the same: wherevpon he was intituled both bishop and earle of Durham, wherewith the king would iest afterwards and saie; What a cunning craftie man am I, that haue made a new earle of an old bishop.

50

Furthermore, the same bishop gaue to the king a thousand markes to be made chiefe iustice of England, and that he might tarrie at home, and not go into the holie land. And because he would not be reprobated of any person, he obtained of the apostolike see (which faileth no man that is surcharged with white or red mettall, and would be rased) a licence for a summe of monie to be dispensed with for that iourne. The king thus being earnestlie bent to make commoditie of those things, for the which he might get any monie at all, the citizens of London presented vnto him a great summe towards the furnishing forth of his enterprise. Wherevpon to acquitte their courtelie, he granted them large priuileges, and ordeined that the citie should be ruled by two head officers, which they should chuse amongst themselves remouable from yeare to yeare by the name of bailiffes. The names of the two first bailiffes chosen

60

Wil. Parus.

The bishop of whitherne consecrated. Rog Houed.

Matt. Par.

Wil. Parus.

The bishop of Durham. Sadberge. The bishop of Durham made an earle.

The citizens of London present monie to the king. Polydor. Liberties granted to London.

Two bailiffes by

by force of that ordinance, wrote Henric Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Kemer.

The citie before those daies euer since the coming in of William Conquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certeine officers or rulers named Port Greues (which word is deriued of two Saron words, as Port and Greue. By Port is meant a tolowe, and by Greue a gardian or ruler, as who should saie, A keeper or ruler of a tolowe.) These rulers with the lawes & customes then vsed within this citie, were registred in a booke called (as some haue said) Dome daie, but through negligence after these lawes and customes were changed and altered, the booke was lost, so that the remembrance of such rulers as were before the daies of this Richard the first, are not to be had. These bailiffes euer entred at Michaelmasse, and so continued forth their yeare.

Thus began the citie first to receiue the forme and state of a common-wealth, and to be diuided into fellowshipes, which they call craftes or corporations. Such also are admitted to the fellowshipes of these companies, as haue true liege seruice as apprentices a certeine number of yeares, as seuen at the least, vnder which time of seruice expired, there is none made free, nor suffered to enioy the liberties of that citie, sauing such as are borne free, that is to saie, of freemen with in the citie, of whome at this time, it is not much materiall to make any further report. The citie thus consisting of the said craftes or occupations, chooseth out of the same a senat or companie of graue counsellours, whom they name Aldermen (E) changed into (A) according to the old Saron pronuntiation. It is also diuided into 26. tribes or wards, of the which euerie one hath his fenerall Alderman, or ouerser, who haue both authoritie sufficient, and large priuileges to mainteine the good gouernement of their positions withall. Out of the number of these, there is another officer pearelie chosen and appointed, called the Mayor, who ruleth all the rest.

But now to returne vnto the further doings of king Richard before his departure out of England towards his iournie into the land of Palestine, commonlie called Holie land, it is said, he made such sale of things appertaining to him, as well in right of the crowne, as otherwise, that it seemed to diuerse he made his reckoning neuer to returne againe, in so much that some of his counsellours told him plaine lie, that he did not well in making things alwaie so free, to the dishonoring of his maiestie, and preiudice of his successour; vnto whom he answered, that in time of need it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himselfe with his owne, and further ioined

R. Richard
fettereth things
on sale.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Paruus.

“ hereto these words, that if London at that time of need would be bought, he would surelie sell it, if he might meet with a conuenient merchant that were able to giue him monie enough for it.

Another way he had also to gather riches, and that was this. He had a licence of pope Innocent the third, to dispense with such as pleased him within his realme, for their vobies made to go into the holie land, although they had taken on them the crosse for that purpose, namelic such as he should appoint to remaine behind him for the defense of his countrie: and of these also he took abundance, and diuerse other he compelled to fine, namelic, to the end that he might get their monie likewise, that hereby he obtained no small summe toward the furniture of his iournie. But both pope & prince forgot in the meane while, that

Boni pastores est tondere pecus non excoicare.

This yeare also in the month of Nouember, as Matthew Paris saith, Johannes de Anagnia a cardinall and legat from the pope arriued here in England, comming on land at Douer, and because the

king was as then in the north parts, the same cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the kings mother queene Elianor, to passe any further without the kings commandement. And so he staid there thirtene daies at the charges of the archbishop of Canturburie, till the king came to those parties, by whose wisdome a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuersie betwixt the archbishop, and the monkes of Canturburie, for the chapell church of Hakinton now called S. Stephens.

In the same moneth of Nouember, by the kings appointment, Geoffrey the elect of Poike, who was the kings brother, with other barons and lords of Poikehire, receiued William king of Scotland at the water of Tweed, and from thence with all due reuerence and honour they brought him vnto Canturburie, where the king had called a counsell of the lords of his realme both spiritiuall and temporall, in the which euerie of them took an oth to be true to the king, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, which oth also the king of Scots receiued, being there present, and likewise king Richards brethren earle John and Geoffrey the archbishop of Poike.

The king of Scots therefore hauing receiued this oth, and thinking the time to serue his purpose for redeming of those castels, which were deliuered to king Henric as gages for his ranfome, paid now vnto king Richard ten thousand markes, and had restitution of the same, that is of Berwikke, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus saith, that Edenburgh was restored to him in the daies of king Henric, by reason of his wife which he took in the parties beyond the seas: and herewith agreeth the Scotish chronicle. King Richard also assigned to queene Elianor his mother, the accustomed doluer, with manie lordships and honours beside, as an augmentation thereof. About which time died William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Dutsey the nephue of the bishop of Durham died at Alet, and was buried at Durham. Also Formalis archbishop of Trier died at Southampton, and was there buried in the church of S. Andrewes.

In the meane time, king Richard still desirous to furnish himselfe with monie, deuised yet another shift, and feigned that he had lost his seale; therefore he commanded a new to be made, which being done, he caused it to be proclaimed and published in euerie countrie, that those to whome he had granted any thing by his deed or charter, meaning to enioy the same in fuertie, should not thinke it much to come and haue it confirmed by his new seale, least afterward the other being lost, their lawfull titles might be called into question. Whereupon manie that could not come to him whilest he was in England, were glad to follow him, and saile ouer into Normandie, and there to fine at his pleasure for the new seale, to the end that their writings might be confirmed thereby, and made so much the more sure to them and their successours. For the same businesse also Remigius the prior of S. Albons, and manie other went ouer to their great costs, charges, and trouble, after he was transported into France.

I find moreover about the same time, that the kings brother earle John exhibited a soxe complaint against the Romaine legat and other bishops; for that the archbishop of Canturburie, after the appeale made vnto the apostolike see, had put his lands vnder interdiction for his marriage made with the earle of Glocesters daughter: which when the legat heard, he forthwith confirmed the appeale, and released the earles lands of the aforesaid interdiction. The same time also, the tenth part of all the mourable goods through

R. Houed.

William king
of Scots.

A counsell
led at Can-
turburie.
Polydor,
Bauch,
Marth. Paris.

Marth. Paris
Polydor.

Restitution
made to the
R. of Scots,
Wil. Paruus.

Rog. Houed.

N. Triuer.

Marth. Paris.

through the realme of England was lent to the aid of the warres in the holie land. And this collection, passing under the name of an alines, was criden vpon the goods as well of the spirituall men as temporall.

Hugh bishop
of Durham
governeth the
north parts.
March. Paris.

William Long-
champe bishop
of Elie.

After all this, R. Richard desirous to set order in the government of his realme, appointed Hugh bishop of Durham to haue the rule of the north parts as chiefe iustice from Humber northwards toward Scotland, deliuering vnto him also the keeping of Winchester castell: the residue of the kingdome (with the custodie of the towre) he assigned to the gouernance of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, whome he had made chiefe iustice of that part, and chancellour of the realme, a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, but verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches farre above all measure. And with these two he joined in commission Hugh Bardulfe, William Marshall earle of Hereford, or rather Penbrooke, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, & William Brewer, men of great honour, wisdom, and discretion.

H. Houed.
King Richard
passeth ouer in
to Normandie

On the first day of December, he departed from Cantuarburie, and went to Dover, there to take water, and so on the eleuenth day of December he passed ouer vnto Calice, where he found Philip earle of Flanders readie to receiue him, who attended vpon him till he came into Normandie, where the king held his Christmas at Burun, and immediatlie he came to an enteraiue with the French king at Cus. Remige, where they concluded peace together, to be kept betwixt them & their countries on each part: the which was put in writing, and confirmed with their othes and seales in the feast of saint Hilarie.

1190
Fidum iunctis
Remig.
A league be-
twixt 2 kings
of England
and France.

Furthermore, about the purification of our ladie, Elianor the queene mother, and the ladie Alice sister to the French king, Baldwine archbishop of Cantuarburie, John bishop of Poze, Hugh bishop of Durham, Geoffrey bishop of Winchester, Reigold bishop of Bath, William bishop of Elie, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, and Hugh bishop of Chester, with Geoffrey the elect of Poze and John earle of Poze, the king's two brethren, by commandement of the king passed ouer into Normandie, to conuenient with him before his setting forward.

H. Houed.

Some write, that now at this present, the king should ordeine or rather confirme the bishop of Elie his chancellour to be lord chiefe iustice ouer all England, and the bishop of Durham to be lord iustice from Trent northwards. But whensoever they were thus aduanced to such dignities, howsoever they came by them, discordie or inditrectie, frise it is, that immediatlie thereupon, strife and discord did arise betwixt them: for waiving proud and insolent, they disdaind each other, contending which of them should beare most rule and authoritie, inasmuch that whatsoeuer seemed good to the one, the other misliked, as in cases where parteners in authoritie are equall, it often happeneth. The like hereof is noted before betwixt the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Poze in diuerse kings reignes. For the nature of ambition is to delight in singularitie, to admit no peers, to giue place to no superiour, to acknowledge no equall. Whence alldieth the poore people needless, and exemplifieth it in the old Romans, the error of whose actions is continued at this day, as by the words ensuing may be gathered, and ordinarie observed both here and elsewhere;

Contention
betwixt two
ambitious
bishops,

M. P. in fin
vib.

Romulus coramant factis post regis placare pueri
Plebeis quos suffragis dandam in pueri
Cerdonim, animos precibus seruilibus atq
Turpilis obsequijs captiuium numeribz
P. proprijs rebus circumspectis publicis

perq foram medium multu comitantes inent
Inflant vi vento folie, ac frange superba, etc.

Moreover, at the same time he caused his two brethren, earle John, and Geoffrey the elect archbishop of Poze to take an oth not to returne into England during the terme of thre yeares next ensuing, without his consent and licence first had. This he did, foreseeing what might happen, providing as it were against such practises as his brethren might happilie attempt against him. But yet his mother queene Elianor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatlie, least it might seme to the world, that his sonnes should stand in feare one of another. And so the earle of Poze, being licenced to returne into England at his pleasure, swearing an oth at his departure to obeye the kings behest, and truelie to serue him, according to the dutie of a good and loiall subject. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour and chiefe iustice of England was also sent backe hither into this realme, to set forward things behouefull for the kings iourne.

Earle John
licenced to re-
turne into
England.

In like maner the king sent to Rome to obtayne that the said bishop of Elie might be constituted the popes legat through both the prouinces of Cantuarburie and Poze, and likewise through Wales and Ireland. Which was sone granted by the bulles of pope Clement the third, bearing date the 5. of June. For the which office the bishops gaue him 1500. marks, to the great offense of the king, as he shewed afterward to cardinall Otavian that came to visit him when he arrived in the riuier of Tiber, being vpon his iourne towards Messina, as after may appeare. But in the meane time, calling together the lords and peeres of those his dominions on that side the sea, to wit, Normandie, Britaine, Anton, Poitou, and Guien, he consulted with them what number of soldiers and how manie ships it should be conuenient for him to take with him and furnish into Fla: and herewith he did command them also to chere Robert earle of Leicester, whome he appointed to remaine amongst them as his lieutenant or vicegerent of those parts during his absence.

The bishop
of Elie re-
turneth.

Polydor.

But here to leaue King Richard in consultation for matters appertaining to his iourne, and shew briefly what happened (by the waie) to the Jewes, which as then dwelt here in England, after that King Richard was passed ouer into Normandie: we haue heard how after the riot against them at London, when the king was crowned, he took order that they should remaine in peace vnder his protection, and commanded that no person should in any wise molest them. But now after that he was gone ouer, and that the soldiers (which prepared themselves to follow him) began to assemblie in roades, the heads of the common people began to war with, and saue would they haue had some occasion of raising a new tumult against the Jewes, whome (for their vniuersall blaspemy practised to the vndoing of manie an honest man) they much deadly hated, wishing most earnestlie their expulsion out of England. Whereupon by reason of a riot committed lastlie against them, at the towne of Mar in Dorsetshire, where manie of them were slaine, other people in other parts of the realme, taking occasion hereat, as if they had bene called by by the sound of a bell or trumpet, arose against them in those towne where they had any habitations, and robbed and set them after a disorder and most riotous manner.

W. Parua.

The hatred
borne to the
Jewes.

As at Stamford (on the same day in Kent) at Lincoln, and at Poze, in which citie after a number of them had bene besieged certeine daies within a towne of the kinges (whither they fled for succour) one of their learned goheynours caused foure hundred of their companie to consent to haue their thyngs cut

John Textor.

Five hundred
saith Houeden
and Textor.

etc

one at an others hands, he himself cutting his wiues
thot first, whose name was Anna, then his childrens,
one after another, and last of all sue himselfe, onlie
rather than he would fall into the hands of the chris-
tians, that had thus long besieged them. The rest
perceiuing that their great Rabbi had done, set fire
vpon all their goods and substance, which they had got-
ten into the tower with them, and so consuming the
same, would haue burnt also the residue of their fel-
lowes which would not agree to the Rabbies coun-
sell, in the cruell murthering of themselves, if they
had not taken a strong turret hard by within that
tower, and defended themselves both from the fire
and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaie
themselves in such manner as I haue said: and that
to the number of foure hundred, or (as some write)
sue hundred at the least.

On the morow, those that were saued, called out
to the people, and not onelie shewed how and after
what sort their fellowes were dispatched, but also of-
fered to be baptised, and forsake their Iudaisme, if
they might haue their liues saued from the immi-
nent & present danger wherein they saw themselves
to be wrapped, through the furie of the people. To be
short, this thing was granted, and they came forth,
howbeit they were no sooner entred into the prease,
but they were all slaine, and not one man of them
persecuted.

After this also, the people ran to the cathedra-
ll church, and broke into those places where their bonds
and obligations laie, by the which they had diuerse of
the kings subsidies bound vnto them in most uncon-
scionable sort, and for such detestable vsurie as (if
the authours that write thereof were not of credit)
would hardlie be belueued. All which euidences or
bonds they solemnly burned in the midst of the
church. After which, ech went his waie, the souldiers
to the king, and the commons to their houses, and so
was the citie quieted. This happened at Poyke on
Palmesundaye eue, being the 17. of March: and vpon
the 15. of that moneth, those that inhabited in the
towne of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, were set
vpon, and manie of them slaine. The residue that es-
caped, through the procurement of the abbat then
named Samson, were expelled, so that they neuer
had anie dwellings there since that time.

Thus were the Jewes vnnmercifullie dealt with in
all places in manner through this realme, the first be-
ginning whereof chanced at London (as before ye
haue heard) and the next at Lin, of which I thinke it
good to note some part of the maner therof, although
breedie, and so to returne to my purpose. The occa-
sion therefore of the tumult at Lin chanced by this
meanes: it fortuned that one of the Jewes there
was become a christian, wherewith those of his nati-
on were so moued, that they determined to kill him
where soeuer they might find him. And herevpon
they set vpon him one daie as he came by, through
the streets: he to escape their hands fled to the next
church; but his countrymen were so desirous to ex-
ecute their malicious purpose, that they followed
him still, and enforced themselves to breake into the
church vpon him. Herewith the noise being raised by
the christians that sought to saue the conuerted Jew,
a number of iudicars being foreiners, that were
arrived there with their vessels out of sundrie parts,
and diuerse also of the townesmen came to the re-
scue, and setting vpon the Jewes, caused them to flee
into their houses.

The townesmen were not verie earnest in pursu-
ing of them, because of the kings proclamation and
ordinance before time made in fauour of the Jewes:
but the mariners followed them to their houses, &e
diuerse of them, robbed and sacked their goods, and

finallie set their dwellings on fire, and so burnt them
vp altogether. These mariners being enriched with
the spoile of the Jewes goods, and fearing to be cal-
led to accompt for their vnlawfull act by the kings of-
ficers, got them forthwith to shipboard, and hoisting
vp sailes, departed with their ships to the sea, and so
escaped the danger of that which might haue bene o-
therwise laid to their charge. The townesmen being
called to an accompt excused themselves by the ma-
riners, burdening them with all the fault. Vntil al-
though they of Lin were thus excused, yet they of
Poyke escaped not so easilie. For the king being ad-
uertised of such outrage, done contrarie to the order
of his lawes and expresse commandement, wrote o-
uer to the bishop of Elie his chancellour, charging
him to take cruell punishment of the offenders.

The bishop with an armie went to Poyke, but the
cheefe authours of the riot hearing of his comming,
fled into Scotland: yet the bishop at his comming
to the citie, caused earnest inquirie to be made of the
whole matter. The citizens excused themselves, & offer-
red to proue that they were not of counsell with them
that had committed the riot, neither had they aided
nor comforted them therein in anie manner of wise.
And in deed the most part of them that were the of-
fenders, were of the countreies and townes nere to
the citie, with such as were crossed into the holie
land, and now gone ouer to the king, so that verie
few or none of the substantiall men of the citie were
found to haue ioined with them. Howbeit this
would not excuse the citizens, but that they were put
to their fine by the stout bishop, euerie of them paying
his portion according to his power and abilitie in
substance, the common sort of the poore people being
pardoned, and not called into iudgement, sith the
ringleaders were fled and gone out of the waie: and
thus much by waie of digression touching the Jewes.

Now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane
time was verie busie to prouide all things necessa-
rie to set forward on his iourneie, his ships which laie
in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, being readie to
put off, he took order in manie points concerning
the state of the common-wealth on that side, and
cheeflie he called to mind, that it should be a thing
necessarie for him, to name who should succeed him
in the kingdom of England, if his chance should
not be to returne againe from so long and dange-
rous a iourneie. He therefore named (as some suppose)
his nephew Arthur, the sonne of his brother Geste-
broke of Britaine, to be his successeur in the king-
dome, a yong man of a likelie proue and princelie
forwardnesse, but not ordeined by God to succeed o-
uer this kingdome.

About the same time the bishop of Elie, lord chan-
cellour and cheefe iustice of England, took vp to the
kings vse, of euerie citie in England two palstres
and two sumpter hazzles, & of euerie abbey one pal-
strie and one sumpter hazzle; & euerie manour within
the realme found also one palstrie and one sumpter
hazzle. Moreover, the said bishop of Elie deliuered
the gouernment of Poykeshire to his brother W-
bert de Longchampe: and all those knights of the
said shire, the which would not come to make answer
to the laie vpon summons giuen them, he comma-
nded to be apprehended and by and by call in person.
Also when the bishop of Durham was returned from
the king and came ouer into England to go vnto his
charge, at his meeting with the lord chancellour at
Elie (notwithstanding that he shewed him his let-
ters patents of the grant made to him to be iustice
from Trent northward) the said lord chancellour tak-
ing his iourneie to Southwell with him, there dete-
ned him as prisoner, till he had made surrender to
him of the castell of W-ndesol, & further had deliue-
red

The citizens
of Poyke put
to their fine
for hang-
ter of the
Jewes.

Matt. West

The slaugh-
ter made of
the Jewes
at Lin.

The bishop
of Durham
re-
turned of his
charge.

red

red to him his sonnes, Henrie de Bussley, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he should keepe the peace against the king and all his subiects, untill the said prince should returne from the holie land. And so he was deliuered for that time, though shortly after, and whilst he remained at Poueder, there came to him Thibert de Longchampe the lord chancelloz brother, and William de Stuteuille, the which caused the said bishop to find sufficient suertie that he should not thence depart without the kings licence, or the lord chancelloz, so long as the king should be absent. Hereupon the bishop of Durham sent knowledge to the king how and in what sort he had bene handled by the chancelloz.

William de Giff.

The kings naue is set forth.

Daion. Sablins, or Sabuilles.

Polydor.

Sleiers of men.

Ballers.

Punishment for bloud-drawers.

Reminders.

Cheft and pickerie.

Wil. Paruus.

In the meane time the king was gone into Gascoigne, where he besieged a castell that belonged to one William de Giff, and took both the castell and the owner, whome he caused to be hanged for the spoiles and robberies which he had committed vpon pilgrims that passed by those parts toward Compostella, to visit the bodie of saint James. After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Anion, and there took order for the setting forth of his naue by sea, ouer which he appointed chiefe gouernours Gerard archbishop of Aux, Bernard bishop of Baieur, Robert de Sablins, Richard de Camuille, and William de Foz de Ulerun, commanding all those that should passe forth with his said naue, to be obedient vnto these persons as his deputies and lieutenants. Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to serue all those that should go by sea for the space of 60. daies.

The king also made the same time certeine ordinances to be obserued among the seafaring men which tended to this effect:

1 First, that if any man chanced to slea an other on the shipboard, he should be bound to the dead bodie and so throwne into the sea.

2 Secondlie, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quick together.

3 Thirdlie, if any man should be conuicted by lawfull witness, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw bloud of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand.

4 Fourthlie, if he gaue but a blowe with his fist without bloudshedding, he should be plunged thre severall times ouer head and eares in the water.

5 Fiftlie, if any man reuiled another, he should for euerie time so misusing himselfe, forfeit an ounce of siluer.

6 Sixtly, that if any man were taken with theft or pickerie, and thereof conuicted, he should haue his head polled, and hot pitch powred vpon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be knowne for a theefe, and at the next arriual of the ships to any land, be put forth of the companie to sake his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes.

These were the statutes which this famous prince did enact at the first for his naue, which stithens that time haue been verie much enlarged. About the same time John Bishop of Whiterne in Scotland, suffragane to the church of Yorke, ordained Geoffrey archbishop of Yorke, preest. At the same season also the election of the same Geoffrey was confirmed by pope Clement, who among other things that he wrote to the chapter of Yorke on his behalfe, in the end he addeth these words: We do therefore admonish you all, and by the apostolicall bulles command you, that you exhibit both reuerence and honour vnto him as vnto your prelat, that thereby you may appeare commendable both before God and man. Given at La-

teran in the nones of March and thirde yeare of our gouernment.

Whilst these things were in doing, there came into France legats from the said Clement, to moue the two kings to make all the speed possible towards their iourneie, because of the great danger wherein things stood in Palestyne, requiring present helpe. Hereupon king Richard (his men and prouision being ready) commanded that his ships should set forth, and to coast about by the streits of Giberaltre to come vnto Marseilles, where he appointed to meet them, and so with a chosen companie of men he also set forth thitherwards by land, and comming to Toloz, receiued the scrip and staffe as a pilgrime should, at the hands of the archbishop there.

After this, both the kings of England and France met at Wizeley in the octaues of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, and when they had remained there two daies they passed forth to the citie of Lion; where the two kings departed in sunder, and each one kept his iourneie, the one toward Cuenes, where his naue was appointed to come to him, and the other to Marseilles, there to meet with his fleet, according to his appointment. But the English ships being let and staied by the way by contrarie winds and rigorous tempests, which tossed them to and fro vpon the coasts of Spaine, could not come in any conuenient time vnto Marseilles, so that king Richard thinking long to tarrie for them, and perceiuing they could not keepe their appointed time, he hired ships from all places thereabouts, and embarking himselfe and his men in the same, vpon saint Laurence euen, sailed forth towards Sicille, where he was appointed to meet with king Philip.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourneie from Marseilles to Messina by sea, but sundrie times comming on land, hired horses, and rode forth alongst the coast, appointing with his ships and galleies where to meet him, and sometimes he rested certeine daies together in one place or other as at Portdelphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Ranulfe de Glanuille, the which taking vpon them to go before, with prosperous wind and weather in short space landed at Acon, which was then besieged, as you shall heare hereafter.

At Rome the king came not, but being within the streame of the riuer of Tiber, there came to him a cardinal named Otauianus, bishop of Hostia, to whom he spake manie reprochfull words of the couetousnesse vled in the court of Rome (a vice reputed the common nurse of all mischances, as one verie well noteth,

*Pbi auaritia est, habuit ferme omnia ilidem
Flagitia, impietas, periuia furta, rapina,
Fraudes atq; doli, insidiaq; pradiationes,
Iurgia et infandae cedes, &c.)*

Because they had receiued seauen hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Pauns, and 1500. marks for the confirming of the bishop of Elie the popes legat. And againe no small summe of monie they had receiued of the archbishop of Burdeaux, when vpon an accusation brought against him by the cleargie of his prouince he should haue bene depofed. In the meane time whilst king Richard thus passed forward towards Messina, the naue that was appointed to coast about Spaine and to meet him at Marseilles, was tossed (as before is said) with wind and tempests, and a part thereof, that is to wit, ten ships driuen here and there on the coasts of Spaine, of which number nine arriued at Lisbon and the tenth being a ship of London arriued at the citie of Sylua, which was then the uttermost citie of Spaine,

Polydor.
King Richard set forth on his iourneie.
Rog. Houed.

Anno Reg. 2.

The English fleet staied by contrarie winds.

Twentie galleies & twelue other vessels saith Houed.
Vpon the twentieth day of August saith Houeden.

Rog. Houed.

King Richard blameth the court of Rome for couetousnesse.

Spain, that was inhabited with christians.

The Saracens at that time made warres against the king of Portingale, so that the Portingales stood in need of aid, in so much that they of Spina did not onelie intreat the Englishmen to staie with them for a time, but also got grant of them to breake their ship, with the timber whereof they might the better fortifie their towne, promising that their king should recompense them with an other as good as theirs, and also further satisfie them for their seruice, during the time of their abode there in defense of that cite. Likewise of those that arrived at Lisbon there went to the number of five hundred unto saint Francis, where the king of Portingale then was, looking to be assaulted by his enemies: but by the counterfet death of the great K. of the Saracens named Bosac Almiraminoli (who feared these new succours, and doubted the sequels of his doings, to the end he might depart with honour, he fained himselfe dead) the king of Portingale was for that time peacefully deliuered out of danger.

Whereupon he returned to Lisbon, where he found three scope and three other ships of king Richards name there newlie arrived, ouer the which were chiefe captains Robert de Sabuville, and Richard de Camuille: which at their comming to land could not so gouerne their people, but that some naughtie felowes amongst them fell to breaking and robbing of orchards: some also entring into the cite, behaued themselves verie disorderlie. But yet by the comming of the king, their lewdnesse was staied, so that he seemed not to take reuenge of the pilgrims, but rather with courteous meanes to brydle their lawlesse attempts: whereunto the diligence of the English captains not a little preuailed for a while, but yet for all that could be done on both sides, within three daies after, a new tumult was raised betwixt the English pilgrims and the townesmen, and diuerse hurt and killed on either part.

Whereupon the king caused the gates of the cite to be shut, and all those that were come from the ships into the cite to eat and drinke (being in number about seauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to ward: and before they could be released, sir Robert Sabuville and sir Richard Camuille were glad to agree with the king, so as all former offenses being remitted, and things taken by either part restored, the Englishmen promised to obserue the peace against the king of Portingale and his people; and he likewise couenanted for him and his subjects, that they should keepe the peace against all pilgrims that went forth in this boiage, and vse them like his friends, and thus the quarrell ceased.

Some after, the English nauie departed from Lisbon, and came vnto the mouth of the riuer of Taie, betwene Caprico and Belem, where the same date on saint James eue the lord William de Forzoulerun arrived also with three and thirtie other ships, and so then they were in all about an hundred and six sailles verie well furnished and manned, and so from thence taking their course towards Garfcelles, finally they arrived there in the octaues of the assumption of our ladie; and staing there an eight daies (till they had repaired such things about their ships as were needfull) they set forward againe, and came to Messina in Sicilie in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse. On the sunday following also came the French king thither, hauing lost no small part of his nauie by tempests of weather.

King Richard as then remained at Saleru, and hearing that his nauie was gone towards Messina, he departed thence on the thirtieth day of September, and halied forth towards Messina, passing by Melphi and Cocenza, and so at length comming to

Farro de Messina, he passed the same, and on the 23. day of September arrived at Messina with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, to the wonder of the French king and others that beheld his great puissance and roiall behauiour: now at his comming. The same time he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their business: and immediatlie the French king took the sea, in purpose to haue passed forward on his iournie but by contrarie wind he was staied and kept backe within the hauen, whereupon both the kings determined to winter there, and in the meane time to prouide themselves of all things necessarie for their iournie, against the beginning of the next spring. On the 30 of September he receiued his sister the quene of Sicilie, the widowe of William late king of that Ile, whom he placed in a strong fortresse, which he took the same day, and left therein a conuenient garrison of men of armes and demilances for the safeguard of the place and of his said sister.

¶ But now for the better vnderstanding of the cause of such quarelling as fell out betwixt the Englishmen and the Sicilians, we shall vnderstand that a little before the arrivall of the kings of England and France in those parts, king William of Sicilie was departed this life, leauing no issue behind him. Whereupon the lords of the Ile elected one Tancred to their king, a bastard sonne of Roger sometime king of that land, and grandfather to this last deceased king William. This Tancred though he receiued king Richard verie courteously: yet he greatly trusted him not, because he demanded the dowrie of his sister quene Joane, wife to the late king William to be restored, whereas he had not readie monie to discharge it.

Furthermore to depart with the cite of Mount Achaire of saint Angelo, with all the countie therunto belonging, which was indeed assigned to him for his dowrie, he thought in no wise profitable: but king Richard did not onelie require that cite and countie with a chaire of gold, according to the custome of that kingdom in right of his sister, as due to him by way of his dowrie, but also he required to his owne vse a table of gold containing twelue foot in length, and one foot and an halfe in breadth, & two tressels of gold to beare by the same table, with 24. silver cups, and as manie dishes of silver, with a tent of silke of such largenesse that two hundred knights might sit at meat within it: also forty thousand measures of wheat, with as manie of barlie, and as manie of wine, beside one hundred armed gallies, with all furniture and vittels sufficient to serue the gallie-men in the same for the terme of two yeares. These things he demanded as due to him being heire to his father king Henrie, accordinglie as was deuised by king William in his last will and testament, which demands seemed intollerable to the said Tancred: so that if he could haue thifted the matter, he was loth to haue heard thereof.

Moreover, because pope Clement in right of the church pretended a title to the realme of Sicilie, now that king William was dead without heires, he doubted of some practise that might be made against him betwixt king Richard and the pope. Whereupon he thought to prouide against all attempts that might be made, fortifying his townes & castels with strong garrisons, and took counsell with the citizens of Messina, by what meanes he might best dispatch his countie of that present danger, and procure K. Richard to get him forward on his iournie.

Whilste these things were in hand, there was misfired to the English men occasion of displeasure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an armie is) certaine of the vnrulie souldiers within Messina bled them

The king of
Portingale.

Almiraminoli
king of the
Saracens.

Robert de
Sabuville,
Richard de
Camiulle.

A mutinie be-
tweene the En-
glishmen and
the townesmen
of Lisbon,
Englishmen
committed to
prison.

The English
ships meet
together.

They arrive
at Messina.

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themselves somewhat riotouslie, whereupon the citizens offended therewith, got them to armour, and chased all the souldiers out of the cite. King Richard who laie in campe without the walles nere to the cite, was so highlie displeased herewith, that he caused his men to arme themselves, and to prepare ladders and other necessarie things to assault the cite: but by the mediation of the French king & courteous excuse of king Tancred (allegging the fault to rest onlie in a sort of rude citizens, whom he promised to punish) the matter was taken by, and staid for a time, till at length it was perceived, that the Sicilians subtilie went about to sed king Richard with faire words, till he should be readie to set forwards on his iourne, and so should the matter passe without further punishment.

Richard
assaulteth and
entreateth the
cite by force.

Whereupon king Richard, not minding to be so mocked at their hands, approached one daie to the wals and gates with his armie in god arraie of battell to give the assault, which was done so earnestlie, and so well maintained, that finallie the cite was entered by force, and manie of the citizens slaine, but the slaughter had bene much greater, if king Richard had not commanded his men to spare the sword, moved with the lamentable noise of poore people crieng to him for mercie and grace. The Englishmen having got possession of the cite pight by the banners with the armes of the king of England round about the wals, wherewith the French king was sore displeased, and required that the same might be taken downe, and his set by: but the king of England would not so agree. Nevertheless to pacifie the French kings mood, he deliuered the cite of Messina into the custodie of the knights Templers and Hospitallers, till he might be satisfied of such things as he demanded of king Tancred.

The two
kings of En-
gland and
France re-
ceive a so-
lemne oth.

After this on the 8. daie of October, the two kings of England and France, before a great number of earles, barons, and others, both of the cleargie and temporallie, took their sollemne othes, that the one should defend the other, and also either others armie in this iourne, both comming and going, without fraud or deceit: and the like oth was received by the earles and barons on both parties. Then the two kings by aduise and consent of both their armies deuised these ordinances.

Ordinances
deuised.

1 That all pilgrims which chanced to die in this iourne might dispose at their pleasure all their armour, hories, and apparell, and halfe of those things which they had with them, so that they sent nothing home into their countries, and the other halfe should be at the discretion of Walter archbishop of Rouen, Spaner bishop of Langres, of the maister of the temple, and of the maister of the Hospitall, of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucie, of Diego de Harloun, of Robert Sabuill, Andzew de Chauernie, and of Gilbert Malcoille, which should implore the same towards the support of the wars in the holie land against the infidels as they thought most expedient.

Plaine forbad-
den.

2 That no man should plaie at anie game within the armie for monie, except knights and chapleins, the which should not lose in one daie and night above 20 shillings, they to forfeit an 100 shillings so oft as they lost above that summe: the persons ascertained to haue the same to be distributed as afore is said. The two kings might plaie, and command their seruants in their presence likewise to plaie, so that they exceeded not the summe of 20 shillings. And also the seruants of archbishops, bishops, earles and barons, by their maisters commandement might play, not exceeding that summe: but if anie seruants or mariners, or other of like degree, were found to play without licence, the seruants should be whiped na-

ked thre daies round about the campe, except they ransomed forth themselves, at the pleasure of the persons aboue named: and the mariners should be plunged ouer head and eares in the sea thre monings together, after the vse of seamen, except they redeemed that punishment, at the discretion likewise of the said persons: and those of other like meane degrees being neither knights nor chapleins should be punished as seruants.

3 That if anie pilgrime borrowed anie thing of an other whilst he was on his iourne, he should be bound to paie it: but if he borrowed it before his setting forth, he was not bound to answer it till his returne home.

Borrowing.

4 That if anie mariner or seruant, retained in wages with anie man in this iourne, departed from his master without licence, no other person might receive him, and if he did, he should be punished at the discretion of the forenamed persons.

Souldiers or
mariners de-
parting from
their masters.

5 That no vitteler or other should buy any bread to sell againe, nor any meale within the compasse of the campe, except the same were brought by a stranger, neither might they buy any paast or other thing to sell againe in the campe, or within a league of it.

Vittelers.

6 That if anie man bought coine therof to make bread, it was appointed how much he should gaine in one measure beside the bran.

7 That other occupiers, which used buying and selling of wares, should gaine one penie in 10 pence, neither should anie man refuse anie of the kings coine, except it were broken within the circle.

8 That no man should buy anie flesh to sell it againe, except a liuing beast, which he should kill with in the campe.

9 That no man should make bread to sell, but after the rate of penie loanes. Wherin the penie English was appointed to go for foure pence Antouine. All these ordinances with other were decreed and ordeined to be obserued and kept by the counsell, consent, and agreement of the kings of England, France, and Sicile.

But to returne now to the dissention betwixt the Englishmen and them of Messina: ye shall understand that the tumult being once ceassed, and diuers of the chiefe offenders in the late commotion put to death, king Tancred shortly after came thither, and sought to auoid all suspicion out of king Richards head, that he might conceiue of him for being in anie wise culpable in that which his subjects of Messina had attempted against him, and therefore hauing recovered monie of his friends, he restored vnto king Richard the dowrie of his sister quene Joane, and further offered vnto him to ioine in new alliance with him, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur duke of Britaine, the kings nephew, with a great summe of monie for his dowrie, if it so should please him.

Polydor.

King Richard accepted the offer, and so ioined in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicile, receiving of him twentie thousand ounces of gold for the same mariage to be had, and an honorable dowrie assigned forth of the lands that belonged to the said Arthur for the said ladie to enjoy during his life, in case she suruiued his husband. And if it so chanced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then should king Richard restore the same twentie thousand ounces of gold againe. But beside these twentie thousand ounces of gold thus given by king Tancred for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thousand ounces to king Richard for an acquittance and quite claime of all manner of duties, rights, and demands, which either he or his sister might pretend, either by reason of anie bequest, dowrie, or anie other manner of waie.

P. 1.

Here

There is to be noted, that before this coronation of
 prince was had, king Richard provided for his crown
 defence, in case that king A. second and his people
 would have attempted force against him, in such
 that he furnished certain places, and built a strong
 castle abut upon the top of an hill call'd by Spelina,
 which castle he call'd Spetragration. Also whereas the
 admiral of Sicile call'd Spargaret, and one Joy-
 dant del Pomer, men of great authority under king
 Canard, fled out of Spelina with all their families
 and riches, which they had either in gold or silver,
 king Richard seized upon their houses, their galleys,
 and possessions, so that he made himself as strong
 as he could, to resist all attempts that might be
 made against him by his enemies. But now to pro-
 ceed.

The variance being thus appeared between them,
 great debates came to arise between king Richard
 and king Philip, who was much offended with king
 Richard, for that he had thus used violence against
 them of Spelina, and compelled king Canard to
 agree with him for money, to the great offence and
 breach of the lances of Herberborough, with the Sicili-
 ans were liberal aid and furnished the chas-
 tles with munition and necessary provisions.
 The Frenchmen also had much cause to be
 angry, after upon a small occasion they picked a
 quarrel against the Englishmen, and from thence
 fell to strokes on both sides, so that there had been
 much hurt & slaughter committed, if the two kings
 had not done their best to appease the strife begun.

But this business though it was quiet as then
 taken up and slain, yet had it such influence be-
 cause the princes and their people, that it turned to
 the great hurt and hindrance of their good pro-
 ceedings in their whole enterprise, so that the occasion of
 a full and perfect treaty could slip out of their
 hands, as you shall hereafter see.

An other also of the special causes of grudge be-
 tween the two kings was, for that king Richard in
 favour of the countess of Flanders, that he
 had married the king of Flanders daughter, and
 claimed for her his sister Aude: which grieved king
 Philip not a little, though he understood the matter
 for a time, and rather alleged other causes of dis-
 pleasure, especially to accuse king Richard to the
 countess, as one that sought his own commodity in
 spoiling those whom he ought rather to have defend-
 ed. And to proceed.

Which the English and French armies thus in-
 structed all the winter there in Sicile, notwithstanding
 the troubles abroad, to the hindrance of
 king Richard's purposes, for the making of his pro-
 visions ready for his journey, he yet could not
 be drawn, his ships to be armed, rigged
 and repaired of such parts as they had received both
 in their long voyage which they had made, and also
 by certain breaches, the which during the time of
 their being there, had in many places grown
 and came upon through to the great danger of their
 life, and utter decay. Wherefore at the same time
 he purchased all vessels by sea through all his domi-
 nions, extracting for now all his right to the same, as
 they had for certain purpose making ready by sea,
 and commanding also to land, should have all his goods
 fire and clothe to himself. Furthermore he decreed,
 that if he should be perished in the ship, then his sons
 and daughters, with all his officers, that could power
 themselves to be men of arms to him, should have the
 same goods, but if he had neither son nor daughter,
 brother nor sister, then should the king have those
 goods by way of his prerogative.

This ordinance made by king Richard, was con-
 firmed by his charter given at Spelina on the 10th

month of October and second year of his reign. Also
 upon a good repentance for having so far please the
 merciful God to touch his heart, he called all those
 prelates together which were then with him at Spel-
 ina into the chapel of Margaret or Anne, & there
 in presence of them all falling down upon his knees
 he confessed the sin which he had in his own
 last before that time led, and humble request pe-
 nance intended him by the same bishops, and so be-
 came a new man, fearing God, and desirous to
 live after his fathers.

Furthermore hearing of the great loss of saint
 Joachim, he sent for him out into Calabria, who
 came to Spelina, and being asked sundry questions
 by king Richard, he made wonderful answer there-
 to: as in Howeden and other histories it may appear,
 which for brevity I pass over. About the same
 time he gave unto his nephew Aude, the count of
 the sister Aude, sometime bishop of Bayonne, the coun-
 tie of Perche. But although some were contented to
 receive him as their lord, and to do homage to him,
 yet other refused him, alleging that they would not
 renounce their fealties due to the king, till they
 might see him again, & talk with him face to face.
 Whereupon the king changing his purpose, gave
 unto the said Aude the countie of Poitou in stead of
 the said countie of Perche, as after shall appear.

The two kings of England and France held their
 Christmas this year at Spelina, and still the king
 of England took great libel in his brothering his
 traitors for the mourning brought in and other means
 of warre, so that it was thought he spent more in a
 month than some of his predecessors ever spent in a
 whole year. In the month of February he sent
 his galleys to Naples, there to receive his mother
 and his wife that should be, to wit the lady Beren-
 garia daughter to the king of Navarre, and Philip
 count of Flanders that came with them. But his
 mother queen Eleanor and the lady Berengaria
 went to Vienne in Dauphine, where they were hono-
 rably received of Spargaret king Canard's ad-
 miral. Whereafter the count of Flanders coming
 to Naples, and finding there the galleys of king Ri-
 chard burnt about the same, and so came to Spelina,
 at the first following the king of England in all
 things, till the French king having much threat-
 ened him, and then he being altogether on
 his knees. The last day of March the king of Eng-
 land departed from Spelina, to go to the care of Ca-
 lifornia, there to remain with king Canard, who
 came thither to meet him.

Here king Richard understood, that the French
 king had intended king A. second to let him the
 king of England and his army, so that they out of
 his realm: and for the more cause accomplishment
 thereof he had promised him his aid, wherefore he
 would give the advantage. King Canard's admiral
 also to king Richard his letters as the French king
 had written to him concerning this matter. Where-
 upon at his return to Spelina, king Richard there-
 fore his following countenance, that he was no
 thing pleased with the French king, but sought
 means to get him out of his company.

The French king perceiving it, required to know
 what the cause of this his sudden departure was:
 whereupon king Richard nothing fearing his question, de-
 clared the truth plainly: that there by the countie of
 the count of Flanders: and when the other heard the
 reason, he for good of the thing, spread from the
 same letters which king Canard had delivered unto
 him. The French king was not a little troubled
 hereat, and well not what to do, nor what to
 make, the matter was so plain. But yet at
 length he said: what more I perceive the king of
 England

The time
 of Richard
 was long.

Englishmen
 and French-
 men fought
 together in
 many the
 house of a
 little con-
 sideration.

It is known
 that king
 Canard.

The king
 of France.

The king
 of France
 and king
 Richard.

The king
 of France
 and king
 Richard.

The
 king
 of France
 and king
 Richard.

The king
 of France
 and king
 Richard.

The king
 of France
 and king
 Richard.

Math
 150. ft
 53. gr
 Rog. 1

England seeketh to haue some quarell whie he may refuse to marrie with my sister. For these are but forged matters, and no truth resteth in them.

When the king of England vnderstood this manner of answer, he replied in this wise; That as for the French kings sister, he might not marrie, for as much as he was able to produce good witnesse to proue that his father had lien with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priue proceeding and practise with Lancered, he needed no further testimonie than his owne hand and his seale, the partie himselfe being present who receiued them, the messenger also being not far off that carried them betwene both the parties.

When the French king was throughlie informed of the first point, through counsell of the earle of Flanders and others, he pacified himselfe, and was contented to release the king of England of his faith given by oth for the contract made with his sister Alice: in consideration of which releasement and deliverance, the king of England couenanted to giue yereleie to the French king two thousand marks of sterling coine for the terme of five yeares together: and at his returne home, it was agreed, that he should also deliuer vnto the French king his sister the said ladie Alice, with the towne of Gisors, and all other things which the French king had granted to him with his said sister. On the other part, the French king granted, that the dutchie of Britaine should appertene to the dominion of the dutchie of Poymandie, so as the duke of Britaine should be accompanied the liege man of the duke of Poymandie, and that the duke of Poymandie should answer the French king for both the dutchies, as well of Britaine as Poymandie. These agreements were ratified and confirmed with solemne oths receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and seales, vpon the 30. of March.

The French king setteth forth from Messina towards the holie land.

Queene Elianor returneth by Rome.

March. Paris. 1100 ships and 110000 men sailth by the Helles.

About this time the French king (now that the season of the yeare was come) set forthward toward the holie land, leaving king Richard behind him in Sicile: and the two and twentieth day after his setting forth from Messina, he arrived at the siege of Acres or Acon. The same day also that the French king departed from Messina, queene Elianor the mother of king Richard arrived there, bringing with hir the ladie Berengaria the daughter of Sanctus the king of Nauarre, and the fourth day after queene Elianor took leave of hir sonne king Richard, and departed homeward towards England, taking hir tourney by Rome about the businesse of Geoffrey the elect of Poike, as to intreat the pope that he would confirme and consecrate him archbishop, or to authorize some other to do it in his name. The ladie Berengaria remained behind with the kings sister Joane queene of Sicile.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the Wednesday in the passion weeke, king Richard (after he had finished and made an end of all conclusions with king Lancered) did also set forthward with his sister Joane, who toke with hir the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, affianced to him long before, as aboue is partly mentioned. His nauie consisted in thirtene mightie great ships, with triple sails, an hundred carlikes or rather hulkes, and fiftie gallies. He was no sooner abroad in the maine sea, but a great tempest arose, wherewith his whole nauie was fore tossed and turmoiled vp and downe the seas, and at length driuen on the coast of Cyprus, where seeking to take harbour, & to come on land, the Cypriots would not suffer him, but shewed countenance to driue him backe, and to resist his landing. Also wheras sir of his ships were so driuen by force of tempest from the residue, that they of

them perished, and they being cast vpon the shoare of Cyprus before the kings arrival there, the souldiers and other people in the same were compelled to come on land for sauing their liues, where otherwise they stood in danger of drowning, the people of the Ile assailing them in right cruell sort, slue diuerse, and toke the residue prisoners, and so detained them for a certeine season.

King Richard then vnderstanding this iniurie to him done by the Cypriots, & perceiuing they would resist his landing, prepared himselfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cyprus Isakius or Cursach (whome Houeden nameth emperor of Cyprus) had assembled the most part of all the power of men that he might make (though few of them were armed, or had any great skill in feats of warre) and caused them to set boards, logs of wood, benches, fornes, and great chests afore them, as a defense, and as it were in stead of a wall, that by succour thereof they might the better keepe off their enimie from landing.

But k. Richard so encouraged his men by his presence, & hartened them with such comfortable words as he uttered vnto them, that rowing to the shoare with their gallees and small botes, hauing the archers afore them, they easilie got to land, driue their enimies backe, and so farre pursued them (being but footmen, weatherbeaten, wearie, and weat) as conuenientlie they might, for the shortnes of time. King Richard hauing thus got fot on land, approached the towne of Limezun, which he with his souldiers entered, and finding it emptie of people (which were fled aboate) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as cozne, wine, oile, and flesh, he seized there vpon.

The same day also the kings sisters and the ladie Berengaria with the residue of the kings nauie entered the haven of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cyprus (hauing escaped from the battell) got together his men which were fled and dispersed sundrie waies, and incamped within six miles of king Richard, threatening that the next day he would encounter giue battell: which when king Richard vnderstood, he caused his people to be armed the next morning long before day, and so comming by guides vnto the place where the Cypriots with their king were lodged, suddenly they assailed them yer they had a nie warning of his marching towards them, by reason wherof they were slaine like beasts in great numbers. Howbeit, their king and a few other escaped and fled away naked, hauing no time to put on their apparell, his treasure, horse, armour and standard were taken, which standard king Richard strait waies determined to send vnto saint Edmunds spire, and so did.

Hauing thus vanquished his aduersaries, he came backe to Limezun: and the third day after, Cile king of Jerusalem and his brother Geoffrey de Lusignan with the prince of Antioch Raimond and his sonne named also Raimond earle of Tripoli, with other noble men, arrived at Limezun aforesaid, to visit king Richard, and to offer him their seruices, and so became his men, in swearing fealtie to him against all other persons whatsoeuer.

The same day the king of Cyprus perceiuing himselfe vnable to resist the great puissance of king Richards armie, sent ambassadours, and offered to king Richard the summe of twentie thousand marks of gold, in recompense of the monie which his men that were drowned had about them, and also to restore those to libertie which he had taken prisoners, and to make deliuerie to their hands of all their goods. Furthermore, he offered to go with him into the holie land personallie, and to serue him with an hundred

The Englishmen take land & chase their enimies.

King Richard with a camels-lado vanquisheth the Cypriots, & chaseth them out of their campe.

The k. of Jerusalem and other noble men doe fealtie vnto king Richard.

The offers of the king of Cyprus.

The king of
Cyprus sub-
mitted him-
self.

knights, 400 light horsemen, and 500 well armed footmen. & also to deliver to king Richard his daughter and here in hostage, and to acknowledge him his sovereign lord, by swearing to him fealty for his kingdom, as for that which he should confesse to hold of him.

King Richard accepted these offers, and so the king of Cyprus came in and swore fealty to king Richard, in presence of the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, and other barons, and promised upon his oath then received, not to depart till all things covenanted on his part were performed. Then king Richard assigned tents for him and his to lodge in, and appointed certaine knights and other men of warre to have the custodie of him. But the same day after dinner upon repentance of that which he had done, he decreed his keepers and scale away, sending knowledge backe to the king that he would not stand to the covenants, which were concluded upon betwixt them.

King Richard feared to like the matter well enough, and forthwith delivered a part of his armie unto the king of Jerusalem and to the prince of Antioch, appointing them to pursue the king of Cyprus by land, whilst he with one part of his galleys and Robert de Turnham with the other might search about the coast by sea, to prohibit his passage by water. In euery place where they came, such ships and galleys as they found they seized into their hands, and no resistance was made against them, by reason the people fled to the woods and mountains, leaving the cities, townes and castles void in all speeds, where the king or the said sir Robert de Turnham with their vessels began to appeere. When they had taken their pleasure thus alongst the coasts, they returned againe unto Limasun. The king of Jerusalem and the other that went forth by land, when they could not speed of their purpose, returned also, in which meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and submitting themselves to king Richard, were received as his subjects.

On the 12. daie of Maie, the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre was married according to a precontract unto king Richard at Limasun as before said in the Ile of Cyprus, one of the kings chaplains executing the order of the marriage. The same daie also she was crowned by the bishop of Cuneo, the archbishops of Apania and Atr, with the bishop of Baton ministering unto him. After the solemnitie of this marriage and coronation ended, king Richard set forward with his armie into the countrie of Cyprus, and first wan by surrender the citie of Nicosia, and after the strong castell of Cherrin, within the which was the daughter of the king of Cyprus, which ladie humbly yielded hir selfe unto Is. Richard, who counting it reproch to be criticame with such as submit themselves, and speciallie the female sex, according to the old saying,

Parere subest inuilibi sit in leoni

had pittie of hir case, and sent hir to his wife the next quene, willing that she might be honorable used. From thence passing forward, these castles were delivered into his hands, Basses and Buffent, Den, Amur, Candace, and afterwards all the other castles and cities, townes and places of strength within that Ile one after an other. Finallie, hearing that the king of Cyprus was inclosed in an abbey called Cap S. Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cyprus heard of his approach, he came forth and submitted himselfe wholly into his hands. The king first appointed him to the keeping of his chamberlaine Rafe Fitz Cestre, and after sent him unto the citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in close prison. Who when he heard he should be committed to

close prison, and remaine in fetters, said, that if he lay in irons, he should shortly end his life. Whereunto king Richard when he heard of it, answered: He saith well, and therefore because he is a noble man, and our mind is not to haue him dead, but onely to be kept safe from starting any more away, and doing new hurt, let him be chained in gins and fetters made of siluer, and so he was.

But to proceed. After the king had set the countrie of Cyprus in god state, he delivered the keeping thereof unto Richard de Cammille and Robert de Turnham. This done, upon the wednesday in the Whitsun weeke he toke the sea againe, and passed oner to the citie of Acres, which as then was besieged by the christian armie, as ye may read in the description of the holie land, onely giuing pon to understand, that such was the valiancie of king Richard shewed in manfull constringing of the citie, that his praise was greatly bzuted both amongst the Christians and also the Saracens.

Notobrit the secret enimitie betwixt him and the French king effones renewed, by occasion of such discord as chanced betwixt Guido king of Jerusalem, and Conrade the marques of Tirc, so that parties were taken, and whereas both the Pisans and Genoiois did offer their seruice unto king Richard, yet because the Genoiois were confederat with the French king, who toke part with the marques, he refused them, and receiued the Pisans, joining himselfe with king Guido to support him against his enemies.

Here is to be remembred, that before king Richard arrived at the siege, he encountered on the sea a mightie great ship called a Diamond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Salabine a prince of the Saracens had sent, to refresh them with vittels. This ship king Richard caused sercelie to be assailed with his galleys, and at length bologed hir with all the vittels and prouision within the same, as with fire, barrels of fire serpents, armour and weapons of sundrie sorts, besides all the martiners and men of warre, except such as were taken to merrie and saved aliuie, being about 200 in the whole, whereas there were aboard the same ship 500 men of warre, as some write, though other haue but 800.

But now to other accidents that chanced this yere. On Whitsunmer ere there was such an eclipse of the sunne, the more being the same time 27. daies old, that for the space of three houres, so long it lasted such darkness came ouer the face of the earth, that euen in the daie time (for this eclipse began about nine of the clocke in the morning) the stars appeared plainelie in the element.

In the same moneth of Iune, Richard de Cammille, whom the king had left as ye haue heard governing in Cyprus, chanced to fall sick, and coming without licence to the siege of Acres, there died. After whose death the Cypriots and those called Cristiones and Crimians reuolted from the English obedience, and chose to them a king, one that was a monke of the familie of Iacobus their former king: but Robert de Turnham, who after the decease of Richard Cammille remained sole gouernour of the Ile, gathered a power of men together, and giuing battell to the new king (whom Iobeden nameth Isos emperor) vanquished him with his complices, toke him prisoner, and hanged him on a paire of gallows. The same moneth also died Rafe Fitz Cestre, who had the other king Isac in custodie, and then king Richard delivered him to the knights of the hospitall, who sent him to the castell of Bargent, there safe to be kept as prisoner to the vse of the king of England.

Now will we retorne vnto the affaires of England

He arrived there on the saturday in whitsun week, being the saturday also next before the feast of S. Barnabas.

Pisens and Genoiois.

Mart Paris, Nic. Tranc. Saphaldine, the brother of Salabine.

Month Paris N. Tranc.

An eclipse of the sunne.

The senenth hour of the daie last March. Paris.

Richard de Cammille's death.

Robert de Turnham.

The king of England married the ladie Berengaria, she is crowned quene.

Castles delivered to the king of England.

The king of Cyprus again submitted himselfe to the king of England. Rafe Fitz Cestre.

Polydor.

The Lord
chancellor
called the
popes legat in
England.The Statellie
part of the
lord chancel-
lor.
Ran. Higd.A convocati-
on.
Monks of
Conventrie
displaced.
Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Parvus.
The occasion.
Ran. Higd.

Wil. Parvus.

Ran. Higd.
Polydor.The L. chan-
celors reason.The bishop of
Durham.
The bishop of
Winchester.The lord
chancellor
meant to
have earle
John lowe.

Polim. in cap.

land and make some mention of the doings there. We shall understand, that after king Richard was set forward on his journey, William Longchampe lord chancellor and bishop of Ely, appointed (as we have heard) governor of the realme, began to exercise his authoritie to the uttermost, taking upon him the state of a prince, rather than of a subiect. He had of late (as before we have heard) procured such favour at the hands of pope Clement, that he was instituted by him legat of the apostolicke see here in England, so that pretending a rule both over the clergie and temporallie, and by reason that he had both the authoritie of pope and king in his hands, he used the same to his most advantage, as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall, whereby he wrought manie oppressions both against them of the clergie and temporallie. He maintained such a power and countenance in his doings, that he would ride with a thousand hostes, by meanes whereof when he came to lie at abbeys and other places (bringing with him such a traine) he was verie burdalous unto them, specially when he laie at their houses any space of time.

This man called a convocation at Westmynster, wherein at the suit of Hugh Bonant bishop of Chester, it was decreed, that the monks of Conventrie should be displaced, and secular canons brought into that house to supplie their rooms. Which was done by the authoritie of the said lord chancellor, being bid by the foresaid bishop of Chester (as some writers have recorded) for displeasure which he bare to the monks, by reason of a fraine which they had made upon the said bishop in their church at Conventrie, and drawne blood of him before the altar there, as he alleged.

But some have written, that the bishop of Chester procured a licence of the pope, to alter the state of that church in fort above mentioned, which is most likelie, furnishing against the monks, that they were most manifest and stubborn disturbers of that peace and quietnes which ought to remaine amongst churchmen: and yet he himselfe solved the strife and dissention amongst them, and namelie betwene the prior and his convent. Moreover, the said lord chancellor deprived such rulers of their administrati-
ons and governments, as the king had appointed to beare any high authoritie within the realme, pretending not onlie the kings commandement, but also alleading a reason which moved him so to do, as thus, that he might thereby take awaye all occasions of grudges from the people, which otherwise might thinke, and would not sticke to saie, that they were oppressed by the rule of manie kings in stead of one king. He did also deprive Hugh the bishop of Durham of all his honour and dignitie, and put the bishop of Winchester to great trouble. Moreover, doubting least the Nobles of the realme would rise against him, and put him out of his place, he sought to keepe them lowe, and spoiled them of their monie and substance. Likewise pretending a colour of doubt, least earle John the kings brother should attempt any thing against his brother the king now in his absence, he sought also to keepe him under. To be briefe, he played in all points the right part of a tyrant, and shewed himselfe such a one in all respects as maintained his title,

*Non disceptando aut subtilibus argumentis
Pincere, sed ferro manu sua iura tueri,
Fonsifices nunc bella incitant, sunt cetera nuga,
Nec precepta patrum nec Christi dogmata curant,
Iactant se dominos rerum & sibi cuncta licere.*

At length the king received advertisement from his mother quene Elianor of his demeanour, and that there was great likelihood of some commotion to ensue, if speedie remedie were not in time provided.

Whereupon being then in Sicilie, he sent Walter the archbishop of Rouen into England with commission, to joine in administration of the kingdom with his chancellor the said bishop of Ely. But the archbishop coming into England was so slenderly entertained of the chancellor, and in effect so little regarded, that notwithstanding his commission and instructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beate any rule. But the chancellor detaining the same wholie in his hands, ordered all things at his pleasure, without making the archbishop, nor Rouen, or any other of counsell with him, except such as it pleased him to admit for the serving of his owne turne.

¶ He certeinly beleaved (as manie other did) that king Richard would never returne with life into England againe, which caused him to attempt so manie unlawfull enterprises, and therefore he got into his hands all the castles and fortresses belonging to the crowne, and furnished them with garrisons of souldiers, as he thought necessarie, depriving such captains of their rooms as he suspected not to favour his proceedings.

One Gerard de Camuille had bought of the king the keeping of the castle of Lincolne, unto whom also the shiriffewike of the shire was committed for a time, but the lord chancellor, perceiving that he bare more good will unto earle John the kings brother than to him (which John he most suspected) he took from him the shiriffewike, & demanded also to have the castle of Lincolne delivered into his hands, which Gerard refused to deliver, and perceiving that the chancellor would practise to have it by force, he fled unto earle John, requiring him of competent aid and succour.

The chancellor on the other part, perceiving what hatred diuerse of the Nobles bare him, thought good to provide for his owne libertie the best that he could, and therefore sent for a power of men from beyond the sea: but because he thought it too long to staie till they arrived, he came to Lincolne with such power as he could make, and besieged the castle. Earle John the kings brother advertised hereof, raised such numbers of men as he might make of his friends, servants and tenants, and with small ado won the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill within two daies space. This done, he sent to the lord chancellor, commanding him either to breake up his siege, or else to prepare for battell. The chancellor considering with himselfe that there was small trust to be put in deviance of those lords that were with him, bearing good will to earle John, and but hollow harts towards him, raised his siege and departed with dishonour.

Not long after, one of his houses was broken off by the death of pope Clement, whereby his power legantine ceased: wherewith being somewhat abashed, he came to a communication with earle John, and upon certein conditions made peace with him. Shortlie after the souldiers which he had sent for, arrived in England, and then he began to go from the agreement made with earle John, affirming that he would either drive the same earle out of England, or else should earle John do the like to him: for it was not of sufficient largenesse to hold them both. Holdbeit shortlie after, a peace was effones concluded betwixt them with condition, that if it chanced king Richard to depart this life before his returne into England, not leaving any issue of his bodie begotten, that then the chancellor renouncing the ordinance made by king Richard (who had instituted his nephew Arthur duke of Britaine to be his heire and successor) should consent to admit earle John for king of England, contrarie to the said ordinance.

But in the meane time it was agreed, that earle John

Walter the
archbishop of
Rouen sent
into England

He is little re-
garded of the
lord chancel-
lor.

The lord
chancellor
besieged the
castle of Lin-
colne.
Earle John
wineth the
castles of No-
tingham and
Tickhill.

The chan-
celor raiseth
his siege with
dishonour.
The lord
chancellor and
earle John are
agreed.

The chancel-
lor breaketh
the agreement.
The lord
chancellor and
earle John
make another
agreement.

Philip. John

John should deliver by the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, Nottingham to the hands of William Marshall, and Tickhill to the hands of William de Lendenall, they to keepe the same unto the use and behoofe of king Richard, that upon his returne he might doe with them as should please him: provided that if it so chanced, that he should die before he could returne from his boiage, or that the chancelour went from the agreement now taken, then immediatlie should the foresaid castles of Nottingham and Tickhill be restored unto earle John.

Moreover, the other castles of such honour as were assigned to earle John by the king his brother were committed unto the custodie of certeine persons of great trust and loialtie, as the castell of Wallingford to the archbishop of Rouen, the castell of Wythorn to the bishop of Lincoln, the castell of the Peake to the bishop of Couentrie, the castell of Wolesores unto Richard de Beake (or if he refused, then should the bishop of Couentrie have it in keeping the castell of Cic was committed to Walter Fitz Robert, the castell of Hereford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Beuell the castell of Excester and Lannston. These persons to whom these castles were thus committed to be kept, receiued also an oth, that they should faithfullie keepe them to the kings behoofe, and if he chanced to die, before he should returne, then the same should be deliuered unto earle Johns hands. Also there were these castles that pertained to the crowne, deliuered likewise in trust, as the castell of Wundor unto the earle of Arundell, the castell of Winchester unto Gilbert de Lacie, and the castell of Portsmouth unto Simon de Patershill.

Castles delivered in trust to the keeping of certeine persons.

It was also agreed, that bishops, abbats, earles, and barons, valuafores, and freeholders should not be distressed of their lands, goods or cattels, otherwise than by order of the iustices or officers of the king, so that they should be iudged in the kings courts according to the lawfull customes and ordinances of the realme: and likewise that earle John should cause the same orders to be obserued through all his lands. Provided that if any man attempted to do otherwise upon support or maintenance of earle John, he should stand to be reformed by the archbishop of Rouen if he chanced then to be in England, and by the kings iustices, and by those that had sworn to obserue this peace: and also earle John himselfe at their request should see such reformation to be had.

Moreover, it was agreed that all those castles that had bin built or begun to be builded since the kings passage ouer towards his iourne, should be razed, and new made or fortified till his returne, except in manors pertaining to the kings demaine, if need required, or by his speciall commandement, either by letters, or sufficient messengers. That the shiriffeslike of Lincolne, which the lord chancelour had assigned unto William de Stutenille should be restored to Gerard de Camulle, who had a daie appointed him to appeare in the kings court, to heare what might be laid against him: and if such matter could be proued, for the which he ought to lose the said shiriffeslike and the castell of Lincolne, then he should depart from them by the iudgement of the court, or else not. Neither should earle John mainteine him against the iudgement of that court, nor should receiue any outlawes, or such as were notoriouslie known for enemies to the king, and so named, nor should suffer them to be receiued within the precinct of his liberties.

To hold, mainteine and obserue this peace, the said earle and chancelour swore in the hand of the archbishop of Rouen with seven barons on either part. On the part of earle John these were the

names of them that receiued the oth: Stephen de Bell his chancelour, William de la Mare, Robert de la Mare, Philip de Excester, William de Bakenes, Gilbert de Lannston, William de Pontfacte. On the chancelours part, the earles of Arundell and Bakenes, earle Roger Bigot, and the earle of Clare, with William Fitz Robert, William de Beke and Roger Fitz Alan. These things were concluded in this sort, the authoritie and commandement of the king yet in all things said and reserved: but so, that if before his returne he should signifie his pleasure to the contrary of the conditions above mentioned, then should the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill be restored unto earle John, notwithstanding what sauer the king should command touching the same: Thus was the peace concluded between earle John and the chancelour.

In this meane while, Geoffrey the elect archbishop of Poike, after long suit and manie delays contriued, speciallie by the chancelour, obtained his pall, being consecrated by the archbishop of Eborac, by vertue of his bulls obtained from pope Celestine. The chancelour aduertised herof, and understanding that he meant to come hostile into England to be installed, was in a great chafe, because that during the time of the vacation, he had used the reuenues of that see at his pleasure, and therefore now to forgo them he was nothing contented. Whereupon he wrote his letters unto Matthew de Clere shiriffe of Kent in this forme.

Anno Reg. 1. Matth. West. Polydor. Geoffrey the archbishop of York. Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris.

The lord chancellours letters to the shiriffe of Kent.



Recipimus tibi quod si Eboracen. electum ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciatorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum nostrum inde receperis. Et similiter precipimus, quod omnes literas pape aut magni alicuius viri que illic venerint, facias retineri. The English wherof is thus.

We command you that if the elect of Yorke shall arrive at any port or haven within your bailiwick, or any messenger of his, that you cause them to be arrested and kept, till you haue commandement from vs therein. And we command you likewise, to stay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the pope, or any other great man.

Likewise, whereas Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, having taken his iourne into the holie land, and arriving there before the king, chanced to depart this life at Tyros, the last yere, upon the feast daie of S. Edmund, the chancelour found meanes to keepe that see also vacant, that he might receiue the profits thereof, during the vacation, and find meanes to be prepared to it in the end. But as touching the see of Poike, although he had (as before is said) made his hand of the reuenues belonging to the same from time to time at his pleasure, yet now after that he heard how Geoffrey had receiued the pall, he made haucke, waisting & spoiling all that would yield him any monie, without respect of right or wrong. Moreover, he caused the hauens to be watched, with commandement given to the townes on the sea coast, that they should not suffer the archbishop Geoffrey to take land. At length yet he arrived at Dover, where he was by the foresaid Matthew de Clere first staied, and after taken out of the abbete by the chancellours commandement, and committed to prison within the castell, where a Noble man that

Polydor. The death of the archbishop of Canturburie. Io. Textor.

The archbishop arrived and is committed to ward.

that had married the chancelloz's sister was capteine.

The newes of whose imprisonment was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherewith the Nobles fretted, and the commons cursed: finally all men detested such tyrannie in the chancelour. But namely the kings brother earle John stomed at the matter, and with all speed assembled an armie out of those places where he bare rule, increasing the number with a power of Welshmen. There came to him the bishop of Winchester, with manie earles and barons, also the bishop of Bath and Gleser, which latelie before had bene these fauourers of the chancelour in all his doings: but now that the world was changed, they shewed themselves the most earnest enemies he had, as well in words as dedes.

In an assemble of all the bishops of England, all those were excommunicate in solemne wise, with candles light, and other such ceremonies, which had either given commendement, or were present as partakers, to pull out of the church the archbishop of *Dozke*, or his people by violence, and had imprisoned them in maner (as before we haue heard:) but this was after the archbishop was set at libertie, as shuld appeare by Matthew Paris, for the chancelour repenting himselfe (though now too late) of his cruell dealing against the archbishop of *Dozke*, wherewith he had kindled such a brand against him, commanded the said archbishop (namelie at the instant sute of the bishop of London, or rather at the commendement of earle John, as Houeden saith) to be set at libertie. But the displeasure once kindled in the hearts of the Nobles, could not so easilie be quenched with his deliuerie, as it was speedilie set on fire by his imprisonment, so that they being now in armour, purposed to abate the pride of the chancelour, and to deliuer the common-wealth of such an vglie tyrant. And to begin, they summoned and assigned him a peremptorie day to appeare at Reading, to make answer vnto such injuries as he had done against the archbishop of *Dozke*, and the bishop of Durham, sithens the depature of his soueraigne lord the king.

At which day there came to Reading earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, with manie other bishops, earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to see if the chancelour would appeare or no; but he came not: whereupon they prepared to march forth towards London, and therewithall set forward in like maner. He on the other side being a man of a great courage, had gathered an armie of such strangers and other his friends as he could make, and therewith went forth, and encamped nere to *Wind-* so, there to abide his aduersaries, and to giue them battell, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approached, and he perceived also how diuerse of his friends shanke from him, and went to his enemies, he durst not attempt the hazard of a field, but fled backe to London, and there withdrew into the tower, with all his host, because he durst not commit himselfe to the doubtful fellowship of the citizens. Through his great pride and statelie port which he maintained, as partlie we haue heard, he had procured to himselfe no small hatred amongst all degrees of men, and namelie such as by the kings appointment ought to haue bene parteners with him in gouernment of the realme sore repined at his presumptuous proceedings, for that he disdaind (as it seemed) to vse their aduise, or to ioine them with him in the administration of things, so that now in time of his trouble he wist not in whome he might put his trust.

After he was thus retired into the tower of London, earle John the archbishop of Rouen, and the other bishops, earles, and barons associated together against him, followed him at the heeles, entered

the citie, and besieged the tower on each side. On the morrow after, being the fourth day after the octauies of saint Michael, they came together into Pauls churchyard, where they publickly declared the inuious wrongs done and practised by the chancelour; namelie against the archbishop of *Dozke*, and the bishop of Durham. Those also that had bene appointed as associats with him, accused him, in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne will, not boushaling to haue their aduise or counsell in such sort as had bene conuenient.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall earle of Pembroke shewed there before all the people the kings letter which he had sent from Messina, appointing that they shoulde be associats with him in gouernment of the kingdome; and that without the counsell and aduise of them and others assigned thereto, he shoulde not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if he shoulde do any thing to the hinderance of the common-wealth, or seeke to meddle with the affaires of the realme, without their good aduise, that then he shoulde be deposed. Whereupon it seemed good to earle John, and to all the bishops, earles and barons of the realme, and to the citizens of London there assembled, that the said chancelour shoulde be deposed, and so they proceeded, and deposed him in deed, appointing the archbishop of Rouen in his place, who would not take vpon him to do any thing touching the rule of the land, without consent of his associats assigned to him, and the barons of the checker.

The same day, earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, and other of the kings iustices, granted to the citizens of London the priuilege of their communalitie; and the said earle and archbishop, and in maner all the bishops, earles and barons of the realme sware to mainteine the said priuilege firme and stable, so long as shoulde please their soueraigne lord. And the citizens of London sware to be true, and to do their faithfull seruice vnto king Richard and his heires, and if he chanced to die without issue, then to receiue earle John the brother of king Richard for their king and soueraigne lord, and thereupon sware fealtie to him against all men, sauing that which they owed vnto his brother king Richard.

The chancelour perceiuing the multitude to be such which he had with him in the tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long time, after he had remained within it one night, he came forth vnto earle John, and to the other that were thus entered the citie, and now readie to besiege him, of whome he got licence for them that were inclosed within the tower, to depart without damage, and therewith deliuered by the tower vnto the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, with the castell of *Wind-* so, and certeine other castels, which he held within the realme, but not all: notwithstanding he couenanted to make deliuerie of the residue, which yet remained in the hands of them whome he had appointed to the keeping of the same. And for assurance of that couenant to be performed before he departed the realme, he deliuered his brethren, and one that was his chamberleine, to remaine with the lords as hostages.

This done, he hasted to Canturbrie, where he promised to receiue the crose of a pilgrime to go into the holie land, and to render up the crose of his legathie, which he had vsurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of pope Clement, to the prebiter of the church of Rome, and to the detriment and great hinderance of the English church, for there was not any church within the realme, which had not bene put to fine and ransom by that crose, nor any ecclesiasticall person went free, but the print of the crose appeared in him and his purse. From Canturbrie he

A declaration made against the lord chancelour.

The tenor of this letter shall hereafter appeare.

The citizens of London.

The chancelour returned by the tower.

The print of the legats crose.

The bishop of
Elie late lord
chancellor
disguiseth
himselfe in
women's
apparell.

He is be-
trayed.

Carle John
not þ bishops
friend.

Quid lib. 1. de
rem. an.

Matth. Paris.

got him to Douer to his brother in law, and finally seeking means to passe ouer into France, and doubting to be discouered, he apparelled himselfe in women's raiment, & got a web of cloth on his arme, as though he had bene some housewifely woman of the countre: but by the vntowardly folding and vncunning handling of his cloth (or rather by a lewd fisherman that took him for an harlot) he was suspected and searched so narrowly, that by his pyrric incumbers he was proued to be a man, and at length knowne, attached, and committed to prison, after he had bene reprochfullie handled by them that found him, and by the wiles of the towne, in such vnseemly apparell.

Carle John would haue had him punished, and put to some open reproche for his passed tyrannicall doings; but the bishops, and other of the barons, for reuerence of his order, procured his deliuerance, with licence to passe ouer into Normandie where he was borne. Thus was the bishop of Elie a man full of pride and couctousnesse ouertholone with shame, and receiued for his declining a reprochfull dolourfall: for none are more subiect to ruine and rebuke, than such as be aloft and supereminent ouer others, as the poet noteth well, saying:

*Summa petit luor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iouis.*

In time he was deposed from his office of being chancellor, and not without warrant, for in vertie deed, king Richard hauing receiued aduertisements from the lords and peeres of the realme, of the chancellor's presumptuous and haucie demeanour, with wrongs offered to diuerse persons, wrote to them againe as followeth.

A letter of king Richard directed to
the States of the land for the deposing of
the bishop of Elie from his office
of lord chancellor.

Richard king of England sendeth greeting to William Marshall, to Gilbert Fitz Peter, and Henrie Berdulse, and to William Brewer, peeres. If it so chance that our chancellor hath not faithfullie handled the affaires and businesse of our realme (committed vnto him) by the aduise and counsell of you, and others to whom we haue also assigned the charge of gouernement of the same realme: we command you, that according to your disposition in all things to be doone concerning the gouernement thereof, you order and dispose as well for eschetes, as all other things, &c.

By force of this commission, the lords were the bolder to proceed against him as ye haue heard. Now after his comming into the parties beyond the seas, he ceased not with letters and messengers to present his complaint to the pope of Rome, and to king Richard of the iniuries receiued at the hands of earle John and his complices. Hereupon pope Celestine wrote in deed to all the archbishops and bishops that were within the realme of England, in behalfe of the said bishop of Elie, declaring, that for so much as the king of England was gone into the holie land to warre against the enemies of our faith, leauing his kingdome vnder the protection of the apostolike see, he could not but haue speciall regard to see that the state, rights and honour thereof were preserved from all danger of decaye.

Wherefore, vnderstanding that there had bene certaine attempts made by John erle of Mortaigne and others, both against the king and the bishop of

Elie, that was not onelie legat of the apostolike see, but also gouernour of the land appointed by the king, which attempt sounded greatlie to the reproch of the church of Rome, and danger of damage to infuse to king Richard, if remedie were not the soner found: therefore he commanded them by the vertue of their obedience, to excommunicat the earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowne to haue laid any violent hands vpon the said bishop of Elie, or deteined him as captiue, or enforced him to any oth, or else had changed the state of rule in the kingdome of England to other forme, than king Richard had ordeined at his setting forward towards the holie land: and that not onelie all the counsellours, authors, aiders and complices of those that had committed such outrage, but also their lands should stand interdicted, so that no diuine service should be vsed within the precinct of the same, except penance and chistening of infants. This to remaine till the said bishop & kingdome were restored into the former estate: and that the parties excommunicated should present themselves with letters from the bishops vnto the apostolike see to be absolved, &c.

Hereupon also the bishop of Elie himselfe wrote vnto the bishop of Lincolne and other, touching this matter: but the bishops did neither any thing in accomplishment of the effect of the popes letters, nor at his owne supplication. And therefore perceiuing small helpe to come that waie, he sought to obtaine the fauour and friendship of earle John, and of his mother queene Elianor. In the meane time, the lords, barons and prelates of the realme, after they had depeiued him of all authoritie, and banished him out of the land, ordeined the archbishop of Rouen in fauour of the kings commission, to haue the cheefe rule and administration of things touching all the affaires of the common-wealth; but yet so as earle John had the doings in manie points, so that he might seeme in manner an associat with him, whereof sprang much inconuenience. For this John being a man (as he is noted by some writers) of an ambitious nature, was suspected to aspire vnto the kingdome: in somuch that he had ioined with the French king, after the same king was returned forth of the holie land, against his brother king Richard, if his mother queene Elianor had not persuaded him to the contrarie.

Whilste these things were a doing, on the twelfth daie of Iulie, the citie of Acres was surrendered into the christian mens hands, for the Soldan Saladine (being approached nere to the siege of the christians with a puissant armie, in hope to haue raised their siege) when he perceiued it laie not in his power to worke any feat to the succour of his people within the citie, and that they were so constrained that they must needs yeld, he holpe to make their composition, and promised to performe certeine couenants on their behalfe. Hereupon, the Saracens within Acres couenanted not onlie to deliuer the citie vnto the christians with five hundred prisoners of christians which they had within the same, but also to procure that the holie crosse should be to them deliuered, with a thousand other christian prisoners, such as the christian princes should appoint out of those numbers which Saladine had in his custodie, and further, to giue them two hundred thousand Besans. And till these couenants were performed, it was agreed, that the Saracens, which were at that present left within the citie, should remaine as pledges, vnder condition, that if the same couenants were not performed within fortie daies, then should they stand at the mercie of the christian princes as touching life and lim.

These things thus concluded, and the citie yelded vnto the christian mens hands, the French king

The arch-
shop of Rouen
cheefe gou-
ernor of Eng-
land.

R. Houed.
Wil. Parus.
Filius fath
Fandus, but
others agree
with Houed.
as Gerardus
Mercator, ap-
ping Alber-
cus a monast.

The citie of
Acres.
vpon

The bishop of
Elie complai-
neth of his
wronges re-
ceiued.

The popes
letters vnto
the archbi-
shop and bi-
shops of
England.

Not how the
pope declin-
eth his
chaplins.

The French
is returned
home.

upon envie and malice conceived against king Richard (although he pretended sicknesse for excuse) departed homewards, setting from Acres the last day of Julie. Now then, after the departure of king Philip, when the day approached, in the which the Saracens should performe the covenants; or else stand to the judgement of life and death at the pleasure of the christian princes: it was perceived that the covenants would not be fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladine, as it well appeared, meant not to performe that which for the safeguard of his men he had undertaken, and did but dally with the christians to prolong the time: whereupon sentence was given forth, that for default in such behalfe, the Saracens remaining as pledges should lose their heads.

Saladine
causeth the
christian pri-
soners to be
beheaded.

Saladine having knowledge thereof, sent word to king Richard and to the whole christian armie, that if his people that were in the christian mens hands lost their heads, he would not faine but cause the heads of all those christians which he had in captivittie to be cut off also. Notwithstanding which answer, on the fourteenth day of August king Richard issued forth of the citie, passing the bittermost ditches, and incamped himselfe nere the armie of Saladine, who the same daie sent rich presents unto king Richard, requiring of him a longer day for performance of the covenants, but that would not be granted. Wherefore upon the said deniall, Saladine caused all those christian prisoners which he had in his hands to be beheaded on the eighteenth day of August, on which day king Richard advanced forth towards the lodgings of the Saracens, and skirmished with them verie hotlie, so that manie were wounded and slaine on both parts: and amongst other one of king Richards companions at all exercises named Peter Signot lost his life there. Furthermore, although king Richard knew that Saladine had put the christian prisoners to death in such wise as you have heard, yet would not he prevent his terme appointed for the execution of the Saracens that were in his custodie, but abiding unto the twentieth day of August, he then caused those Saracens which fell to his lot, at the time of the surrender of Acres, being in number about 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and nere to the walles in the sight of Saladine and all his host they had their heads chopped off. The duke of Burgoigne caused execution to be done within the citie upon those which fell to the French kings share, the number of the which rose to two thousand and foure hundred, or thereabouts: for the whole number was reckoned to be about five thousand that thus lost their lives through the inconstancie of their prince: yet diverse of the principall had their lives saved. The Saracens themselves also spake much euill of Saladine for this matter, because that refusing to performe the articles of covenants, he had occasioned the enimie to slea those that had so valiantlie served in defense of the citie, to the bittermost icopardie of their lives. And here is verified that kinowme verse,

Quicquid delinquit reges plebsquitur Abini.

R. Houed.

Ger. Dor.

Strive be-
tweene arch-
bishop of York
and the bishop
of Durham.

But now to leaue sojren matters, and to returne home into England: we find, that on the second of December, the monks of Canturburie chose to their archbishop Beignold bishop of Bath, who within fiftene daies after his election, departed this life, and lieth buried at Bath. Also this yeare, or (as Ger. Dor. saith) in the yeare following, the bishop of Durham sought meanes to withdraue his subiection from the archbishop of Yorke, for which attempt the archbishop of Yorke, upon trust of the popes grant, did not excommunicate the said bishop, notwithstanding that he appealed to the popes consistorie three seuer-

all times, putting his owne matter and his churches to be examined and tried by the pope, whereupon he obied not the excommunication: and signifying the cause unto Rome, obtained such fauour, that the pope and his cardinals reuerled the sentence, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the archbishop of Yorke had broken the altars and chalices, as information was given, in which the bishop of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the court of Rome, that then should the said bishop of Durham be acquitted from owing any subiection to the said archbishop so long as they two should liue together.

True it is, that the archbishop had not onelie broken the altars and chalices which the bishop had used in deed for the celebration of masse, but also held his owne brother John earle of Mortaigne for excommunicate, because he had eat and dronke in companie of the said bishop, and would not communicate with him, till he came to receiue absolution, and to make satisfaction for his fault. In the end the bishops of Lincolne and Rochester, with the abbat of Peterburroin, were appointed by the pope to haue the hearing of this matter, as iudges authorized by his buls, who sat thereupon at Rosythampton, upon S. Calist his day, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in either of their cases, they gaue a longer day, to wit, untill the feast of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist next after, to see if by arie good meane there might some agreement haue bene had betwixt them, or (if that could not be) that then the popes leters should stand in force as before, & the helpees of either part saued, as though no delat had bene used. And to this, both parties were agreeable, speciallie at the motion of the bishop of Lincolne.

This yeare also, Roger de Lacie constable of Chester toke Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencourt, and upon despite hanged them, for that being put in trust amongst other with the keeping of the castels of Spotingham and Tichhill, which he had receiued into his custodie of the bishop of Elie quondam lord chancellor, they had consented to the treason of Robert de Crokeston, & Eudo de Dunstie, which delincred the same castels unto John earle of Mortaigne. The same earle of Mortaigne was highlie offended for the death of those two persons, and therefore waisted the lands of the said Roger which lay within the compasse of his iurisdiction.

But now touching the departure of the French king from Acres, diuerse occasions are remembred by writers of the emulation and secret spite which he should beare towards king Richard, and besides other already touched, one was for entreteining and relieving the earle of Champagne in such honourfull wise in his necessitie, that he was readie to forsake the French kings service, and cleaue to king Richard. But howsoeuer it came to passe, partlie through envie (as hath bene thought) conceived at the great deeds of king Richard, whose mightie power and valiantnesse he could not well abide, and partlie for other respects him mouing, he toke the sea with three gallees of the Genouois, and returned into Italie, and so home into France, hailling promised first unto king Richard at his departure out of the holie land, and after to pope Celestine at Rome, that he would not attempt any hurtfull enterpryse against the English dominions, till king Richard should be returned forth of the holie land. But this promise was not kept, for after that he was returned into France, he first sought to procure the foresaid erle John, king Richards brother, to rebell against him, promising him not onelie aid to reduce all his brothers dominions

Roger Lacie
constable
of Chester.

The euill dra-
wing a breach
of promise of
the French
king.

ens into his hands, but also to glue his sister Adela in marriage, whom king Richard upon suspicion of unchaste living, had forsaken, as before ye have heard. But when earle John was dissuaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwise as it is said he would willingly have received) king Philip still retained a malicious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of old displeasures, would haue attempted the warre against the subjects of king Richard, if his lords would haue joined with him: but they considering what slander would rebound hereby both to him and them for the iniurie done to the christian common-welth, in making warre against him that was occupied in defense of the faith against the common enemies of christendome, would not give their consent thereto, and so the matter rested, till king Richard was taken prisoner in Almaine, and then what followed, it shall after appeare.

Will. Paruus.
Enuious discord among
the christians.

In the meane while, the christian armie atchiued some worthe enterprizes in the holie land, though not manie, by reason of such enuious discord as reigned amongst the chiefe gouernours. It chanced yet on the eue of the Natistie of our ladie next after the departure of king Philip, as king Richard marched forth towards Iaph ancientlie called Joppa, that the Soldan Saladine taking aduantage of the place, did set vpon the rereward of the christians: but his Saracens (after they had fought right fiercely from none till sunne setting) were so beaten backe at length, and repelled with such losse and disadvantage, that in 40. yeares before they had not sustained at one time greater damage. Amongst other of the christians slaine at that encounter, was one James Dauenes, a man of high prowesse and valiance.

R. Richard
discomfited
the Saracens
nere to Port
Iaph.

Rog. Houed.

Poisoner, king Richard won diuerse towncs and castles out of the enemies hands, as Ascalon, Darus, and diuerse other, and some he fortified, as Ascalon aforesaid, and Port Iaph, otherwise called Joppa. There were sundrie encounters also betwixt the Saracens and christians, wherein king Richard and his people bare themselves so manfully, that the victorie for the most part continually rested on their side. At one time also, hearing of a great conuoy of vitells, munitions, and other things which came from Babylon towards Jerusalem to furnish Saladine and his armie (which conueis they call carauannes) king Richard with a competent power of men met them on the waie, and distressed those that were attendant vpon the safeguard of that carriage, being in number about two thousand horsemen, besides a great multitude of footmen, and therewith toke the carriages with foure thousand and six hundred camels and dromedaries, besides an innumerable sort of mules, asses, and other beasts of burthen.

1192

The names
of such noble
men as were
famous for
their valiant
doings in
this booke.

¶ But to speake of all the worthe exploits atchiued by king Richard and his valiant capteins there in the holie land against the infidels, it would require a long treatise, and therefore here we passe them ouer. This is to be noted, that amongst other of whom we find honorable mention made by writers for their high valiance shewed in those exploits, these are named as chiefe, Robert earle of Leicester, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, with the earles of S. Paule and Weur, beside diuerse other, as Hugh de Gournay, William de Bozrez, Malceline de Ferrers, Roger de Tonie, James de Auences, the bishop of Beauuois, William de Barres, William de Garland, Diego de Perlo, Robert de Sealle, Henrie Fitz Nicholas, Robert de Beowbury, Kase de S. Marie, Arnold de Bois, Henrie de Mailoc, William & Saule de Bznil, Andreu de Chanignie, Henrie de Graie, Peter de Patellis, Stephan de Turnham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbald de Mount Cha-

blon, Spaner de Lisse, Richard de Diques and Theodorike Philip, Ferrike de Vienne, Gilbert Palemaine, Alexander d'Artie, Stephan de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Clauuille, Ratmond Fitz Prince, Bartholomeu de Spozimer, Gerard Furniuall, Kase de Palleon, Roger de Saie, William de Poole, Hugh de Beuill, Henrie Leutich (if ye will) Leutonicus the kings standardbearer, with diuerse others, as well Englishmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poitouins, Antouines, Britans, Gascoignes, as other nations, of whome partlie mention is already made before in this booke, and partlie for breuenesse diuerse are omitted.

De Pule
de Strago

But now to returne, sure it is, that king Richard meant to haue recovered the citie of Jerusalem, and all the holie land out of the Saracens hands, by the assistance of almighty God: if the doubt which he had of his brother the earle of Hereford pradi- ses, & the French kings doings, which were brought to him with a greuous report, had not reuoked him home. For diuerse messengers were sent daillie into the holie land, to aduertise him of such dangers as were like to insue, if by his speedie returne the same were not prevented. And first after Easter, there came to him the prior of Hereford with letters from the bishop of Cle, containing a soe information against his brother earle John, for hauing expelled those whom he had appointed rulers ouer the realme of England, and altered the state of things there contrary to the ordinances by him deuised afore his setting forward vpon his iournie (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Gal. Vind

Upon receipt of which letters, he meant immediately at the first to haue returned, and to haue left behind him a conuenient power of men, to wit, three hundred knights or men of armes, and two thousand chosen footmen, to abide vpon the defense of the holie land, with other christians at his costs and charges. But yet at length he was persuaded to tarry, specially till things were set in some better state, which then were out of order by the death of the marques of Montferrato, lord of Tire, whom two traitorous Saracens of the kind which they name Assassini had murdered. After whose death Henrie earle of Champagne nephew to king Richard married his wife, and was made king of Jerusalem, Guido resigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompense king Richard gaue the Ile of Cyprus: although some write, that the knights Templers had bought it of him before. Thus king Richard remaining still in the holie land, shortly after Whitson-tide, there came an other messenger to him, one John de Alanon a cleerke, bringing twoorde newes out of England than the prior of Hereford had brought before, which in effect contained, that his brother earle John was allied as a confederat with the French king, and meant through his setting on, to seize into his possession the whole realme of England, notwithstanding the persuation of his mother queene Eleanor, and other his friends to the contrary.

The marques
of Montfer-
rato married
by the King
of France.

Earle John
purposed to
seize vpon
the kingdom
in his brother
thiers abscin-

Herevpon king Richard was fullie persuaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certaine persons, and namelie of one William de Poitiers, a chapleine of his, he effrones altered his purpose, and so remained there, till at length through enuie and malice still increasing amongst the christians, he perceived how no good purpose could go forward, since that which seemed good to some, was disliked of other; and speciallie our writers put great blame in the French men, who either vpon disdain or other displeasure would not be persuaded to follow their aduise, which were knowone best to understand the state of things in those parties. And herevpon, when the armie was aduanced to Betenoble,

William de
Poitiers
Richard's
chaplain.

a place not past foure leagues distant from Jerusalem, because their mind might not be fulfilled for the besieging of Jerusalem, which they had intended to take in hand; whereas the residue would rather that they should haue gone to besiege Babylon in Aegypt, and that upon sundrie great respects the Frenchmen raised their field, and returned againe to Acres in great despite, putting the rest of the armie also (so much as in them laie) in danger of vtter ruine and distresse.

Aano Reg. 4.

Then king Richard and the other christian captiues perceiuing how the matter inclined, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good successe, followed them. So that after they were thus returned to Acres, king Richard still doubting least his long absence from home might put him in danger of more losse here, than he saw hope of present gaine to be had there, in such diuersitie of humours and priuie malice which reigned among them, he determined fullie to depart homewards, with no lesse purpose to returne thither againe after he had settled things at home in such sure stay as was expedient for the seruice of his owne estate and quietnesse of his people. Hereupon being readie to enter into his ships at Acres [or as some haue, being on his iourne homewards in Cypres] he was aduertised that the Soldane Saladine had taken the towne of Japh, slaine a great number of the christians within it, and besieged the residue within the castell, the which constrained through feare had compounded to yeeld, if within thre daies there came no succour.

Wil. Paruus.

King Richard being hereof aduertised, and turning greif into valiancie, with all speed sailed backe vnto Japh, and landing there with his people, caused his enemies to forsake the towne: but anon assembling themselves againe together, they turned once more to besiege it, whereupon he issued forth into the fields, and fought with them sundrie daies together, till finally they were content to forsake their enterprise, and to depart thence for a together. In these conflicts the valiant courage of king Richard, and the worthie manhood of his souldiers right well appeared: for he brought not with him at that time vnto Japh about 80 men of armes, and foure hundred other souldiers with crossebowes, and yet with that small handfull of men, and some aid of them that he found there in the castell, he did not onely bid battell to the enemies, which were numbred to 60 thousand, but also put them to the worke, and caused them to flee backe, to their great shame and confusion.

R. Richard
rescueth Host
Japh.Rad. Niger.
March. Paris.

Thus Japh being deliuered out of the enemies hands, king Richard fell sicke at a castell called Cephas, and so remained there certaine daies, till he had recovered his health. In which meane time the Soldane Saladine seeming to lament his ease, sent vnto him certaine of his counsellors to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderstood that king Richard ment thence to returne into his countrie, and that after his departure out of the east parts, he could with small aid recover all that the christians yet held within the holie land, he would neuertheless in respect of king Richards high prowes, and noble valiancie, grant a peace for a certaine time, so that not onely Acalon, but also all other such townes and places as the christians had fortified: y^e w^hiche since the conquest of Acres should be rased, as touching their walles, bulwarks, gates, and other fortifications.

Cephas.
R. Richard
fell sicke.

King Richard (though he perceived that this offer of peace tended vnto this point chafelle, that Saladine would thereby aduulitate what soeuer the christian armie had done in the holie land since his & the French kings arrivall, so that by the said peace he should gaine more than by the edge of his sword) did

somewhat staie at this offer and demand, as a thing greatlie dishonourable to the christians, to lose by treatie of peace so much; rather more than they got by force of warres (a more token of faint and feeble courage) yet considering that in such necessitie both of his departure from thence, and also of lacke of other succors to resist the puissance of the enemies, after his comming awaie, he iudged it best to take the offer at the enemies hands in auoiding of some greater euill. Whereupon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for thre yeares, thre moneths, thre weeks, thre daies, and thre houres, to begin at Easter next ensuing. And among other articles, it was covenanted, that the christians should haue free passage to come and go vnto the citie of Jerusalem, to visit the holie sepulchre there, which was granted; so that amongst a great number of christians that presentlie vpon this conclusion went thither, Hubert bishop of Salisburie was one, who had continued about the king during the time of all his iourne till this time.

10

20

King Richard hauing thus concluded with Saladine, toke the sea, and comming againe into Cypres, sent his wife queene Berengaria with his sister Joane (late queene of Sicile) into England by the long seas, but he himselfe not minding to lie long on the seas, determined to take his course into Grecia, and so by land to passe homewards with all speed possible. Howbeit yet he could attaine his purpose, his chance was to be diuenc by tempest into the coast of Atria, not farre from Aquilia, where he stood in some doubt of his life. For if he had bene knowne and taken, they would surely haue killed him, because of the slander that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the marquisse of Montferrato, who indeed was slaine by two of the Assassini in the citie of Tyrus, whilste king Richard was in the holie land (as before y^e haue heard.)

A peace concluded betwixt the Christians & Saracens.

Hubert bishop of Salisburie.

R. Richard
taketh his
iourne homewards.R. Richard
slandered for
the death of
the marquisse of
Montferrato.

40

He therefore hauing here made shipwacke, and doubting to fall into the hands of any person in those parts that bare good will vnto the marquisse (against whom he had indeed shewed himselfe not frendlie in a quarrell betwixt the said marquisse and Guido the king of Jerusalem) made the best shift he could to get away, yet knowledge being had of him, and serch made after him by one Heinarde of Cozejein, he lost eight of his seruants, and so came to a towne within the bishoprike of Saltzburge called Frisake, where he was entones in danger to haue bene taken againe by one Frederike de saint Home, who notwithstanding toke six of his men, but yet he himselfe with thre other of his companie made shift to get away. Finally comming to Vienna in Austria, and there causing his seruants to prouide meat for him, more sumptuous and fine than was thought requisite for so meane a person as he counterfeited then to beare out in countenance, it was freightwaits suspected that he was some other maner of man than he pretended, and in fine, those that marked more diligently the maner of him, perceived what he was, and gaue knowledge to the duke of Austria named Leopold, being then in the citie of Vienna, what they had seene. His page that had the Dutch long, going about the towne to change gold, and buy vittells, bewaied him, hauing by chance the kings gloues vnder his girdle: whereupon comming to be examined for feare of tortures confessed the truth.

60

The duke freightwaits caused the house where he was lodged, to be set about with armed men, and sent other into the house to apprehend him. He being warie that he was defered, got him to his weapon: but they aduising him to be contented, and alledging the dukes commandement, he boldly answered, that sith he must be taken, he being a king, would peld him.

W. Paruus.
Eric of Gozeje
Saltzburge.R. Richard
commeth to
Vienna.

Polydor.

Ra. Niger.

R. Richard
submittezh
himselfe to
the duke of
Austrie.

N Triuet.

Polychron.

The cause of
the displeasure
betwixt the
duke of Aus-
trich & king
Richard.

Ger. Dor.

Rog Howed.

himselfe to none of the companie but to the duke alone, and therefore if it would please him to come, he would yeld himselfe into his hands. The duke hearing of this, speedilie came vnto him, whom he meeting, deliuered by his sword, and committed him vnto his custodie. The duke reioysing of such a preie, brought him vnto his palace, and with gentle words entertained him, though he meant no great good towards him, as well inough appeared in that he committed him to the keeping of certeine gentlemen, which without much courtesie looked streightlie inough to him for starting awaie, in somuch that they kept him in cold irons (as some authours do write.) He was taken after the maner aforesaid in December vpon S. Thomas eue, in the yere of our Lord 1192. and in the fourth yere of his reigne.

The duke of Austrich olough the king no good will, bicause he had cast downe his ensignes pitcht vp in a turret at Acres, which he had wone at the verie time when that citie was deliuered by the Saracens: for while they were in tretie on the one side, the duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof, gaue the assault vnto that part of the towne which was appointed vnto him to besiege. And so being entred the towne, and perceiuing that by treatie it was to be deliuered, he retired into the turret which he had first wone and entred, and there set vp his standard and ensignes, which king Richard (as the Dutch writers affirme) comming thither, threw downe and trode vnder his feet.

But Geruasius Dorobornensis declareth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus. After that the said citie of Acres was rendred into the christian mens hands (saith he) diuerse lords toke their lodgings as they thought good, and hanged forth their ensignes. And as it chanced, the duke of Austrich placing himselfe in one of the fairest palaces of all the citie, put forth his ensigne, whereof king Richard being wari, came thither with a companie of hardie souldiers about him, and threw downe the dukes ensigne, so displacing him out of that so pleasant and beautifull a lodging. For this cause, and also surmizing that king Richard should be guiltie of the death of the marques, Conrade the duke of Austrich shewed such discourtesie towards him. But concerning the murder of the marques, the chiefe gouernour of those Saracens called Assassini cleared king Richard by a letter wrytten and directed vnto the duke of Austrich in manner as followeth.

A letter directed to the duke of Austrich, wherein king Richard is cleared of the death of the marquisse of Mountferrat, whereof he was vehementlie suspected.



Epoldo duci Austrie, Vetus de Monte salutem. Cum plurimi reges & principes ultra mare Richardum regem Anglia & dominum de morte marchisi inculpenti, iuro per dominum qui regnat in eternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quod in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit. Est siquidem causa mortis ipsius marchisi talis. Vnus ex fratribus nostris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes nostras veniebat, & tempestas illum forte ad Tyrum appulit, & marchisus fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos vero marchiso nuncios nostros misimus, mandantes ut pecuniam fratris nostri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris nostri nobiscum se concordaret, & noluit.

Nec non & nuncios nostros spreuit, & mortem

fratris nostri super Reginaldum dominum de Sidonis posuit, & nos tantum fecimus per amicos nostros, quod in veritate scimus, quod ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium nostrum nomine Edrisum misimus ad eum, quem in mare mergere voluit, sed amici nostri illum a Tyro festinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & ista nobis nunciavit. Nos quoque ex illa hora marchisum desiderauimus occidere. Tuncque duos fratres misimus ad Tyrum, qui eum aperte & fere coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt.

Hac ergo fuit causa mortis marchisi, & bene dicimus vobis in veritate, quod dominus Richardus rex Anglia in hac marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Anglia malum fecerunt, iniuste fecerunt, & sine causa. Sciatis pro certo, quod nullum hominem huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, nisi prius nobis malum fecerit. Et sciatis quod his literas fecimus in domo nostra ad castellum nostrum Mesfat in dimidio Septembri, anno ab Alexandro 1505.

The same in English.



Etus de Monte to Lupold duke of Austrich sendeth greeting. Where manie kings and princes beyond the seas blame Richard king of England of the marques his death, I sweare by the lord that reigneth euerlastinglie, and by the law which we hold, that he was not in fault for his death. For the verie cause of the marques his death was such as followeth. One of our brethren in a ship of Satalie came towards our parties, and chanced by tempest to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the marques caused him to be taken and slaine, and tooke a great portion of monie that he had in the ship with him. Wherevpon we sent our messengers to the marques, commanding him to restore vnto vs the monie of our brother, and to compoind with vs for our said brothers death, and he would not.

Moreouer, he also contemned our messengers, & laid the fault of our brothers death vpon Reginald lord of Sidon, and we did so much through our freends, that we got full vnderstanding that the marques himselfe caused him to be slaine, and tooke his monie. And therefore we sent vnto him againe an other messenger named Edrisus, whome he would haue drowned in the sea, but our freends made such shift, that they procured him to depart with speed from Tyre, who returned to vs, and signified these things to vs for certeine. And from that houre euer after we had a desire to slea the marques: and so then we sent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openlie, & in a manner in presence of all the people of Tyre slue him.

This therefore was the verie cause of the death of the marques: & we say to you in good sooth, that the lord Richard king of England, in this death of the marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue doone anie displeasure vnto the king of England for this cause, they haue doone it wrongfullie, and without anie iust occasion. Know ye for certeine, that we doo not vse to kill anie man of this world for a-
nie

nie bribe, or for monie, except he haue doone to vs some harme afore time. And know ye that we haue made these letters in our house at our castell of Messuat, in the midst of September, in the yeare from Alexander the great, 1505.

¶ Thus we see how king Richard was cleared of that crime concerning the marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verelie it is most like that king Richard would haue bene loth to haue communicated his purpose vnto such a wicked kind of pagans as the Massini were, if he had pretended any such matter, but rather would haue sought his reuenge by some other meanes. Now therefore to our purpose.

The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon butted and blowne ouer all Germanie, whereupon the emperor Henrie the first, the sonne of Frederike the first, sent in all hast vnto the duke, persuading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to susteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and detaining of him prisoner, as the pope and others. The emperor well vnderstood the wealth and riches of England, and therefore hoped to make some good purchase by ransoming the king, if he might get him out of the dukes hands. The duke perceiuing also the emperours meaning, durst not well denie his request, and therefore he deliuered the king vnto them that were sent from the emperor, who couenanted to giue vnto the said duke the summe of 6000. pounds of Cilken weight for the hauing of the said king. The emperor thus receiuing the king at the hands of the duke of Austrich, commaunded that he should be committed to close prison, and would not do so much as once speake with him. This he did, to cause the king vpon an indignation and wearinesse of that maner of life, to make speed in offering some large masse of monie for his libertie & deliuerance. ¶ Thus we see how couetousnesse infected the hearts of the mightie, and what occasion the emperor and duke did take, to enrich themselves by the meanes of the king, whome they forced not to impouerish, so their owne greedie wanton were ferued. But this hath bene a disease not so generall as ancient, according to his words that said,

The king is
deliuered to
the emperor.
Meth. Paris.

Chil. lib. 1. f. 1.

Rog. Houed

The legats
from the pope.

Normandie
interdicted

The earle of
Portugall
orders
castles of Eng
land.

*Pix ego Satum no quenquam regnante videbam,
Cum non animo dulcia lucra ferent.*

Here is to be remembred by the waie, that about the same time, or some what before, in the yeare of our Lord 1190. the pope sent two legats (namelie, Osmann bishop of Hostia, and Jordan de Hostia) into Normandie, to reconcile the bishop of Cle and the archbishop of Rouen: but coming vnto Cisors, they were staied from entring any further into the countie, where vpon they did interdict the whole duchie of Normandie, together with William Fitz Radulfe lord steward of that countie, because he was the man that had so staied them. Immediately herevpon, quene Eleanor, and the archbishop of Rouen sent vnto those legats Hugh bishop of Durham, requiring them to release that sentence of interdictio so pronounced against the steward and countie of Normandie in the kings absence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normandie: howbeit, the pope being sent vnto, released it, and caused the legats to release it also, and yet they entred not into Normandie at all.

This yeare, whilste the seneschall of Gascoigne late sickle, the earle of Pierrigost, and the vicount of March, and almost all the lords and barons of Gascoigne, began to waite and despoile the lands of king Richard. And though the seneschall manie times by

messengers required a peace, or at the least some truce, yet could he not haue any grant thereof: wherefore vpon his recouerie of health he inuaded the lands of the said earle, toke the castles and fortresses and some of them he fortified, and kept to the kings vse, and some of them he rased downe to the ground. He also inuaded the vicounts countie, and subdued it to the kings gouernement. Shortly after came the brother of the king of Spaurre, with eight hundred knights or men of armes to the seneschalls aid, and so they two together entring into the lands of the earle of Tholouse, toke diuerse castles and fortresses within the same, of the which some they fortified, and some they rased, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouse, and lodged in maner vnder the walles of the citie.

The seneschall of Gascoigne
conquereth
manie.

The king of
Spaurres
brother.

A little before Christmas also, diuerse of those that had bene in the holie land with king Richard, came home into England, not knowing but that king Richard had bene at home before them, and being asked where they thought he was become, they could say no more but that they had seene the ship wherein he first went aboard, arriuing at Brendis in Puglia. At length, when newes came that he was taken and staied as prisoner, the archbishop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realme of England, sent the abbat of Boxley and the abbat of Roberts-bridge with all speed into Almaine to speake with him, and to vnderstand his state, and what his pleasure was in all things. Who coming to Germanie, passed through the countie into Baderland, where at a place called Drefter they found the king as then on his iourne towards the emperor, to whom (as ye haue heard) the duke of Austrich did send him. The said abbats attended him to the emperours court, and remained there with him till the emperor and he were accorded, in manner as after shall be shewed: and then after Easter they returned with the newes into England.

The abbats
of Boxley and
Roberts-
bridge.

Upon report hereof order was taken for manie things, but cheselie for the state: in which dealings, for so much as those which had the rule of the land stood in great doubt of things (for the inconstant nature of earle John was of them much suspected) first they caused a new oath of allegiance to be made to king Richard, and receiued of the people. They fortified also such towncs and castles as were of importance, both with repairing the walles and other defenses about the same, and furnishing them with men, munition and vittels. Thus was the land brought into some order.

Ger. Dor.

In the meane while, the French king being aduertised that king Richard was detained as prisoner, reioiced not a little thereat, and with all speed by secret messages did send for his brother earle John, who was ready to come at his call. And being come, he exhorted him not to suffer so convenient an occasion to passe, but to take the gouernement of the realme of England now into his hands, promising him all such aid as he could of him reasonable require: with other like talke still tending to the prouocation of the earle to forsake his allegiance vnto his brother. And to say the truth, earle John was easily persuaded so to do, and therefore vpon his immediate returne into England, assembled an armie, and with the same (and such strangers as he brought with him) began to proue maisteries, first winning the castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Nottingham, and diuerse other, and fortifying the same to his owne vse and defense.

The French
king counsaileth
earle John
to forsake
his brother.

The barons of the land, iudging such vnlawfull doings not to be any longer suffered, first besieged the castell of Windsor, and after preparing to leuie a greater force, did put them within in such feare, that they yielded by the same, seeking to escape by

D. i.

Sight,

flight, some into one place, and some into another, the which yet being apprehended were put to worse execution. But this was not done without continuance of time, & without great trouble & charges to the realme: for whereas there was a practise betwixt the French king and earle John, that a great power of strangers, & namelie Flemings should haue come into the realme (for whose transporting a great number of ships were brought together at Wiltland) yet the high prouidence and godnesse of God disappointed their purpose. For their messengers being taken which were sent hither into England, the treason was reuealed, and by the queene mothers appointment, who chesefelie then ruled the land) a great companie of knights, men of armes, and commons of the countrie, watched the sea coasts ouer against Flanders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the passion weeke, and so continued till a certeine time after Easter. Howbeit earle John came secretly ouer, in hope to haue not onelie the assistance of the Welshmen and of manie other his friends in England, but also of the Scots, howbeit, the king of Scots would not meddle. He therefore with such Welshmen and other as he had brought ouer, and such Englishmen as he could get to take his part, began such attempts (as before ye haue heard) to the disquieting of the whole realme, and great displeasure of the king.

Moreover beside that power of the barons which laid siege to Winton: castell, there were Noble men also in other parts of the realme that were ready to resist him. And amongst other, Geoffrey the archbishop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolf one of the kings iustices, and William de Stuteuile, assembled an armie, and coming to Doncaster, fortified the towne: but when the archbishop would haue gone forward to besiege the castell of Lichill, which earle John had in possession, the other two his associates would not consent to go with him, because they were seruants, and retained with earle John. Here with the archbishop being sore offended, departed from them, calling them traitors to their king, and enimies to the realme.

About the same time did the French king enter into Normandie with an armie, & coming to the towne of Cisors, besieged it, the which one Gilbert de Uascoll one of the kings capitaine thereof, to his high reproch, yielded by unto him, with an other castell also called Bessle, which he had likewise in keeping. After this, the French king entering into the countrie of Acurine one of the kinges towns and fortresses in the same, and passing forward, took Chal de Kueil, and Neusburge, and finally coming before the citie of Rouen he laid siege thereto: but the earle of Leicester being gotten into the citie before the French kings coming thither, so encouraged the citizens, that they stoutlie standing to their defence, caused the French king to his great dishonour to raise his field, hauing lost there more than he want. Yet to saue other townes and castels from taking, and the countrie from destruction, the rulers of the same procured a truce for a great summe of monie, which they covenanted to giue, deliuering vp foure notable castels by waie of engagement, till the summe agreed upon should be to him contented and duly paid.

In the meane time, earle John as head of all the conspirators, perceiuing himselfe not able to achieve his purpose as then, nor to resist the lords and barons of the realme, being vp in armour against him, and now grown to greater stomach, because they vnderstod by the bishop of Salisburie lache arrived, of the kings welfare, and hope of deliuerance: and furthermore, considering that he was

disappointed both of Scots and Flemings as he had well hoped should haue come to his aid: he took a truce with the lords of the kings side, by the earnest frauell of the bishop of Salisburie, till the feast of All saints, so as the castels of Winton, Wallingford, and the Peake, should remaine in the hands of his mother queene Elianor: but the castels of Nottingham and Lichill remained still in his owne possession, the which with such other castels as he held within the land, he furnished with garrisons of his owne men and friends, and then went againe ouer into France to the French king, to purchase some new aid at his hands according to his promise.

Here will we leaue earle John conferring with the French king, and returne to the king of England. Upon Palmesundaye after that he was deuioured, or rather betrayed into the emperours hands, he was brought before the princes and lords of the empire, in whose presence the emperour charged him with diuerse vnlawfull doings: and namelie picked a quarrell at him for the wrongs and hurts done to the Sicilians in time of his sojourning in their Ile, as he went towards the holie land. For albeit the said emperour had nothing as then to doe in the countrie, yet for so much as he had lately recouered the Ile of Sicile out of king Tancred's hands, and was now intituled king thereof by the pope, in right of his wife Constance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicile, and so by reason thereof seemed to be greivously offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the monie from Tancred, which neuertheless was iustlie due vnto his sister for hir dowrie, as in the proccesse afore I haue already declared. King Richard notwithstanding these vaine and other frivolous obiections laid to his charge, made his answeres alwaies so pithilie and directlie to all that could be laid against him, and excused himselfe in euerie point so thoughtlie, that the emperour much marvelled at his high wisdom and prudence, and not onelie greatlie commended him for the same, but from thenceforth vsed him more courteously, and suffered that his friends might haue access to him more freelie than before they could be permitted.

The Pope also being aduertised of the taking of king Richard, was much offended, that any christi an prince, hauing taken vpon him the defense of the christi an faith against the infidels, should be so vsed in his returne from so goodlie an enterprise: and therefore sent both to the duke of Austria, and to the emperour, requiring them to set him at libertie. But the emperour declared plainlie that he would be answered for: such summes of monie as king Richard had taken out of Sicile before: he would release him or set him at libertie.

When king Richard perceiued that no excuses would serue, though neuer so iust, but that he must needs paie to his courtois host some great summe of monie for his hard intertainment, he sent the bishop of Salisburie into England, to take order with the barons of the realme to prouide for the payment of his ranfome, which bishop, as ye haue heard, after the peace concluded with Saladin, went vnto Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and now coming into Sicile, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken prisoner in Austria, and remained in the emperours hands: whereupon he turned that waie forth, and coming to him, was now sent into England with commission, as I haue said, to leaue monie for the kings ranfome. He landed here the twentieth day of April, by whose coming the land was the sooner brought in quiet: for the agreement which earle John made (as before ye haue heard) was chesefelie procured by his means: for till his coming, the castell of Winton

Geoffrey.

The archbishop of Yorke, Hugh Bardolf, William de Stuteuile.

W. Parvus.

Rouen besieged. The earle of Leicester.

Polydor.

Archbishop, South Ger, Dorob.

W. Parvus.

The emperour charged king Richard with injuries done to the Sicilians.

W. Parvus, March, W. The kings wisdom in making his answer.

Polydor.

The bishop of Salisburie sent into England.

Ger. Des.

Ioye

Rog. Houed.
The bishop of
Elie cometh
to the king.

The emperor
agreed with
king Richard
for his ran-
some.
N. Trivet,
Hist. Paris.

R. Houed.
Lands assign-
ed to king
Richard.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.
Order taken
for leueng
monie to paie
the kings
ransome.

The hard
dealing of of-
ficers in the
collection.

fore was not wone, the siege being but lackelie sol-
lowed by the archbishop of Rouen, who had diuerse
of his friends within it, and therefore was not verie
carnest against them.

When the bishop of Salisbury was departed to-
wards England, the bishop of Elie came to the king
and trauelled so carnestlie betwixt the emperor and
him, that finally the emperor (partlie through his
suit, & partlie for that he had bene verie much called
vpon by the pope and other for his deliuerie) took order
with him for the redeeming of his libertie, and ap-
pointed what summe he should pay for his ransome,
which (as some write) was two hundred thousand
markes: other saie that it was but 140 thousand
markes of the poise of Cullen weight. But William
Parvus, who lived in those daies, affirmeth it was one
hundred thousand pounds, and Roger Houeden saith
an hundred thousand marks of Cullen poise, to be
paid presentlie at the kings first coming into Eng-
land, and fiftie thousand marks afterwards, that is
to say, thirtie thousand to the emperor, and twentie
thousand to the duke of Austrich, as it were in re-
compence of the iniurie done to him in the holie land;
where king Richard ouerthrew his ensignes: and for
the same to deliuer sufficient suerties.

Moreover, we find in Roger Houeden that the em-
peror amongst other the articles of this agreement
thus concluded betwixt him and king Richard, gaue
and granted, and by his letters patents confirmed
vnto him these lands hereafter mentioned, that is to
saie: Pouance with the cite of Mienne, and Mien-
nois, the cite of Marceils, Parbon, Arles and Lion
vpon the Rhone, with the countrie vnto the Alps, and
all those possessions which belonged to the empire in
Burgoinie, with the homages of the king of Aragon
and of the earle of Sicily: wherein is to be noted,
that with the precinct of the premises thus granted
to king Richard, five archbishops sees, and thirtie
three bishops sees are included. Howbeit the truth
is, that the emperor neuer had possession of these
countries, cities, and towne himselfe, neither would
the inhabitants receiue any person so by him appoin-
ted to their lord and gouernour, wherefore the king
made small account of that his so large grant. But
after he once vnderstood the certeintie of the summe
that he should paie for his ransome (which businesse he
most attended) he sent one with letters by and by
and in great hast into England to his treasurers,
requiring them with all conuenient speed to prouide
monie, and to send it to him by a day, that he might
be set at libertie with speed.

These letters being come to the queene mother, and
other that had charge in gouernance of the realme,
toke order that all manner of persons as well spiritu-
all as temporell, should giue the fourth part of their
whole reuenues to them for that yeare accretwing,
and as much more of their moueable goods, and that
of euerie knights fee there should be leuied the sum
of twentie shillings. Also that the religious houses of
the orders of the Cisterciars and Sempingham should
giue all their wools for that yeare towards the kings
ransome.

Now those that had commission to leuie this mo-
nie, being poisoned with couetousnesse, and incensed
with a greedy desire (than the which as the poet saith,

— nulla est hac maior Erinyis,

Hanc memoraunt Acheronte satam, per trisilia Diis
Regna truces agitare faces, &c.)

blew much strenghtnesse in exacting it, not onelie le-
ueng it to the bittermost value and extent of mens
lands, goods, and possessions, but after their owne
willes and pleasures: so that vnder colour of the
kings commission, and letters to them directed, there
sawed not a tribute or subside to be raised, but by

some publike proclamation all the goods and sub-
stance of the people to be appointed as a prey to the
kings officers, whereby it came to passe, that not
onelie priuie mens goods, but also the chalices, scul-
els, and vessels belonging to the church were tur-
ned into monie, and a farre greater summe made
than was at the first commanded, a great part of the
ouerplus being conuerted to the vse of those, through
whose hands the receipt passed. There was no priu-
lege nor freedome allowed to exempt any person or
place for being contributory towards the payment
of this monie. The order of Cisterciars that were neuer
charged with any payment before, were now assessed
more deperlie than the rest.

The bishop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious
dealings of the petty officers, and pittieing the peo-
ple of the church, collected halfe the value of all the
chalices within his diocesse himselfe, and to make
vp the other halfe of the whole summe, he spared not
to giue a great portion of his owne treasure. The ab-
bat of St. Albons acquitted all those churches with-
in the compasse of his iurisdiction, by the gift of an
hundred markes. But the bishop of Chester had verie
ill lucke with his collections; for hauing gathered a
great summe of monie to the kings vse, he was spo-
iled thereof in one night, as he lodged nere vnto
Canturburie, being vpon his iournie towards the
king. And because Matthew de Clare that laie in
the castell of Dover was knowne to aid those that
robbed the said bishop, the archbishop of Canturburie
pronounced him accursed.

About this time, and on the morrow after the na-
tiuitie of saint John Baptist, the bishop of Elie lord
chancellor arriued in England, not shewing him-
selfe in any statelie port (for he toke vpon him nei-
ther the dignitie of chancellor nor legat, nor yet of
iustice) but onelie as a simple bishop and messenger
sent from the king. The queene mother, the archbishop
of Rouen, and such other as had gouernment of the
land, hearing of his coming, met him at saint Al-
bons, where he shewed to them the emperours let-
ters, containing the agreement made betwixt him
and king Richard, and withall appointed certeine
lords & barons to go with him at his returne backe
to the king, as Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Sifrid
bishop of Chichester, Bennet abbat of Peterborough,
Richard earle of Clare, Roger Bigot earle of Nor-
folke, Geste de Sate, and diuerse other. It was
also ordeined at this same time, that the monie ga-
thered towards the payment of the kings ransome
should remaine in custodie of Hubert bishop of Sa-
lisburie, Richard bishop of London, William earle
of Arundell, Hameline earle of Warren, and of
the Prior of London, vnder the seales of the queene
mother, and of the archbishop of Rouen.

But see the hap of things, whilst ech one was thus
occupied about the aforesaid monie; it chanced that
king Richard was at the point to haue bene deliue-
red into the hands of his deadly aduersarie the
French king, as hereafter you shall heare, noting by
the waie the dangerous estate of princes, the mani-
fold distresses whereinto by sinifter fate (as well as
the inferiour rascall rout of common drudges) they
be driuen. For what greater calamitie, what gre-
uouser hartach, what more miserable casuallie could
haue happened vnto a bondman, than to be deliuered
to and fro from the hand of one enimie to another, to
be bought and sold for monie, to stand to the coun-
tes of forren foes, of a king to become a captiue?
Wherunto the poet did right well allude, when he said,

Sapius ventis agitur ingens
Primus, & celsis grauiore casus
Decidunt turres, frivola summas
Fulmina montes.

D. H.

The

Church
treasuries.

The bishop of
Norwich.

The abbat of
saint Albons.

The bishop of
Chester.

Matthew de
Clare.

R. Houed.
The bishop
of Elie.

Anno Reg. 5.
Wil. Parvus.

Hor. lib. car. 3.
ode. 12.

The bishop of
Liege mura-
theret.

The emperor upon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of Liege, which lathelie had attained to that benefice contrarie to the emperours pleasure, who wished the same rather to an other person, hired certeine naughtie fellows to go into France, where the bishop remained for feare of the emperours malice, and there to find meanes traitorously to slea him, which they accordingly did, by reason whereof the duke of Louaigne that was brother to the bishop, and other of his kinsmen, upon knowledge had thereof, meant to haue made the emperor warre, in reuenge of that murder: inso much that the emperor, to haue the French kings aid against them, was minded to haue deliuered R. Richard unto him.

Howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concord made betwixt the emperor and his nobles, he changed his purpose also touching the deliuering ouer of king Richard, who perceiving that till his ranome were paid (which would amount to the summe of an hundred & fiftie thousand marks) he should not get libertie: and putting great confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert bishop of Salisburie (whome he sent as ye haue heard into England to deale for the leuieng of the same) he thought good to aduance the same bishop to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, which had bene vacant ever sithence the decease of archbishop Walswine, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holie land.

Wil. Parvus.

Hereupon writing to the bishops of the realme, and to the monks of Canturburie, he required them to proceed to the election of an archbishop for that see, and withall commended unto them the foresaid Hubert, as a man most sufficient and meet for that roine. He wrote likewise to the queene to further that matter, and easilie hereby obtained his desire. For shortly after, the same Hubert was elected by the bishops and monks, which assembled togither for that purpose. He was the 41 archbishop that gouerned that see: for although Reginald bishop of Bath was elected before him, yet because he died per he was installed, he is not put in the number.

Hubert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie, lord
chefe iustice.

The king being now put in god hope of his speedie deliuerance, sent into England, willing his mother queene Elianor, the archbishop of Ronen and others, to come ouer unto him into Almaine, and in the meane time he ordeined Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie to remaine at home as lord chiefe iustice. After this, the emperor with the aduice of the princes of the empire, assigned a day to king Richard, in which he should be deliuered out of captiuitie, which was the mondaie next after the twentieth day of Christmasse. Whereupon king Richard wrote unto Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in forme as followeth.

The tenour of king Richards letters to the said archbishop.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, & comes Andegauie, venerabili patri nostro in Christo, & amico charissimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem & sincere dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores sumus, quod liberationem nostram plurimum desideratis, & quod liberatio nostra admodum vos letificat, scripto volumus quod letitia nostra participes sitis. Inde est quod dilectioni vestre dignum duximus significare, dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis nostra nobis prefixisse, in die lune proxima post vicesimum diem natiuitatis Domini, & die dominica proxi-

ma sequenti coronabimur de regno provincia, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliam literas domini imperatoris super hijs patentes, vobis & ceteris amicis nostris beneuolis. Vos autem interim pro omni posse vestro quos scitis nos diligere, consolari velitis, & quos scitis promotionem nostram desiderare. Teste meipso apud Spiram 22. die Septembris.

The emperor also signified by his letters to the lords of England his resolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenour of the emperours letters to the States of England touching king Richard, and the day of his deliuerance, &c.

Enricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilectis suis archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, & vniuersis alijs fidelibus Richardi illustris regis Anglorum gratiam suam & omne bonum. Vniuersitati vestra duximus intimandum, quod dilecto amico nostro Richardo illustri regi Anglorum domino vestro certum diem liberationis sue statuimus, a secunda feria post diem natiuitatis domini in tres septimanas apud Spiram sue apud Beroniam, & inde in septem dies posuimus ei diem coronationis sue de regno Provincia, quod ei promissimus: & hoc certum habeatis, & indubitatum, nostri siquidem propositi est, & voluntatis, prefatum dominum vestrum specialem promouere sicut amicum nostrum, & magnificentius honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thome Apostoli.

Before this king Richard had sent the bishop of Elie into France unto his brother earle John, who preuailed so much with him, that he returned into Normandie, and there swaie fealtie unto his brother king Richard, and so was contented to forsake the French king. But whereas king Richard commanded that all such castels and honours as he had giuen to him afore time, should now be restozed to him againe, as well those in England, as the other on the further side the sea: such as had the same castels in keeping would not obteine the kings commandement herein, refusing to make restitution of those places, according to the tenour & purport of the kings writ, unto the said earle of Portaigne, by reason of which refusal, he returned againe to the French king, and stucke to him. Whereupon the French king gaue vnto him the castels of Drein court, and Arques, the which ought to haue bene deliuered unto the archbishop of Reimes as in pledge, who had travelled as a meane betwixt the French king to whom he was uncle, and the king of England to whom he was cousin, procuring a meeting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certeine place betwixt Chaucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lozaine. But notwithstanding all that he could do, matters were so farre out of frame, and such mistrust was entered into the minds of the parties, that no conclusion held. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by payment of his ranome to redeme his libertie, and then to shift with things as he might. And so finally when the monie was once readie, or rather a sufficient portion thereof, the same was conuied ouer into Germanie, and payment made to the emperor of the more part of the kings ranome, and sufficient pledges left with him for the rest, as the archbishop

The kings
commande-
ment not
obeyed.

of Rouen, the bishop of Bath [Baldwin of Bath] and other which were of late come out of England to see and salute the king.

R. Houed.
King Richard released out of captivity.

Whereupon king Richard, after he had bene prisoner one yeare, six weekes, and three daies, was set at libertie on Candlemasse day (as most writers agree) and then with long and hasty iournies, not keeping the high waies, he halfed forth towards England. It is reported that if he had linged by the way, he had bene estones apprehended. For the emperor being incensed against him by ambassadoys that came from the French king, immediatlie after he was set forward, began to repent himselfe in that he had suffered him so sone to depart from him, and hereupon sent men after him with all speed to bring him backe if they could by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall prison.

R. Houed.
The offers of the French king and earle John to haue the king of England kept still in prison.

Some write that those ambassadoys sent from the French king, with other from earle John, came to the emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offering in the French kings name fiftie thousand marks of siluer, and in the name of earle John thirtie thousand, upon condition that k. Richard might remaine still in captiuitie vntill the feast of S. Michael next ensuing; or else if it might so please him, he should receiue a thousand pounds of siluer for euerie month, whilst king Richard should be detained in his prison, or otherwise fiftie thousand marks of siluer more than the first offer, at one entire payment, if he would deliuer him into their hands, or at the leastwise to keepe him prisoner by the terme of one whole yeare.

The emperor hearing of such large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promise and letters patents therfore granted, prologed the day in which king Richard should haue bene set at libertie, till Candlemasse after, at which day he was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the emperor had called a counsell to intreat further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the emperor shewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and earle John vnto king Richard, who upon sight and perusing of the same, was maruellously amazed, and began to despaire of all speedie deliuerance.

The princes that had undertaken for the emperor to performe the constraints.

Indeede the emperor sought delaies upon a courteous desire of the monie offered by the French king and earle John, but yet such princes and great lordes as had undertaken for the emperor, that the constraints and articles on his part agreed upon in the accord passed betwixt him and king Richard, should be in each behalfe performed [that is to saie, the archbishops of Mentz, Cullen, and Saltzburge, the bishops of Wormes, Spiers, and Liege, the dukes of Suabia, Anfrich, & Louain, the Palgrave of the Rhine, and others] came to the emperor, and reprouing him for his courteous mind, in that he deferred the releasing of king Richard to his libertie, contrarie to the composition, did so much preuaile, that the emperor receiuing pledges for the payment of the monie yet behind (as before ye haue heard) released king Richard out of captiuitie on the second or (as Roger Houeden saith) the fourth day of February, being a small day and an infortunate (as they note them in kalendars.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Bouant the bishop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongst the other, he refused to be one of the number, alledging that he was seruant to earle John. King Richard greuouslie offended herewith, commanded that he should be apprehended, and committed to prison, & so he was. This Robert was one of those that came with the letters from the French king and earle John to the emperor, about the staying of king Richards deliuerance.

Robert de Bouant.

Furthermore, king Richard the same day in which he was released to libertie, summoned by his letters Hugh Bouant bishop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court, to answer such things as were to be objected against him, both before spirituall iudges in that he was a bishop, and also before temporall in that he had holden and exercised a temporall office. On the verie same day also the emperor and the princes of the empire, sent letters vnder their hands and scales to the French king, and to John erle of Fflaunders, commanding them immediatlie upon sight of the same letters, to release vnto king Richard all those castles, cities, townes, lands, and other things, which they had taken from him during the time of his remaining in captiuitie, and if they refused thus to do, then they gaue them to vnderstand by the same letters, that they would aid king Richard to recouer that by force, which had bene wrongfullie taken from him.

Moreover king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto sundrie princes of the empire for their homage and fealtie, certeine yearelie pensions, as to the archbishop of Mentz and Cullen, to the bishop of Liege, to the dukes of Anfrich and Louaine, to the marquisse of Mountferrat, to the duke of Burglenburge, to the duke of Suaben the emperors brother, to the earle of Bins, to the earle of Holland, and to the sonne of the earle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receiued homage, or rather had the promise by oth to aid him against the French king, which French king, now that he sawe no hope nor likelihood remaining to bring the emperor to the bent of his bowle for the detaining of k. Richard still in captiuitie, raised a power forthwith, & entering into Normandie (the truce notwithstanding) toke the towne of Cueur, with diuerse other fortresses thereabouts, and after he had done mischefe inough, as it were wearied with euill doing, he granted estones to stand to the truce, and so returned home.

Yearelie pensions given by the king to certeine princes of the empire.
Burglenburge.

Wil. Partos.
The French king immediately Normandis.

Finallie after king Richard had dispatched his businesse with the emperor, and the princes of Almaine, he set forward on his iourne towards England, and hauing the emperors passport, came to Cullen, where he was sofullie receiued of the archbishop, the which archbishop attended on him till he came to Antwerpe, where king Richard toke the water in a galley that belonged to Alane de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a ship of his, being a verie faire vessel, and so late aboyd in hir all the night, and in the morning returned to the galley, and so sailed about the coast, till he came to the haven of Swin in Fflanders, and there staying five daies, on the first day he set forth againe, and at length in good safetie landed at Sandwich the twelue daie of March, and the morrow after came to Canturburie, where he was receiued with procession, as Ger. Dor. saith. From thence he went to Rochester, and on the Wednesday being the sixteenth of March, he came vnto London, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of the people, giuing heartie thanks to almightie God for his safe returne and deliuerance.

R. Houed.

He landed the 20. of March being sundae as R. Houeden and R. de Directo write.

¶ It is recorded by writers, that when such lordes of Almaine as came over with him, sawe the great riches which the Londoners shewed in that triumphant receiuing of their soueraigne lord and king, they marvelled greaillie thereat, insomuch that one of them said vnto him; Sirelie oh king, your people are wise and subtil, which do nothing doubt to shew the beautifull shine of their riches now that they haue receiued you home, whereas before they seemed to betwaille their need and pouertie, whilst you remained in captiuitie. For verelie if the emperor had vnderstood that the riches of the realme had bin
such,

such,

such, neither would he haue bene persuaded that England could haue bene made bare of wealth, neither yet should you so lightlie haue escaped his hands without the payment of a more huge and intollerable ranfome.

The same yeare that king Richard was taken (as before is mentioned) by the duke of Austrich, one night in the moneth of Januarie about the first watch of the same night, the north west side of the element appeared of such a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clouds or other darknesse to couer it, so that the stars shined through that rednesse, and might be verie well discerned. Diuerse bright streakes appeared to flash vponwards now and then, diuiding the rednesse, thorough the which the stars seemed to be of a bright sanguine colour. In Februarie next ensuing, one night after midnight the like wonder was sene, and shortly after newes came that the king was taken in Almaine.

On the second daie of Nouember also a little before the breake of the daie, the like thing appeared againe with lesse feare and wonder to the people (than before) being now better accustomed to the like sight againe. And now the same daie and selfe houre that the king arryued at Sandwich, being the second houre of that daie, whilst the sunne shone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a most brightsome and vnaccustomed clearenesse, not farre distant from the sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans personage, having a red shining brightnesse twofold like to the rainbow, which strange sight when manke beheld, there were that prognosticated the king already to be arryued.

In this meane while the bishop of Durham with a great armie besieged the castell of Tickhill; and earle Wando brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe earle of Chester, and earle Ferrers, besieged the castell of Potingham, whilst at the same present the archbishop of Canturburie with a great power besieged Warleburgh castell, the which within a few daies was rendred into his hands, the liues and limbs of them within saued. Also the castell of Lancaster was deliuered to him, the which the same archbishops brother had in keeping vnder earle John, and likewise the abbey of S. Michaels mount in Cornwall, the which abbey Henrie de la Pomerey chailing out the monks, had fortified against the king, and hearing newes of the kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for mere græfe and feare. These three places were surrendered to the archbishop before the kings returne, but Tickhill & Potingham held out.

King Richard being returned into England, and understanding both how the French king made warre against him in Normandie, and that the state of England was not a little disquieted, by the practise of his brother earle John and his complices, specially by reason that diuerse castles were defended by such as he had placed in them, he thought good with all speed to cut off such occasions as might breed a further mischæfe. Whereupon he first went to Potingham, and within three daies after his coming thither (which was on the daie of the Annunciation of our ladie) he constrained them that kept the castell there in his brothers name, to yeld themselves simple vnto his mercie, after they had abidden diuerse assaults, by the which euen the first daie the vtter gates were burnt, and certeine defenses destroyed, which they had made before the same.

The cheefe of them that were within this castell to defend it were these, William de Glendevall conestable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Rafe Spurdac, Philip de Worcester and Ranulfe de Worcester brethren. The morow after the surrender was made, the king went to Clippone, and rode into the forest

of Shirewood, where he had neuer bene before, the vieto thereof pleased him greatlie. The castell of Tickhill was likewise at the same time yelded vnto the bishop of Durham, who receiued it to the kings vse, and them that kept it as prisoners, without anie composition, but standing simple to the kings mercie. For although those that had these castles in keeping, were sufficientlie prouided of all necessarie things for defense, yet the sudden coming of the king (whom they thought verelie would neuer haue returned) put them in such feare, that they wist not what to make of the matter, and so (as men amazed) they yelded without anie further exception. The bishop of Durham bringing those prisoners with him which had yelded vnto this castell of Tickhill, came to the king the 27 daie of March, the verie daie before that Potingham castell was giuen ouer.

Moreover, this is to be remembered, that during the siege of Potingham, contention arose betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, about the carriage of their crosses. For Hubert archbishop of Canturburie coming thither, had his crosse borne before him; the archbishop of Poike (having no crosse there at all) was verie sore offended, that anie other should go with crosse borne before him in his diocesse, and therefore complained hereof to the king. But the archbishop of Canturburie maintained that he had not done anie thing but that which was lawfull for him to doe, and thereupon made his appeale to Rome, that the pope might haue the hearing and iudging of that controuersie betwixt them.

In the meane time, after the king had got the castles of Potingham and Tickhill into his hands (as ye haue heard) he called a parlement at Potingham, where the quene mother sat on the right hand of him, and the archbishops of Canturburie & Poike on the left, with other bishops, earles and barons according to their places. On the first daie of their session was Gerard de Camuille discharged of the office which he had borne of shiriffe of Lincoln, and dispossessed both of the castell & countie. And so likewise was Hugh Bardolfe of the castell and countie of Poike, and of the castell of Scarbourgh, and of the custodie and keeping of the countie of Westmerland, the which offices being now in the kings hands, he set them on sale to him that would giue most. Hereof it came to passe, that where the lord chancellor offered to giue fiftene hundred markes before hand, for the counties of Poike, Lincoln and Northampton, and an hundred markes of increase of rent for euerie of the same counties, Gestepe archbishop of Poike offered to the king three thousand markes aforehand, onelie for the countie of Poike, and an hundred markes yearelie of increase, and so had the same committed to his regiment.

Moreover in this parlement, the king demanded iudgement against his brother John, and Hugh Poiant the bishop of Conetrie and Chester, for such traitorous and most disloyall attempts as they had made against him and his countie, and iudgement was giuen that both the said earle and bishop should haue summons giuen them peremptorie to appeare, and if within forty daies after, they came not to answer such plaints as might be laid against them, then should earle John forfeit all that he had within the realme, and the bishop should stand to the iudgement of the bishops, in that he was a bishop, and to the tempoall lords in that he had bene the kings shiriffe.

In this parlement also, in the kalends of Aprill, the king procured a subside to be granted to him, to wit, two shillings of euerie plough land through England, which maner of subside by an old name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme toll. He also com-

The forest of Shirewood.

The castell of Tickhill yelded.

Strife betwixt the two archbishops touching their crosses.

Rog. Houed. Diuerse sieges held at one time.

S. Michaels mount.

The king goeth to Potingham and winneth the castell.

Rog. Houed.

Officer charged.

Licentment ships set on sale.

The archbishop of Poike offer.

The bishop of Chester.

A subsidy.

manded that euerie man should make for him the thrid part of knights seruice, accordinglie as euerie for might beare, to furnissh him forth into Normandie. He demanded of the monks Cister, all their woollies for the same yeare. But because that seemed an ouer greuous burthen vnto them, they fined with him, as after shall appeare. The fourth day of this parlement, by the kings permission manie greuous complaints were exhibited against the archbishop of Poike, for extortion and other vniuall verations, which he had practised: but he passed so little thereof, that he made no answer vnto their billes.

The archbishop of Poike accused.

Gerard de Camville charged with felonie and treason.

Moreover through the procurement of the lord chancellor, Gerard de Camville was arreigned for receiuing theues, and robbers, which had robbed certeine merchants of their goods, that were going to the faire of Stamford; also they appealed him of treason for refusing to stand to his trial by order of the kings labours at commandement of the kings iustices, bearing himselfe to be earle Johns man, and adding the same earle against the king. But all these accusations he flatlie denied, and so his aduersaries put in pledges to follow their suit, and he put in the like to defend himselfe by one of his freeholders.

The king of Scots commeth to see the king of England.

The same daie king Richard receiued the king of Scots at Clifstone, comming now to visit him, and to reioice with him for his safe returne home after so long a iourne, and so manie passed perils. After they had spent the time a certeine space in ioy and mirth, the fourth of Aprill at their being together at Gualton, the king of Scots required of king Richard to haue restored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, with the countie of Lancaster also, the which in right of his predecessors belonged to him (as he alledged.)

Parlement.

King Richard assembling a parlement of the Nobles of his realme at Northampton, about sixteene daies after that the Scottish king had made this request, gaue him answer that by no means he might as then satisfie his petition: for if he should so do, his aduersaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie friendship. But yet king Richard in the presence of his mother queene Elianor, and the lords spirituall and temporall of his realme together at that present assembled, granted and by his deed confirmed vnto the said king of Scots, and to his heires for euer; that whensoeuer he or any of them should come by summons of the king of England vnto his court, the bishop of Durham, and the shiriffe of Northumberland should receiue him at the water of Tweed, and safe conduct him vnto the water of Thise, and there should the archbishop of Poike, and the shiriffe of Poike be readie to receiue him of them, and from thence giue their attendance vpon him vnto the borders of the next shire.

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he should haue when he came to England.

It was also granted to the said king, that he should be attended from shire to shire by prelates and shiriffes, till he came to the kings court, also from the time that the king of Scotland should enter this realme of England, he should haue daile out of the kings purse for his liuerie an hundred shillings, and after he came to the court, he should haue in allowance daile for his liuerie, so long as he there remained, thirtie shillings and twelue manchet wassels, twelue manchet smmels, foure gallons of the best wine, and eight gallons of household wine, two pound of pepper, foure pound of cummin, two stone of wax, or else foure links, and foure great and long colpons of such candels as are serued before the king, and foure and twentie colpons of other candels that serue for the household. And when he should returne into his countie againe, then should he be conueied with the bishops and shiriffes from countie to coun-

tie, till he come to the water of Tweed, having an hundred shillings a day of liuerie, as is before appointed. The charter of this grant was deliuered vnto William king of Scots in the towne of Northampton in Easter weeke, by the hands of William bishop of Elie lord chancellor, in the yeare of our lord 1194, and in the fift yeare of king Richard his reigne.

After this, on the fiftenth day of Aprill, king Richard having the said king of Scots in his companie came to Winchester, where he called a counsell, and there in open assemblie he highlie commended all those of the Nobilitie, that in his absence had shewed themselves faithfull, and resisted his brother, and such other his complices, which had as disloyall persons rebelled against him. Here he also proclaimed his said brother, and all those that took his part, traitours to the crowne, and took order for the punishment of them, that (being of their faction) could by any means be apprehended.

A counsell holden at Winchester.

Furthermore, to put alwaie as it were the reppose of his captiuitie and imprisonment by the reuincing of his noblenesse, which he had in high estimation,

—pretio nam dignior omni est
Nobilitas, hoc non emitur nec venditur auro)

he caused himselfe to be effronces crowned by the archbishop Hubert, on the 18 of Aprill, at Winchester, and so shewed himselfe as a new crowned king (in hope of good successe and better lucke to follow) in the presence of the said king of Scots, who bare one of the three swords before him, going in the middle betwixt two earles, that is to saie, Hamelin earle of Warren going on his right hand, and Ranulfe earle of Chester on his left. The canopy vnder the which he went was borne vpon also by foure earles, Northfolke, Lislewight, Salisburie, and Ferrers. The bishop of Elie lord chancellor went on the right hand of the king, and the bishop of London on the left. At dinner also the citizens of London serued him in the butterie by reason of two hundred marks which they had giuen the king that they might so do, notwithstanding the claime and challenge made by the citizens of Winchester, the which serued him in the kitchen.

The king crowned as new.

R. Houed. The king of Scots beareth one of the swords before the king of England.

The citizens of London.

The archbishop of Poike was commanded that he should not be present at the coronation, least some tumult might arise about the hauing of his crosse borne afore him, to the displeasure of the archbishop of Canturburie, who stood in it, that no prelat withy in his prouince ought to haue any crosse borne before him, himselfe excepted.

After this, he called a parlement, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and resumed into his hands all patents, annuities, fees, and other grants (before his voiage into the holie Land) by him made, or otherwise granted or alienated. And because it shuld not seeme that he used a more violent extortion herein, he treated with euerie one of them in most courteous wise, bearing them in hand, that he knew well they ment not to let forth their monie to him vpon vsurie, but would be contented with such reasonable gaine and profit, as had bene raised to their vse in time of his absence of those things which they held of him by assignation in way of loue, so that now the same might be restored to him againe, sith he ment not to sell them, but to let them forth as it were to farme for the time, as all men might well vnderstand, considering that he could not mainteine the port of a king without receipt of those profits which he had so let forth. With these gentle words therefore mixed with some dreadfull allegations, he brought them all into such perperitie, that not one of them durst withstand his request, nor alledge that he had wrong done to him, except Hugh the bishop of Lincoln, who sticke not

A parlement called.

The bold courage of the bishop of Lincoln.

The bishop of
Durham lost
his earldome.

to saie, that the king in this demand did them and the rest open iniurie. The bishop of Durham lost his earldome, and was constrained to content himselfe with his old bishopricke, and to leaue the dignitie of an earle, or at the leastwise the possessions which he had bought of the king before his setting forward into the holic land.

R. Richards
practises.

The monks
Cisterciens.

Thus the king recovered those things for the which he had receiued great summes of monie, without making any recompense, where the most part of the occupiers had not receiued scarce a third part of the principall which they had laid forth. For no sufficiency of grant, patent, or other writing to any of them before made, did any thing auail them. Moreover, where he had borrowed a great summe of monie of the merchants of the staple, he bought a feat with the monks of the Cisterciens order to discharge that debt. He told these monks that being constrained with urgent necessitie, he had borrowed that monie of the merchants beyond the sea, upon confidence of their god beneuolence, and therefore he required them to extend their liberalitie so farre to ward him, as to deliuer so much wooll in value, as should discharge that debt. To be short, the monks being overcome with the kings words, threatening kindnesse upon them, fulfilled his request. Moreover not satisfied herewith, he leuied a taske throughout the realme, exacting of euerie hide of land two shillings, according to the grant made to him at Pothingham: and the same was generallie gathered, as well of the spirituall mens lands as of the tempozall.

Rog. Houed.
The king of
Scots made
keth suit for
Northumber-
land.

The king of Scots understanding that the bishop of Durham had given over and resigned the earldome of Northumberland into the kings hands, thought god once againe to assaie if he might compass his desire, and herewith he began his former suit afresh, offering to king Richard sixtene thousand markes of siluer for the whole earldome of Northumberland with the appurtenances, as his father earle Henrie did hold the same before. The king taking counsell in the matter, agreed that he should haue it for that monie, excepting the castles: but the king of Scots would haue castles and all, or else he would not bargain.

Attempzile.

Finallie, after he had sundrie times moued this suit for the hauing of the lands vnto which he pretended a title, and could get nothing of king Richard but faire words, putting him as it were in hope to obtaine that he required at his next returne out of France, vpon the 22 daie of Aprill being fridate, he took leaue of the king, and returned towards his countrie, not verie ioysfull, in that he could not obtaine his suit. King Richard in this meane while caused all those prisoners that were taken in the castles of Pottingham, Tickhill, Harleburgh, Lancaster, and S. Michaels mount, which were of any wealth to be put in prison, that they might fine for their ransoms. The residue he suffered to depart vpon sureties, that were bound for them in an hundred marks a peece, to be forth comming when they should be called.

Rog. Houed.

Now the king (after he had gathered a great portion of monie, and ordeined diuerse things for the behoofe of the common-wealth, thereby to satisfie the hartes of the people) prepared himselfe to saie into Normandie. But first he reconciled the archbishop of Poike, and the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as well for the apprehension & imprisoning of the archbishop at Douer, as for the dishonourable expulsion of the chancellor out of England, in such wise that the chancellor should vpon reasonable summons giuen to him by the archbishop, sweare with the hands of an hundred preests with him, that he neither commanded nor willed that the archbishop should be

apprehended. The controuersie betwixt the two archbishops about the bearing of their crosses, the king would not meddle withall, for (as he said) that pertained to the pope. Yet the archbishop of Canturburie complained to king Richard of the iniurie done to him at that present by the archbishop of Poike, presuming within his prouince to haue his crosse borne before him. At length when the kings prouision was once readie for his voiage into Normandie, he came to Douer, and hearing that the French king had besieged the towne of Wernueil, and that the same was in danger to be taken, he took the sea together with his mother quene Elia, nor on the ninth daie of Maie, and transporting ouer into Normandie, arrived at Harflet with an hundred great ships fraught with men, horses and armour.

The king
transported
ouer into
France.

The French king hearing of king Richards arrival, and that he was comming with a great power to the succour of them within Wernueil, and was already incamped nere to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp his tents in the night before Whit Sunday, and leauing the siege, departed from thence, and took a certaine small fortresse by the waie as he marched, wherein he left a few souldiers to keepe it to his vse. King Richard herewith entring into the French dominions, sent three bands of souldiers towards Vale de Ruell, and went himselfe vnto Loches, and besieging that castell wan it within a short time. The Normans also recovered the citie of Eureur out of the French mens hands, but those that were sent vnto Ruell, and had besieged the castell there an eight daies without anie gaine, hearing that the French king was comming towards them, departed thence, & came backe to the kings campe, whereupon the French king comming to Ruell, raised it to the ground, because his enimie should not at anie time in winning it nestle there to the further damage of the countrie.

The French
king raised
his siege from
Wernueil.

N. Triquet.

About the same time, Robert earle of Leicester (suing forth of Rouen in hope to worke some feat to the damage of the Frenchmen, as he rode somewhat vnadvisedly in the lands of Hugh Courney, fell within danger of his enimies, who took him prisoner, and a few other that were in his companie. The French king after this came with his armie into the coasts of Touraine, and marched nere Wandosme, and there incamped, whereof king Richard being aduertised, drew nere to Wandosme, meaning to assault the French king in his campe, who hauing knowledge thereof dislodged with his armie earlie in the morning, and fled awaie (to his great dishonour) in all hast possible. The king of England with his people following in chase of the French men vnto Manie, and took a great number of prisoners, amongst whom was the French kings chiefe treasurer. Also the Englishmen took manie wagons and sumpters laden with crossbowes, armour, plate, apparel, and the furniture of the French kings chapel. This chanced about 37 daies after his fleeing in the night from Wernueil, of which two sights of the French king (in maner as ye haue heard) we find these verses written:

Rog. Houed.

The earle of
Leicester taken prisoner.

*Gallia fugisti bis, & hoc sub rege Philippo,
Nec sunt sub medio facta pudentia tuo.
Vernolium sumit testem fugam prima, secunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, secunda diem.
Noctem fugam primam rapuisti, mane secunda,
Prima metus vitio, vig. secunda fuit.*

France, twice thou fledst, while Philip reigned,
the world dooth know thy shame,
For Vernueil witness beares of th' one,
next Wandosme knowes the same.

Thy

The first by night, the next by day,
thy heart and force doo shewe,
That first through feare, and next by force,
was wrought thine ouerthrowe.

Cesfey de
Kancin.
The earle of
Engoelme.
The king of
France bzo
thet.

Anno Reg. 6.

Engoelme
Kancin.

Polydor.
Wl. Paruus.

Polydor.

Great exac-
tions.

The colour
pretended in
levying of mo-
nie.

Rog. Houed.
Inquisitions
taken by a
tactic of sundrie
matters.

In this meane while certeine rebels in Guien,
as the lord Cesfey de Kancin or Kancin, and the
earle of Engoelme with their complices, vpon con-
fidence of the French kings assistance, soze disquiet-
ted the countrie. Howbeit, the sonne of the king of
France, and brother to Berengaria the quene of
England, entring into Guien with an armie, wa-
sted the lands of both those rebels, till he was called
home by reason of his fathers death which chanced a-
bout the same time. Shortly after Cesfey Kancin
died, and king Richard comming into his countrie,
took the strong castell of Tailleburge by surrender,
which appertained to the same Cesfey with others,
and then going against the other rebels, he took the
citie of Engoelme from him by force of assault. All
which time the French king stirred not, by reason
that there was some communication in hand for a
truce to be taken betwixt him and king Richard,
which by mediation of certeine bishops was shortly
after concluded, to endure for twelue moneths. The
bishop of Elie was chiefe commissioner for the king
of England, and this truce was accorded about
Lammass, and serued to little purpose, except to giue
libertie to either prince to breathe a little, and in the
meane time to prouide themselves of men, munition,
ships & monie, that immediatlie after the terme
was expired, they might with greater force returne
to the field againe, for they had not onelic a like de-
sire to follow the warres, but also vsed a like meane
and practise to leuie monie.

For whereas they had already made the tempo-
raltie bare with often paymets, and calling them forth
to serue personallie in the warres, they thought best
now to fetch a sterce from the spiritualtie and church-
men, considering also that they had bene by reason
of their immunitie more gentlie dealt with, and not
appointed to serue themselves in any maner of wise.
To colour this exaction which they knew would be
easily taken of manie, they byted abroad, that they le-
uied this monie vpon purpose, to send it into the ho-
lie land, towards the payment of the chistian soldi-
ers, which remained there vpon the defense of those
townes, which yet the Saracens had not conquered.
King Richard therefore comming to Towrs in Tour-
raine, required a great summe of monie of the cle-
gie in those parts, and the like request he made
throughout all those his dominions, on that further
side of the sea. King Philip for his part demanded
likewise intollerable tithes and duties of all the
churchmen in his territories, and those that had the
gathering of that monie serued their owne turne, in
dealing most straightlie with sillie preests, making
them to paie what they thought good, though some-
time beyond the bounds of equitie and reason.

In September, the iustices itinerants made their
circuits thorough euerie shire and countie of this
realme, causing inquisitions to be taken by substan-
tiall iuries of ples of the crowne both old and new,
of recognisances, of escheats, of wards, of marriages,
of all maner of offenders against the lawes and or-
dinances of the realme, and of all other transgressors,
falsifiers, and murderers of Jewes; of the pledges,
goods, lands, debts, and writings of Jewes that were
slaine, and of other circumstances touching that
matter. Likewise of the accompts of shiriffes, as to
vnderstand what had bene giuen towards the kings
ransome, how much had bene received, and what re-
mained behind to receive. Also of the lands that be-
longed to erle John, and what goods he had, and what

he held in demaine, in wards, escheats, and in gifts,
and for what cause they were giuen. Furthermore,
of his fauours and partakers, which had made fines
with the king, and which not, with manie other arti-
cles touching the same earle. Also of vsurers, and of
their goods being seized, of wines sold contrarie to
the assise, of false measures, and of such as hauing re-
ceiued the crosse to go into the holie land, died before
they set forthward. Also of grand assises that were of
an hundred shillings land or vnder, and of defaults,
and of diuerse other things, the iurats were charged
to inquire, and present the same.

The iustices also were appointed to cause the ma-
nours, farmes and lands which the king held in de-
maine, or by wards and escheats, to be surueied by a
substantiall iurie, and to take order for the conuer-
ting of them to such vse, as the king might be answer-
ed of the gaires rising by the same at the farmers
hands. Also, the Jewes were appointed to inroll all
their debts, pledges, lands, houses, rents and posses-
sions. Moreover, inquisition was taken of iustices,
shiriffes, bailiffes, constables, foresters and other
officers belonging to the king, to vnderstand in what
manner they had behaued themselves in taking and
seizing of things into their hands, and of all such
goods, gifts and promises had and receiued by occa-
sion of leasure made of the lands of earle John and his
fauours, and who receiued the same, and what delat-
ion was granted by commandement of Hubert arch-
bishop of Canturburie, then lord chiefe iustice.

In this meane time, whilst these inquisitions were
thus taken in England, king Richard comming
forth of Poitou into Anjou, caused all the bailiffes
and officers of that countrie, and also of Maine, to
fine with him for their offices. After this, when he
came downe into Normandie, he seemed in shew to
be offended with his chancelour the bishop of Elie,
about concluding of the truce with the French king
(where as ye haue heard he was chiefe commis-
sioner) mistaking greatlie all that was done therein,
and therefore he took the seale from him, and caused
a new seale to be made, commanding to be procla-
med thorough all his dominions, that whatsoeuer
had bene sealed with the old seale, should stand in no
force, both for that his chancelor had wrought more
vndiscreetlie than was conuenient; and againe, be-
cause the same seale was lost, when Roger Palus
Catus his vicechancelour was drowned, who per-
ished among other by shipwracke, nere to the Ile
of Cypres, before the king arrived there, being as
then on his iourne into the holie land. Therefore all
men had commandement to come to this new seale,
that they might haue their charters and writings
confirmed.

Furthermore, whilst the truce yet lasted, king
Richard sailed ouer into England, where he caused
turneis to be exercised in diuerse places, for the bet-
ter training vp of souldiers in feats of warre, that
they might growe more skilfull and perfect in the
same, when they should come to the triall of their
forces, whereby he raised no small summes of monie
for granting licence to his subjects so to tourne. E-
uerie earle that would tourne, paid to him for his li-
cence twentie marks, euerie baron ten marks, and
euerie knight hauing lands, did giue foure marks,
and those that had no lands two marks, to the great
damniens of the people; hauing learned the com-
mon lesson, and receiued the ordinarie rule follow-
ed of all, and neglected of none; namelic,

—opus est membris vel morte relicto,
vel forte inuentis, vel quavis arte paratis,
Quippe inopem mala multa pati contingit vbiq;
Nec sine diuitijs suis cuiquam deducere vitam
Felicem, &c.

Usurers.

Jewes.

Iustices, shir-
riffes and o-
ther officers.

Hubert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie lord
chiefe iustice.

Officers dis-
cuss to fine for
their offices.
The king of-
fended with
the lord chan-
celor.

A new seale.

Marth. Paris.
The king re-
turneth into
England.
He granteth
the English
men licence
to tourne.

Rog. Houed.
Fines paid
for licence to
exercise tur-
niments.

Mal. Pal. in
suo cap.

The charter of this grant was delivered by the king unto William earle of Salisburie, to haue the keeping thereof: but Hubert Walter the archbishop of Canturburie, and lord chiefe iustice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the monie, for the scraping and raking together thereof, in huge sums, he put the former thiffs of extortion and exaction in practise.

The tenour of the charter concerning the turnements before remembered.

Richard by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Anjou, to the reuerend father in Christ, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, sendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue granted turnaments to be kept in England in due steeds, to wit, betwixt Sarisburie and Winton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmeford, betwixt Brackeley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie & Tickhill, so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our iustices authoritie diminished, nor any damage doone to our forrests. Provided that what earle soeuer will turney there, shall giue to vs twentie markes, a baron ten markes, a knight that hath lands foure markes and he that hath no lands shall giue two markes.

Moreover, no stranger shall be admitted to turney there, wherevpon we command you, that at the daie of the turnieng, ye haue there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receive the oth of the earles and barons, which shall fauillie vs of the said summes of monie, before the turnieng begin, & that they suffer none to turney, till (before) they haue made payment, and haue caused to be entred how much & of whom they haue receiued: and ye shall take ten markes for this charter to our vse, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges. Witnesse my selfe, at Ville Leuesche, the two and twentieth of August.

Bishops
towne.

Furthermore, ordinances were made and set forth for the safe keeping of the peace, so that such as would turney, neither by the way in comming or going, or whilst the turnieng lasted, should violentlie take any thing to serue their necessarie vses, without paying therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor should do iniurie to any man in any manner of wise. But now to the other doings of king Richard, who made no long abode in England at this time, but shortly returned into Normandie, because he heard that king Philip had an armie readie leuied. Therefore meaning to buckle with him upon occasion offered, he made the more hast, and being landed there, approached vnto the borders of the French dominions, incamping himselfe with his armie in the field, to wait for the time that the truce should be expired, least the enimie should in any exploit preuent him. In like manner king Philip hauing with him earle John king Richards brother, kept his souldiers and men of warre in a readines with him, to worke any feat that should be thought expedient as soon as the truce should end.

I thinke he
came not ouer
at all into En-
gland at this
time, but ra-
ther sent his
mind vnto
the archbi-
shop.

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Which both these kings were thus bent to potize out their malice, and to ease their stomachs with

dint of sword, there came messengers from the pope, exhorting him vnto peace and quietnes, but his exhortation little auailed. For they regarding it little or nothing, immediatlie as the truce was expired, got them abroad into the field, & king Richard drew towards Faldune, a towne situate in the confines of Berry, whither it was reported that the French king meant to come: and there staid for him a whole day together. But the French king hearing that king Richard was there to loke for him, thought it best not to come there at all. Therefore king Richard went the next daie vnto a castell called Buisson, and toke it vpon his first approach. Then went he to a towne called Pouencourt, and perceiuing the same to be strong and well manned, toke not in hand to assaile it till the third daie after his comming thither, at that time he so inclosed the same round about with diligent watch and ward, that a cat could not haue escaped out of the place, neither by daie nor night, but that she should haue bene espied. They within being put in feare herewith, yielded vnto the towne the daie next following, in which meane time the French king besieged Albemarle.

Wherevpon king Richard, hauing left a garrison of souldiers in Pouencourt, came to raise the enimie from his siege, & setting vpon the Frenchmen, there began a sharpe fight: but the Englishmen being wearie with trauell of their passed iournie, and hauing rashlie entred into the battell, were not able to indure the Frenchmens violence, so that (not without great losse) they were constrained to retire with swift flight, or (to saie the truth) to run a waite a maine pace. The French king hauing thus chased his enimies, returned to assault Albemarle, wone the castell by force, and the towne by composition, permitting the garrison there to depart with all their armour. This done, he ruinated the castell flat to the ground. Robert earle of Leicester offered to the French king a thousand markes sterling for his ransome, and to quite claime to him and his helres for euer all the right which he had to the castell of Falsie, with the appurtenances, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the pope, and of the king of England: but for that the warre still lasted, the French king toke a respite in answering this offer, neuertheless after wards in the yeare next ensuing, he toke it, and so the earle was set at libertie.

Not long after this foresaid repulse, the king of England hauing refreshed his souldiers with some rest after their great trauell, went to Millon, and giuing assault to the towne wone it at the first bunt, and made it plaine with the earth. Then was a motion made for peace betwixt the two kings, being now wearied with long wars: whereof when earle John was aduertised, who (as it should seme by some writers) hauing tarried with the French king till this present, began now to doubt least if any agreement were made, he might happilie be betrayed of the French king by couenants that should passe betwixt them: he determined therefore with himselfe to commit his whole safetie to his naturall brother, and to no man else, perceiuing that the French king made not so great accompt of him after the losse of his castels in England, as he had done before.

Wherevpon comming to his brother king Richard, he besought him to pardon his offense, and though he had not dealt brotherlie towards him, yet that he would brotherlie forgive him his rebellious trespasses, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore bene thankfull for his manifold benefits which he had receiued at his hands, yet he was now most forie therefore, and was willing to make amends: wherewith he acknowledged the safeguard of his life to rest in him, for the which he was bound to giue him thanks

Pouencourt
yielded to R.
Richard.
Albemarle
besieged.
Matt. West.
Polydon.

Robt. Houel:
The earle of
Leicester
offer for his
ransome.

Millon was
and rased.
A motion for
peace.

Carle John
returneth to
the king his
brother, and is
pardoned.

Wil. Parous.
R. Houed.
March. Paris.

Rog. Houed.

Rog. Houed.
Wil. Parous.
March. Paris.
Polychron.

Baldwin de
Betun.

Duke Leo-
pold catcheth
a fall beside
his horse
and dieth of
the hurt.

thanks, if he would grant thereto. The king moued with his words, made this answer (as it is said) that he pardoned him indeed, but yet wished that he might forget such iniuries as he had received at his hands, which he doubted least he should not easilie do. Here with erle John being yet put in good hope of forgiveness, swore to be true euer after vnto him, and that he would endenour himselfe to make amends for his misdeeds past, and so was shortly after restored vnto his former degree, honour and estimation in all respects.

But by some writers it should appeare, that earle John, immediatly vpon conclusion of the first truce, came from the French king, and submitted himselfe to his brother, and by mediation of the quene their mother was pardoned, receiued againe into fauour, and serued euer after against the French king verie dutifullie, seeking by new atchieued enterprises brought about (to the contentation of his brother) to make a recompense for his former misdeemeanors, re-puting it mere madnesse to make means to further mischief; for

*Stultum est hostem irritare potentem,
Atq; malum maius tumidis sibi querere verbis.*

But at what time soeuer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden saith) he was restored to the earldoms of Poxtaigne in Normandie, and Gloucester in England, with the honour of Cie (the castels onelic excepted) and in recompense of the residue of the earldoms which he had before inioied, together with certeine other lands, his brother king Richard gaue vnto him a yerelie pension amounting to the summe of eight thousand pound of Antouin monie. ¶ Now here to staie a while at matters chancing here about home, I will speake somewhat of the doings of Leopold duke of Austria, who as one nothing moued with the pestilence and famine that oppressed his countrie in this season, but rather hauing his hart hardened, began to threaten the English hostages that they should lose their liues, if king Richard kept not the couenants which he had vnder taken to performe by a day appointed. Wherevpon Baldwin Betun one of the hostages was sent by common agreement of the residue vnto king Richard, to signifie to him their estate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further danger, sent with the same Baldwin his cosen, the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus, to be conueied vnto the said duke of Austria, the one, namely the sister of Arthur to be ioined in marriage with the dukes sonne, and the other to continue in the dukes hands to bestow at his pleasure.

But in the meane time, on saint Stephens day, duke Leopold chanced to haue a fall beside his horse, and hurt his leg in such wise, that all the surgeons in the countrie could not helpe him, wherevpon in extreame anguish he ended his life. And whereas before his death he required to be absolved of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the pope (for apprehending of king Richard in his returning from his iourne made into the holie land) he was answered by the cleargie, that except he would receiue an oth to stand to the iudgement of the church for the iniurie done to king Richard, and that vlesse other of the possibilitie would receiue the like oth with him if he chanced to die (whereby he might not fulfill that which the church herein should decree) that yet they should see the same performed, he might not otherwise be absolved.

Wherefore he toke the oth, and the Nobles of his countrie with him, and therewithall released the English pledges, remitted the monie that yet remained behind of his portion aforesaid, and immediatly

therewith died. After his deceasse, because certeine peeces of the countrie withstood the performance of the premises, his bodie laie eight daies longer aboue ground than otherwise it should haue done, for till such time as all the pledges were perfectlie released, it might not be buried. Also Baldwin de Betun approaching nere to the confines of Austria, when he heard that the duke was dead, returned with the two ladies vnto his soueraigne lord king Richard. This (as ye haue heard) for state of the censures of the church were the pledges restored, and the residue of the monie behind released.

¶ All this was both pleasant and profitable for king Richards soules helth (as may be thought) in much he took occasion therat to amend his former life, by considering how much he might be reprehended for his sundrie faults committed both against God and man. A marvellous matter to heare, how much fro that time forward he reformed his former trade of liuing into a better forme & order. Wherevpon, the emperor gaue to the Cisterciens monks 3000 marks of siluer, parcell of king Richards ransome, to make siluer censers in euerie church throughout where they had any houses: but the abbats of the same order refused the gift, being a portion of so longfull and vngoodlie a gaine. At which thing, when it came to the knowledge of R. Richard, he greatlie marvelled at the first, but after commended the abbats in their doings, and chaste for shewing that they were bold of the accustomed grauidesse of hauing, which most men supposed them to be much infected withall.

King Richard this yeare pardoned Hugh Pouant bishop of Couentrice of all his wrath and displeasure conceiued toward him, and restored to him his bishoplike for five thousand marks of siluer. But Robert Pouant the same bishops brother died in the kings prison at Douer. Also whereas the archbishop of Yorke had offended king Richard, he pardoned him, and receiued him againe into fauour, with the kisse of peace. Wherevpon the archbishop wared so proud, that vising the king reprochfullie, he lost his archbishoplike, the rule of Yorke which he had in gouernment as shrifte, the fauour of his soueraigne, and (which was the greatest losse of all) the loue of God. For

*Nemo superbus amittit superos, nec amittitur ab illis,
Pulsi humiles Deus ac mites, habitant libenter
Mansuetos animos procul ambitione remotos,
Inflatos vero ac ventisq; deprimunt idem,
Nec patitur secum puro consistere olympo.*

Wherevpon, through the kings request, pope Celestine this yeare made the archbishop of Canturburie legat of all England by his bulls directed to him, bearing date at his palace in Rome called Lateran the fifteenth kalends of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of his papacie. Furthermore, the pope wrote to the English cleargie, giuing them to vnderstand that he had created the said archbishop of Canturburie his legat, commanding them so to accept him: by vertue of which letters, the archbishop Hubert being now both archbishop of Canturburie, legat of the apostolike see, and lord chiefe iustice of England, appointed to hold a councell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the abbat of Winham in Northfolke, and one maister Geruile, vnto the canons of Yorke, and to the archbishops officials of his purposed intention.

The said canons and officials well considering of the popes letters, which were deliuered vnto them by the messengers, signified for answer, that they would gladlie receiue him as legat of the apostolike see, but not as archbishop of Canturburie, nor as their priuat. Wherewith he came to Yorke vpon saint Barnabies daie being sundae, and was receiued with procession.

Rog. Houed.
Hugh Pouant
bishop of Co-
uentrice resto-
red to his see.

The archbishop
of Yorke.

M. Pal. in
suo sag.

Pope Cele-
stine.
The archbishop
of Canturbu-
rie is made
popes legat.

A trinitie of
offices in vni-
tie of person.

A synod holden at York.

procession. On the morrow after, he held a court of ples of the crowne, of assises, and such other matters touching the king. On the next day being Tuesday, he entred into the monasterie of saint sparies in Porke, and deposed the abbat, because of his infirmitie of bodie, at the request of the monks; but the abbat appealed to the popes consistorie. Then he assembled the cleargie in the church of saint Peter in Porke; and there held a synod for reformation of things amisse in the church, and amendment of manners in the cleargie, so that diuerse decrees were made, the which for breuenesse we omit to speake of in particular. This yere also, the said archbishop Hubert caused all men throughout the realme of England to receiue an oth of obseruing the kings peace, and to sweare that they should not be robbers, nor abettors of robbers, nor in any wise consenting vnto them, but should do what in them might, to apprehend all such offenders, and to discouer them to the kings officers to be apprehended, and to pursue them vpon heu and erie to the uttermost of their powers, and those that withholde themselves from such pursuit, should be apprehended as partakers with the offenders.

The emperor sendeth to the king.

Anno Reg. 7.

The bishop of Elie is sent to the emperor.

About this time the emperor sent to king Richard, requiring him in no wise to conclude any peace with the French king, but rather to invade his dominions, promising to aid him all that he might. But king Richard, to vnderstand further of the emperours mind herein, sent ouer his chancellor the bishop of Elie vnto him in ambassage. In the meane time the warre was still continued betwixt him and the French, by the which they were commonly put to the worse, and king Richard invading their borders, did much hurt in waisting the countreies on each side. The French king was at one time so narrowly chased, that as he would haue passed a bridge that laie ouer the water of Saine, he was in danger of drowning by the fall of the same vnder him, but yet at the length he escaped, and got to the further side.

The 2 kings talke together.

After this, the two kings came to a communication together, in the which a motion was made, that helues the French king his sonne and heire should haue the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine in marriage, and that king Richard in consideration thereof should surrender vnto them and to their heires the townes of Cisors, Bademont, with the countrie of Menquesne or Meurine le Fromant, Cleron, Nerrie and Palsie; and further should giue vnto them twenty thousand marks of siluer. On the other side it was moued, that the French king should resigne vnto king Richard all that he could demand in the countie of Engoulesme, and should restore vnto him the countreies of Albemarle and Augie, with the castell of Arkes, and all other castells which he had taken in Normandie, or in any partie during these last warres. But there was a respite taken for the full concluding and assuring of these conditions, till the octaues of All saints, that king Richard might vnderstand the emperours pleasure, without whose consent he might not conclude any thing concerning that matter, because he had sent such word vnto him by the lord chancellor, who at this time was attendant in his court.

In the meane time, the emperor being aduertised of the whole matter, and of the articles aforesaid mentioned, gaue knowledge to king Richard by the bishop of Elie at his returning backe, that this forme of peace nothing liked him, but rather made discredit to his discontentment: the which least he might seeme to saie without sufficient ground of reason, he alledged, that it should sound to king Richards dishonour, if he surrendered and gaue by any thing

that he had not in possession. And to encourage him to recover those things which had bene taken from him, the emperor pardoned him of the seven thousand marks of siluer, which yet remained behind due to him for the kings ransom. Whosoever the matter passed, the two kings met not in the octaues of All saints, according to the appointment, although they were come, and approached verie nere to the place where they should haue communed together: but through the dissimulation of the French men, they departed, without seeing one another, and immediately began the warres fiercelie as at any time before.

The French king took the towne of Diep, which king Richard had lately repaired, and burned it, with the ships that harbored in the haven: after this, coming to Faldun, he took the towne and besieged the castell. But king Richard aduertised thereof, came with quick speed (making of these daies iourne but one) and entred into the castell of Faldun to defend the same against his aduersaries: and forthwith there resorted such numbers of men vnto him, when they heard how he was besieged, that the French king doubting how to retire from thence in safetie, made suit first to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be granted, he required at the leastwise to talke with the king of England about some agreement.

Wherevnto king Richard condescended, and so coming together, they concluded vpon a truce to indure from that date, being saturday next after the feast of saint Nicholas, vnto the feast of saint Hilarie next ensuing, and then to meet againe nere vnto Louiers with their counsels, that they might grow by some reasonable way vnto a final peace and concord. And according to this article, shortly after the same feast of saint Hilarie, they met at Louiers, where finally they were accorded to conclude a peace on these conditions, that the French king should release to the king of England Faldun, with the countrie about, won by him sith the beginning of these wars; likewise, all the right which he had in Berrie, Annergine, and Gascoigne, and the countie of Albemarle. On the other part, the king of England should resigne Cisors, and certeine other places, and namelie Meurine or Menquesne vnto the king of France.

Herevpon were suerties also bound for performance, and the forfeiture of sixtene thousand marks assigned to be paid by the partie that first brake the peace. Shortly after, the French king repenting himselfe of the agreement, began to make a warre anew, so that king Richard seized into his hands all the goods and possessions which belonged to the abbats of the order of the great monasterie of Clunie, and of saint Denise & la Charitie, which had become suertie for the French king in the summe of 1500 marks aforesaid. This yere died William de Forz earle of Albemarle, in whose place succeeded Baldwin de Betun by the kings gift, and married the countesse of Albemarle.

There was a motion also made for a marriage betwixt the lord Ethe, sonne to Henrie duke of Saroynie, king Richards nephue by his sister, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Scots, so as they should haue inioined the countreies of Lothian, Northumberland, and the countie of Carleill with the castells. For the conclusion of which marriage, the archbishop of Canturburie was sent about Christinas to commune with the king of Scots: but because the Scottish queene was then conceiued of child, hir husband (in hope that God would send him a sonne) refused to stand vnto the aboue mentioned covenants.

The emperor dissuadeth the king from agreeing to the peace.

The warres began at Diep.

The host which king Richard made.

The 2 kings againe talke together of peace.

1196

The conditions of peace concluded betwixt the two kings.

March, West.

March, West. March, Paris.

Rog. Houed. The earle of Albemarle departed this life.

Who formed the duke of Saroynie.

Laws.

to his M.

Will. Parous.
Ran. Higd.
The abbat of
Cen sent into
England.

President
serving in
Cen.

At this time king Richard sent the abbat of Caen (who was also the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of those that had the receipts of the kings monie: for this abbat had informed the king, that his receivers and officers here in the realme dealt not iustlie in making their accompts, but both deceived the king, and oppressed his people, in crating more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to stand accomptable for. The king supposing his words to be true, or at least likeli so to be, and that in reforming such vnttruth in his officers, it should be both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, sent this abbat ouer with commission, to be as it were his generall auditour.

Wholobest, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, which was gouernour of the realme in causes both temporall and spirittuall (by reason he had the kings authoritie as his vicegerent, & therefore sufficientlie countenanced, & also the popes as his legat authorisied) did somewhat stomach the matter, in that it should be thought he did suffer such abuses in the kings officers, and not reforme them. But he held him content and said little, with the abbat thelved him the kings commission to do that which he went about, although he brought it not to passe. For where as he came ouer in lent, and gaue out commandements, that all such as had any thing to do in receipt of the kings monie, should appeare before him after Easter, he tarried not to see Easter himselfe, but was called into another world by the stroke of death, there to render accompts for his owne acts here in this life committed.

At the same time there was another person in London called William with the long beard (alias Fitz Albert) which had likewise informed the king of certeine great oppressions and excessive outrages used by rich men against the poore (namelie the worshipfull of the citie, the Mayor and Aldermen) who in their housings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reason, to ease themselves; whereupon the said William being a seditious person, and of a buisie nature, ceased not to make complaints. Now because the king gaue care vnto him at the first, he took a boldnesse thereof, & drawing vnto him great routs of the poore sort of people, would take vpon him to defend the causes of those that found themselves graued with the heauie yoke of richmen and gentlemen. He was somewhat learned, and verie eloquent: he had also a verie good wit, but he applied it rather to set dissention betwixt the high estates and the low, than to anie other good purpose. He accused also his owne brother of treason, who in his youth had kept him to schole, & bene verie good and beneficiall brother vnto him, because now he would not will mainteine him with monie to beare out his riotous port. Moreover, he declared to the king, that by extortion and bribery of certeine men of great wealth, he lost manie forfeits and estates.

Manie gentlemen of honour sore hated him for his presumptuous attempts to the hindring of their purposes: but he had such comfort of the king, that he little passed for their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king being aduertised of the assemblies which he made, commanded him to cease from such doings, that the people might fall againe to their sciences and occupations, which they had for the more part left off, at the instigation of this William with the long beard, so named of the long beard of his beard, which he nourished of purpose to seme the more graue and manlike, and also as it were in despite of them which counterfeited the Normans (that were for the most part shauen) and because he would resemble the ancient visage of the English

nation. The kings commandement in restraint of the peoples resort vnto him, was well kept a while, but it was not long yer they began to follow him againe as they had done before.

Then he took vpon him to make vnto them certeine collations or sermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris*, that is to saie: Ye shall draw in gladnesse waters out of the founteins of your sauour. And hereto he added, I am (said he) the sauour of poore men; ye be the poore, and haue assailed the hard hands and beaue burdens of the rich: now draw ye therefore the healthfull waters of vnderstanding out of my welles and springs, and that with ioy. For the time of your visitation is come: I shall part waters from waters, by waters I vnderstand the people, and I shall part the people which are good and meke, from the people that are wicked and proud, and I shall disceuer the good and euill, euen as light is diuided from darkenesse.

By these and such persuasions and means as he used, he had gotten two and fiftie thousand persons, readie to haue taken his part, as appeared after by a roll of their names found in his keeping, besides diuerse instruments of iron to breake by houses, and other things seruing to such like purposes. So that he brought the commoners into a great liking of him: but the rich and wealthie citizens stood in much feare, so that they kept their houses, in armes, in doubt to be robbed and murthred by him in the night season.

The archbishop of Canturburie (vnto whome the rule of the realme chiefele belonged) being aduertised hereof, sent for the greatest number of the citizens, and vsing them with gentle words, perswaded them to deliuer pledges, the better to assure him, that no such thing should chance, which was suspected of manie, though he was loth to concele any such opinion of them. They being overcome with his courteous words, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the foresaid William ceased not to make congregations of the people, at length the archbishop sent a commandement vnto him, that he should appeare before him and other of the counsell, at a certeine prefixed date, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. To be short, he did so at the time appointed, but with such a rout of the common people about him, that the archbishop durst not pronounce against him, but licenced him to depart for that time, giving him soft and gentle words. Wholobest, certeine persons were then appointed by the said archbishop and other of the counsell to watch him sometime, when he should haue no great companie about him, and then to apprehend him.

Amongst those that were thus commanded to attach him, were two burgesses of the citie, who hauing espied a conuenient time for the execution of their purpose, set vpon him to haue taken him, but he getting an ar, defended himselfe manfully: and in resisting slue one of them, and after that fled into the church of S. Marie Bow, keeping the same not as a place of sanctuarie, but as a fortresse: in somuch that by the helpe of such as resorted vnto him, he defended it against his aduersaries, till with fire and smoke they constrained him to come forth, and all those that were there with him: amongst them also was his concubine, who neuer left him for any danger that might betide him.

The people regarding the danger of their pledges, came not out to aid him, as it was much doubted they would haue done. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought forth, and conuined out of the church, the sonne of that burgesse whome he had slaine (as you haue heard) strake him verie sore into the bellie with a knife, in reuenge of his fathers death.

This oration
to the people.

Ger. Dor.

He is called
before the
archbishop of
Canturburie
lord chiefe
iustice of prela-
ment of the
realme.

He fleth into
the church of
S. Marie
Bow.

His concu-
bine.

Fabian.
Will. Parous.
Matt. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
William Fitz
Albert.

The foule dis-
order in the
citizens of
London.

The vnnatu-
rall ingrati-
tude of Fitz
Albert.

who he wore
his long beard.
Matt. Paris.

He is executed.

Wil. Parvus.
Matth. Paris.

The archbish.
of Canturbu-
rie could speke
of, for the death
of William
first of Bert.

An old whor-
monger, and a
new saint.

death. After this, he was had to his arraignment be-
fore the archbishop, sitting within the towre, and be-
ing condemned, was from thence dravone with hors-
es to the place of execution called the Elmes, and
there hanged on a gibet, with nine of his adherents,
which had defended the church against the kings
power: and yet for all this, the grudge ceased not,
but the common people raised a great slander upon
the archbishop, both for causing him to be taken out
of the church, where he claimed privilege of sanctu-
arie, and also for putting him to death, who was inno-
cent (as they alledged) and not guilty of those crimes
that were laid against him: who sought onelie the de-
fence of poore people against extortioners, and such
as were wrong doers.

This rumour rose so fast, that at length (by buying
abroad, that certeine miracles should be wrought by
a chaine, wherein he was bound in time of his im-
prisonment) he was taken for a saint. The place also
where he suffered, was visited by women, and other
superstitious folks, as a plot of great holinesse, till at
length the archbishop caused it to be watched, to the
end that no such foolishnesse should be bled there. In
fine, the opinion which the people had thus fondlie
conceivd of his vertue and innocencie, was by lit-
tle and little remoued out of their heads, when his
acts were more certeinly published: as the cleaving
of a man with his owne hands, and the using of his
conceivd within Bowe church, during the time of
his being there. Also the archbishop accused a priest,
which had first brought by the false report and fained
fable of the miracle wrought by the chaine, whereby
the occasion of idolatrie was first giuen, and might
easilie haue bene continued, if the archbishop had not
bene the wisser man, and by such means repressed the
rumour. ¶ So that we are to note by this example
the force of counterfeit holinesse and feigned harme-
lesnesse in hypocrits,

qui pelle sub agni

Piperium celant vix morsq; luporum,
Et solidos ficta virtutis imagine fallunt.

But now to returne unto the doings of king Ri-
chard in France. We haue heard how a peace was
concluded (as some haue written) but the same con-
tinued not long: for the French king seeming to re-
pent himselfe of that he had done (as is aforesaid)
broke the peace, and raising a power, besieged Albe-
marle, at length wan it, and rased it downe to the
ground, then king Richard gaue vnto him three thou-
sand marks of siluer for the ranfome of his knights
and peomen, or demilances (as I may call them) that
were taken in that fortesse. After this, the French
king wan Pouencourt, and earle John toke the cas-
tell of Camages.

The erle doine
of Poitou.

John Bou-
chet his doubt.

About the same time also king Richard gaue vnto
his nephew Otho the earledome of Poitou. Which
I haue thought good to note out of Roger Houeden,
to remoue the doubt of John Bouchet, who in the
third part of his annales of Aquitaine, martelleth
at an old panchart or record which he had seene, by
the tenour wherof it appeared, that this Otho in-
tuled himselfe duke of Aquitaine and earle of Poic-
ton, being in his castell of Monstrecoulbon in nere
to Poitiers, in the yeare a thousand, one hundredth,
ninethie nine, in presence of Gessrey de Lusigney, and
others, and granted vnto a certeine person the office
of putting the monie in the mint of that towne, as
by the same panchart it further appeareth.

The sight wherof brought the said Bouchet into
a great perplexitie, considering that no chronicle
which he had either seene, or heard of, made mention
of any Otho that shuld be duke of Aquitaine, or erle
of Poitou, either before that time, or after. Where
again it was euident to him, that queene Elianor

the mother of king Richard, as then liuing, named
hir selfe dutchesse of Aquitaine, and countesse of
Poitou; & likewise king Richard intituled himselfe
duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poitou, euer after
he had fianced the earle of Barcelons daughter, as
by diuerse records both of the mother and the sonne
he had seene perfect notice. At length yet he gesseth
(and that trulie) that it should be this Otho, to whom
the mother and sonne had assigned the dutchie of A-
quitaine and countie of Poitou, for the mainte-
nance of his estate, he holding the same till the yeare
1199, in the which he was made emperor by king
Richards good helpe, as after shall be shewed more
at large.

About this time also as the countesse of Britaine,
the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to
haue spoken with king Richard, Ranulph earle of
Chester hir husband meeting hir at Mountourson,
toke hir as prisoner, and shut hir by within his cas-
tell at St. James de Beumeron: and when hir sonne
Arthur could not find means to deliuer hir out of
captiuitie, he ioined with the king of France, and
made great hauoche in the lands of his vnckle king
Richard, whereupon the king gathered a mightie ar-
mie, and inuading Britaine with great force, cruel-
lie waiked and destroyed the countrie.

Here is also to be noted, that in this seventh yeare
of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this
realme of England, and in the coasts about the same.
Also about the same time died William earle of Sa-
lisburie, the sonne of earle Patrike, whose daughter
and heire king Richard gaue in marriage, together
with the earledome of Salisburie, vnto his hals bro-
ther, surnamed Long Espé.

It chanced moreover about the same time, that
earle John the kings brother, with certeine cap-
teins of such hired souldiours as some call Brabance-
ni; others, the Routz; and the French histories name
them Costereaux, or Coterels, went abroad to at-
tchue some enterpryse against the bishop of Beau-
nois, and other Frenchmen, which had done much
hurt to king Richards subiects in those parties. The
chefe leaders of those Routz or Costereaux, which
went forth with earle John, and serued vnder him at
that time, were two Breuanois, Marchades & Lu-
pescaro. These riding forth into the countrie about
Beauuois, made hauoche in robbing and spoiling
all afore them.

Anon as Philip the bishop of Beauuois, a man
more giuen to the campe than to the church, had
knowledge hereof, thinking them to be a meet preie
for him, with sir William de Berlow and his sonne,
and a great number of other valliant men of warre,
came forth into the felds, and encountering with the
enimies, fought verie hotlie. But yet in the end
the bishop, the archdeacon, and all the chiefe capteins
were taken: the residue flaine and chased. After this,
earle John and the foresaid capteins passed forth, and
wan the towne of Millie, and so returned.

Earle John and Marchades presented the two
prelats with great trining, vnto is. Richard earle
in the morning, lieng yet in his bed, as those that
were knotone to be his great enimies, saing to him
in French; Kise Richard, rise, we haue gotten the
great chantour of Beauuois, and a good quier man
(as we take it) to answer him in the same note, and
here we deliuer them vnto you to vse at your discre-
tion. The king seing them, smiled, and was verie
glad for the taking of this bishop, for that he had neuer
found him his great aduersarie: and therefore being
thus taken fighting in the feld with armour on his
backe, thought he might be bold in tempo: all tosse to
chastise him: sith he (not regarding his calling) prac-
tised to make him with tempo: all weapons: where-
upon

Ranulph earle
of Chester
toke his wife
the dutchesse
of Britains
prisoner.

A dearth.

The death of
the earle of
Salisburie.

R. Houed.
Matth. Paris.

Marchades &
Lupescaro.

The bishop of
Beauuois was
taken prisoner.

A

to
him
of

upon he committed him to close prison all armed as he was.

It chanced some after, that two of his chaplains came unto the king to Rouen, where this bishop was detained, beseeching the king of licence to attend upon their maister now in captiuitie: unto whom (as it is of some reported) the king made this answer; I am content to make you iudges in the cause betwixt me and your maister, as for the euils which he hath either done, either else gone about to do vnto me, let the same be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iourne made into the holie land, and deliuered into the emperours hands, was in respect of my kinglie state, vsed according thereto berie frendlie and honourable, till your maister comming thither (for what purpose he himselfe best knoweth) had long conference with the emperour. After which, I for my part in the next morning tasted the fruit of their ouernights talke, being then laden with as manie irons as a god ass might not berie easilie haue borne. Iudge you therefor, what manner of imprisonment your maister desired at my hands, that procured such ease for me at the emperours hands.

The two chaplains had their mouths stopped with these words thus by the king uttered, and so departed their waies. The bishop being still detained in prison, procured suit to be made to the pope for his deliuerance: but the pope, being truelie informed of the matter, and wiselie considering that the king had not taken the bishop preaching, but fighting, and kept him prisoner rather as a rough enimie, than as a peaceable prelat, would not be earnest with the king for his deliuerance, but rather reprobued the bishop, in that he had preferred secular warfare before the spirituall, and had taken upon him the vse of a speare in stead of a crosse, an helmet in stead of a mitre, an herbergeon in stead of a white rochet, a target for a scole, and an iron sword in lieu of the spirituall sword: and therefore he refused to vse any commandement to king Richard for the setting of him at libertie. But yet he promised to do what he could by waie of intreating, that he might be released.

It is reported by some writers, that the pope at first, not vnderstanding the truth of the whole circumstance, should send to king Richard, commanding him by force of the canons of the church to deliuer his sons the bishop and archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king sent their armour with this message written in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tui sit an non*, that is, See whether these are the garments of thy sonnes or not: alluding to the saying of those that caried Iosephs coate to Jacob. Which when the pope saw, he said: Paie by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my sonnes, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the vestures of the children of Hars: and so he left them still to be ransomed at the kings pleasure. The bishop thus seeing no hope to be deliuered without some agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through sickness of his bonds, an earnest mediatour for peace, whereas before he had bene an extreme stirrer vp of war. Such a scholemaster is imprisonment, & plucker downe of lostie courages. But to proceed.

About the same time the archbishop of Rouen put all the countie of Normandie vnder sentence of interdiction, because king Richard had begun to fortifie a castell at Lisle Dandelle, vpon a peece of ground which the archbishop claimed to appertene vnto his see. The matter was brought before the pope, who perceiving the intent of king Richard was not otherwise grounded vpon any couetous purpose to defraude the church of hir right, but onlie to build a fortreffe in such place as was most expedient for de-

fense of the countie about, to preserve it from invasion of the enimies; he counselled the archbishop not to stand against the king in it, but to exchange with him for some other lands: which was done, and the interdiction by the pope released. The bishop of Cle lord chancellor, being sent about this businesse towards Rome, departed this life by the way at Poitiers, in Januarie.

The bishop of Cle departed this life.

But the bishops of Durham & Liscie that were sent with him, passed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the pope of the matter, who took order with the bishops (as before is mentioned.) The king gaue to the church in Rouen in recompense, his milles which he had in Rouen, so that the said church should paie the almes of old time appointed to be giuen for the same. He gaue to the said church likewise the towne of Diepe, and the towne of Bussels, so that the church should likewise paie the almes assigned forth of the same, being the summe of 372 pounds of Antouine monie: also the manour of Louers, and the forrest of Alermound with the dore and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

About the same time, or not long before, whereas there had bene long contention betwixt the kings of England, and the earles of S. Giles for the earldome of Tholouse, king Richard by way of alliance fell now at an appointment with the earle Raimond that held those lands: for whereas the countesse Constance wife to the said Raimond earle of Tholouse and aunt to king Philip was now departed this life, king Richard concluded a mariage betwene the said earle and his sister Joane queene of Sicile, sometime wife to William king of Sicile, so that being thus ioined in alliance with the said earle of Tholouse on the one side, he procured a league also with Baldwin earle of Flanders on the other, vnto whom he gaue five thousand markes in reward, vpon condition, that he should couenant not to grow to any agreement with the French king without his consent. Likewise Reginold the earle of Bolongne, that was sonne to the earle of Chasteau Martine, allied himselfe with them against the French king, and so did Baldwin earle of Guines with diuerse other.

Rog. Houed.
The king and the earle of Tholouse agreed.

Matt. Paris.
The earle of Flanders allied with R. Richard.

Iacob. Meir.
Les annales de France.

Thus king Richard by such alliance hauing his part greatlie strengthened, prepared himselfe to the warre more earnestlie than before, and took order with the earle of Flanders, that they should inuade the French dominions in two seuerall quarters both at one time, as the earle by Flanders, & he himselfe by Normandie, according to the appointment betwixt them deuised. The earle preparing an armie, first wan the towne of Dowlaie, and then besieged saint Omers, and wan it after five weekes siege: whereupon they of Aire yielded to him; shortly after he entred into Artois, & besieged the citie of Arras.

Iacob. Meir.
Wil. Parous.

Towns won by the earle of Flanders.

At the same time king Richard marching towards Gisors, wan in his waie the castell of Cozelles, & destroyed it; that done, he came to Gisors, and besieged the towne, waiking all the countie round about him where he came. The French king being thus troubled with the invasion of his enimies in two seuerall places at one present time, sent certaine bands of his souldiours towards Arras to keepe the earle of Flanders plaie, whilst he himselfe went against king Richard: and comming vnto Gisors, found it already besieged of the same king, so that he wist not well how to enter the towne. But yet at length fainting to giue battell to king Richard (who vpon desire to receiue it, came abroad into the field) the French king rushed forth with all his whole force to make towards the towne, & so got into it, though not without great losse and damage of his people.

Gisors besieged.

The French king entrench into Gisors.

King Richard not meaning to breake vp his siege from before the towne, notwithstanding the French

D.ij.

king

Genes. 37.

Anno Reg. 8.

Normandie interdicted by Archbishop of Rouen.

St. Richard
raileth his
siege.

king had entred it, staied a certeine time of purpose to win it, knowing the gaine to be the greater, and his name more famous, if he might atchiue his purpose, now that his aduerfarie was within it. But when he saw it would not be, he raised his siege, and departed towards Cleremont, spoiling all the countrie by his forrais as he went, so that he wan great pillage, wherewith his souldiers were loden and made verie rich.

Hugh de
Chamouant
taken prisoner

It chanced, that in a skirmish Hugh de Chamouant was taken prisoner, one that was of the French kings priuie counsell, and king Richard appointed him to the keeping of Robert Ros, who charged one of his seruants named William de Spinie with the custodie of him. But the said Hugh corrupting his keeper the foresaid William with rewards, (whereof it is said,

Onil in 3. Art
an. 16.

Robert Rosse
put to his fine
for an escape.

*accepti sima semper
Munera sunt, author que pretia facit*
escaped out of the castell of Bonnewille, where he was within ward, to the great displeasure of king Richard, who caused Robert Ros to paie for a fine, the summe of twelue hundred marks, which the prisoner should haue paid for his ransome: and further, commanded William de Spinie to be hanged for his disloyal dealing.

Marth. Paris.

Nic. Treuer.
The French
kings request
for a combat.

R. Richards
answer.

1197

Marth. Paris.

Ships burnt,
and mariners
hanged.

Les annales
de France.

Anno Reg. 9.

R. Houed.

One yeare & 4
moneths saith
Wil. Paruus.

king Philip, after that the king of England was removed from Gisors (as before ye haue heard) assembled a great host, and with banner displayed, entred into Normandie, and wasted the countrie from Deuoburge to Beaumont le Rogier, and that done, returned into France, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes. About the same time, he sent vnto king Richard, requiring him to appoint five champions, and he would appoint other five for his part, which might fight in lists, for triall of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, so to auoid the shedding of more gillelesse blood. King Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that either king might be of the number, that is, the French king one of the five vpon the French part; & R. Richard one of the five vpon the English part. But this condition would not be granted. Whereupon, when shortly after it was signified to king Richard, that ships vnto come out of England to saint Valerie with victuals, which were sold and conuied awaie vnto the French & other his enemies, he rode to saint Valeries, and set the towne on fire, and such ships of England as he found there he also burnt, and hanged the mariners by the necke, diuiding the graine and other victuals which were found in the same ships amongst his owne souldiers.

About the same time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Bistons, and William Crespine also was constrained to deliuer vnto him the castell of Auge, but the French king recovered it by siege, whilst king Richard entring into Aluer, gne wan diuerse castells there, to the number of ten out of king Philips hands. In the meane time the earle of Flanders made fore warre against the French king for his part, and training the same king within streits, so that he was almost inclosed on eche side, he constrained him to agree to such composition as pleased the same earle to appoint, but afterwards the French king refused to stand to the covenants of that agreement, and so the warre continued betwixt them as before.

At length king Richard and the French king concluded vpon an abstinence of warre to indure from the feast of S. Hilarie for one whole yere, purposing in the meane time to make a finall peace and agreement. In which season Baldwin earle of Flanders came into England to do his deuotions vnto the shrine where Thomas the archbishop laie buried at

Canturburie. The same yeare also somewhat before this time, Rife ap Griffin king of Wales departed this life, after whose death there fell discorde betwixt his sonnes for the succession; till the archbishop Hubert went to the marches of that countrie and made an agreement betwixt them. Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leicester, elected bishop of saint Andrews in Scotland, received the order of priesthood, and was consecrated bishop by the hands of the bishop of Aberdine.

This yeare it was ordeined that measures of all manner of graine should containe one quantitie throughout the realme, that is to saie, one resonable hogsheade, and that the measures of wine and ale with all maner of liquors should be of one iust quantitie according to the diuersitie of the liquor: also that weights should be of like rate throughout the realme, and that cloth should containe two yards in breadth within the lists, of perfect goodnesse throughout, as well in the middest as by the sides, and that one manner of yard should be vnto throughout the realme. It was also ordeined that no merchants within the realme should hang any red or blacke clothes before their windowes, nor set vp any pentises or other thing whereby to darken the light from those that come to buy their cloth, so as they might be deceiued in choosing thereof.

Also it was enacted that there should be foure or six substantiall honest men chosen in euerie towne, and likewise in shires, with the head officers of cities and boroughes, which had a corporation, to see that the assises aforesaid were truelie kept, and that if any were found to be offending in the premises, to cause their bodies to be attached and committed to prison, and their goods to be seized to the kings vse: and if those that were chosen to haue regard thereto, were tried to be negligent, so that by others, and not by them any offenders chanced to be conuicted before the iustices, then should the regarders be put to their fines, for the negligent looking to their offices.

King Richard held his Christmasse this yeare at Roan, and Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie legat of the apostolike see, named lord chiefe iustice of England, was about the same time in the marches of Wales at Hereford, and there receiued into his hands the castells of Hereford, Wigornoth and Ludlow, removing those that had the same in keeping, and appointing others in their comes. Afterwards comming by Couentrie, he placed the monks againe in the cathedrall church of that citie, by commandement of pope Celestine, and chased out the secular canons, which the bishop Hugh Pouant had brought into the same church when he removed the monks.

In the Christmasse weeke also there came messengers to Rouen from the archbishops of Cullen and Pentz, and from other states of the empire, which declared vnto king Richard, that all the princes of Germanie were appointed to assemble at Cullen, the two & twentieth of Februarie, about the choosing of a new emperor, in place of the late deceased Henrie: and therefore they commanded him by force of the oth and league in which he was bound to the emperor and empire, that all excuse of default or occasions to the contrarie ceasing and set apart, he should make his repaire vnto Cullen at the aforesaid day, to helpe them in choosing of some worthy personage that might and was able to haue the empire. King Richard doubting to put himselfe in danger, because he had not discharged all the debts due for his ransome, staied at home, but yet he sent diuerse noble men thither, and did so much in fauour of his nephue Edmo, that by the helpe of the foresaid two archbishops of Cullen and Pentz, the same Edmo was

Griffin king
of Wales de-
parted this
life.

weights and
measures.

Monks plac-
ed againe in
the church of
Couentrie.

Messengers
from the states
of Germanie.

was elected emperor. But of this matter more shall be said hereafter.

Moreover, about the same time king Richard required by the archbishop of Canturburie his chiefe iustice, an aid of 300 knights to be found by his subjects of England, to remaine with him in his seruice for one whole yeare, or else that they would giue him so much monie, as might serue to retaine that number after the rate of three shillings a date of English monie for euerie knight. Whereas all other were contented to be contributors herein, onelie Hugh bishop of Lincolne refused, and spake sore against the archbishop that moued the matter. But how soeuer that request toke place, king Richard (as we haue leued this yeare a subsidie of five shillings of euerie hide of land within the realme, two commissiouners, that is to say, one of the spiritualtie, & a knight of the temporaltie, being appointed as commissiouners in euerie shire, with the assistance of the shiriffe, and others, to see the same assessed & rated after an hundred acres of land to the hide of land, according to the custome.

The same yeare also the monks of the house of the holie Trinitie, otherwise called Gyssies church in Canturburie, exhibited their complaint vnto pope Innocent, that their archbishop Hubert (contrarie to his order and dignitie) exercised the office of high iustice, and sat in iudgement of blood, being so incumbered in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to discharge his office touching spiritual causes: whereupon the pope sent vnto king Richard, admonishing him not to suffer the said archbishop to be any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to discharge him thereof, and not to admit any spiritual person from thenceforth vnto any temporall administration.

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience, all manner of prelates and men of the church, that they should not presume rashlie to take vpon them any manner of secular function or office. Whereupon the archbishop was discharged of his office of chiefe iustice, and Geoffrey Fitz Peter succeeded in gouernement of the realme in his stead. ¶ Geruasiu Dorobernensis saith; that the archbishop resigned that office of his owne accord, and that not till after his returne from the marches of Wales, where he had overthrowne the Welchmen, and slaine five thousand of them. Which victorie other ascribe vnto Geoffrey Fitz Peter, which Geoffrey (as the said Dorobernensis saith) succeeded the archbishop in the office of lord chiefe iustice, but not vntill August, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne.

In this yeare, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce which was taken till harvest might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kings of England & France began effionces to be pursued with like earnestnesse as before: whereupon manie encounters chanced betwixt the parties, with taking of townes and fortresses, as commonlie in such cases it happeneth. Twise the French king was put to the worse, once in September betwixt Camages and Vernon, where he was diuinc to saue himselfe by flight, losing twentie knights, and threescore seruitors or poomen, which were taken, besides those that were slaine: and againe, in the same moneth on Michaelmasse euen betwixt Carseilles and Silors, at what time he came to succour Carseilles, bringing with him 400 knights, besides seruitors, and a great multitude of commons. But the castell was wane before he could approach it.

King Richard being aduertised of his coming, hasted forth to meet him, and giuing the onset vpon him, forced him to flee vnto Silors, where at the entering of the bridge there was such preece, that

the bridge brake, so that amongst other, the king himselfe with his hoille and all fell into the riuer of Ceth, and with much adoe was releued, and got out of the water, no small number of right hardie and valiant gentlemen being taken at the same time, which put themselves forward to staie the Englishmen, till the king was recouered out of that present danger. To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred knights, and two hundred barbed horses, besides seruitors on horsebacke, and footmen with crossbowes. Amongst other prisoners these are named, Mattheu de Pontmoiancie, Gales de Ports, Follen de Bray, and manie other also innumerable. King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters thereof vnto the archbishops, bishops, abbats earles and barons of his realme, that they might praise God for his good successe.

¶ A notable example to all princes that haue the conquest ouer their enemies, to referre the happie getting thereof to God, and to giue praise vnto him who giueth victorie vnto whom it pleaseth him. Which the psalmograph saith verie well, and therefore ascribed all the issue of his prosperous affaires to God, as may well be noted by his words, saleng expresselie,

ab illo
Munior hic instar turris & arcis erat,
Dura manus in bella meos qui format & armat,
Ad fera qui digitos instruit arma meos.

How will we staie the proceedings of the king of France at this time, and make no further relation thereof for a while, till we haue touched other things that happened in England at the same season. And first ye shall vnderstand, that Hugh Wardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geoffrey Basset, to whom as iustices, the counties of Lincolne, Nottingham, Worke, Derby, Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumberland, and Lancaster were appointed for circuits, held not onelie plesses of assises, and of the crowne, but also toke inquisitions of escheats, and forfeitures of all manner of transgressions, and of donations of benefices, of marriages of widowes and maids, and other such like things as appertained to the king, whereby any aduantages grew to his vse, the which for tediousnesse we passe ouer. These things were straightlie looked vnto, not without the disquieting of manie.

Herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to diuerse persons within the realme, through inquisitions taken by the iustices of the foresters: for Hugh Penill, Hugh Maley, and Heruissus Penill, appointed iustices itinerants in that case, were commanded by the king to call before them archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, knights, and freeholders, with the reue, and four of the substantiall men of euerie towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commandement, touching the ordinances of foresters, the which were verie straight in sundrie points, so that whereas before those that offended in killing of the kings deere were punished by the purse, now they should lose their eyes and genitals, as the lawe was in the daies of king Henrie his grandfather: and those that offended in cutting downe woods or bushes, or in digging and deluing bp of turues and cloads, or by any other manner of waie made wasse and destruction in woods or grassie, or spoile of venison, within the precinct of the foresters, contrarie to order, they should be put to their fines.

He gaue commandement also, that it should be lawfull to the foresters to take and put vnder arrest, as well preests and those of the cleargie, as temporall men, being found offenders in forester grounds and chales. Manie other ordinances were decreed touching the preservation of foresters, and the kings prerogative,

King Philip almost drownd.

Seven score
saith R. Houed.

March, Paris.
R. Houed.

Eob. Hess. in
Tj. 4. 144.

Inquisitions
taken.

Ordinances
of foresters.

Preests to be
arrested offend-
ding in for-
rests.

W. H.

rogative,

rogative, advantages and profits rising and growing by the same, as well for saving of his woods and walls, as in pannage and agistments, greatlie to the restraint of them that might vsurpe or incroch upon the grounds within the compasse of his forreins.

Ye haue heard before, how the monks of Canturburie did send to exhibit a complaint to the pope, for that their archbishop toke upon him to deale in exercise of matters belonging to a temporall man, and not to such a one as had rule ouer the spiritualtie: but this was not the cause that did grieue them so much, as that he went forward with the erection of that church at Lameth, which his predecessor archbishop Baldwine had first begun at Haketon, now called S. Stephens (as before ye haue heard) and after was diuinen through the importunate suit of the monks to leaue off, and race that which he had there begun, to obeye the popes pleasure: and after laid a new foundation at Lameth.

The monks of Canturburie therefore still fearing least that church should greatlie prejudice such rights and liberties, as they pretended, namlie in the election of their archbishop, would neuer rest, but still complained and followed their suit in most obstinate maner in the court of Rome, as well in the daies of the said Baldwine, as now against Hubert, (when he toke in hand to continue the worke according to the purpose of his predecessor the said Baldwine, which was to haue instituted a colledge there, and to haue placed secular canons in the same) and such was the earnest trauell of the monks herein, that in the end now after the deceasse of pope Celestine, they found such fauour at the hands of pope Innocent his successor, that the same Innocent directed his letters of comendement to the archbishop, and other bishops of this land, to despoile and race the same foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the see of Canturburie, and verie prejudiciall to the estate of holie church.

The archbishop at the first trusted to be borne out by the king (who was highlie offended with the monks for their presumptuous dealing) and therefore refused to obeye the popes comendement. The king in deed stomached the matter so highlie, that he sent letters vnto the monks by no worse messengers than by Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz War-dolfe his iustices, signifieng to them not onelie his high displeasure for their presumptuous proceedings in their suit without his consent, but also commanding them to surceasse, and not to proceed further in the matter by vertue of any such the popes letters, which they had purchased contrarie to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme. Moreouer, he wrote to the bishops, commanding them to appeale; and to the archbishop, forbidding him in any wise to breake downe the church which he had so builded at Lameth.

The shirffe of Kent also was commanded to seise into his hands all the tenements and possessions that belonged to the monks (a frie of faten, and as one saith verie well of them and the like leuen of letwinnesse,

—sentina malorum,
A quorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, &c.)

who neuertheless were so stout in that quarell, that they would not prolong one daie of the time appointed by the pope for the racing of that church. Whereupon the king for his part and the bishops in their owne behalves wrote to the pope. Likewise the abbats of Boreley, Fford, Stratford, Roberts-bridge, Stan-leic, and Wasing Clarke, wrote the matter to him: and againe the pope and the cardinals wrote to the

king, to the archbishops, and bishops: and so letters passed to and fro, till at length the pope sent a Nuncio of purpose, to signifie his full determination, as in the next yeare it shall be shewed at full.

About the same time Geoffrey Fitz Peter, lord chiefe iustice of England, raised a power of men, and went into Wales to succour the tenants of William de Brause, which were besieged of the king, or rather prince of that countrie, named Owien, the brother of Cadwalaine, in Hauds castell: but the lord chiefe iustice comming to the rescue of them within, gaue battell to the aduersaries, and vanquishing them, slew three thousand of them, and seauen hundred of those that were taken prisoners and wounded. And all the while the warres continued in France, the losse for the most part still rebounded to the Frenchmen. Earle John burnt Petoburg, and toke eightene knights of such as were sent to the rescue.

The earle of Leicester with a small companie came before the castell of Bascie, which (although the Frenchmen held it) did yet of right belong vnto the said earle. The souldiours within issued forth, and being too strong for the earle, caused him to flee, for otherwise he had bene taken. But returning on the morrow after with more companie about him, and laieing ambushes for the enimie, he approached the said castell, and trained the Frenchmen forth till he had them within his danger, and then causing his men to breake out upon them toke an eightene knights, and a great multitude of other people. Also Marchades with his rout of Habanders did the Frenchmen much hurt, in robbing and spoiling the countries.

About this season the archbishop of Canturburie went ouer into Normandie to speake with king Richard, and at the French kings request he passed into France, to common with him of peace, which the French king offered to conclude, in restoring all the towne and castels which he had taken (Citoies onelie excepted) and touching the possession and title thereof, he was contented to put the matter in compromise, to the order and award of six barons in Normandie to be named by him; and of six barons in France which king Richard should name. But king Richard would not thus agree, except the earle of Flanders and others which had forsaken the French king to take his part, might be compysed in the same peace. At length yet in November, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings till the feast of S. Hilarie next ensuing.

In the meane time pope Innocent the third, understanding in what present danger things stood in the holie land, and on the other side, considering what a weakening it was vnto christendome, to haue these two kings thus to warre with mortall hatred one against the other: he thought it stood him vpon to trauell betwixt them, to bring them vnto some peace and agreement. Whereupon he dispatched one Peter the cardinall of Capua into France, as legat from the see of Rome, vnto the two foresaid kings, to instruct them in what present danger the state of the christians in Asia presentlie stood, so that without the aid of them and of other christian princes, it could not be holpen, but needs it must come to better ruine, and the Saracens yer long to be possessed of the whole. Therefore both in respect hereof, and also for the avoiding of the further wilfull spilling of christian blood in such ciuill and vngodlie war, he brought them to state their hands, and to loine in some friendly band of concord, whereby they might with mutual consent bestow their seruice in that necessarie and most godlie warre, wherein by ouercomming the enimies of Christ, they might looke for worthie reward

wellmen
vanquished.
Ger. Dor. at
tribeth this
victorie vnto
Hubert arch-
bishop of Canturbu-
rie and saith
there were
slaine about
500 of the
ennemies.
Hauds castle

The earle of
Leicester.

Marchades

1
6
1
2
3

Co
bo
th

Truce taken
betwixt the
two kings.

M.
sus

To
Fin
of e
pior
as f
Wen

reward at his hands, which is the free giver of all victories.

The cardinall comming into France, and doing his message in most earnest wise, was present at the enteruicly appointed betwixt the two kings in the feast of S. Hilarie, but yet could not he bring his purpose to full effect: onelie he procured them to take truce for the terme of five yeares, further he could not get them to agree. ¶ The fault by authors is ascribed also to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richard being first euill used, and put to hindrance, determined either to vanquish, or neuer to give place.

This forbearance from warre was concluded and taken in the yeare 1199 after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatlie after, there arose matter of new displeasure betwixt these two kings to keepe their minds in the with secret grudges, though by reason of the truce they outwardlie abstained from declaring it by force of armes. It chanced that in the election of a new emperor, the electors could not agree, one part of them choosing Otho duke of Saronie, nephew to king Richard by his sister Maund, and another part of them naming Philip duke of Lusaine, and brother to the last emperor Henrie.

King Richard (as reason was) did procure that fauour he could to the furtherance of his nephew Otho: and king Philip on the contrarie part, did what he could in fauour of the foresaid Philip. At length Otho was admitted by the pope to end the strife: but yet the grudge remained in the hearts of the two kings; Philip finding himselfe much grieved in that he had missed his purpose, and Richard being as little pleased, for that he had wonne his so hardlie, and with so much adoe. And thus matters passed for that yeare.

In the beginning of the next, the popes Nuncio came with letters, not onlie to the archbishop and bishops of England, but also to the king himselfe, signifying the popes resolute decre touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and suppressed. Whereupon the king and archbishop (though sore against their willes) when they saw no waie longer to shift off the matter, yelded to the popes pleasure: and so the archbishop sent his letters to Lameth, where the 21 daie of Januarie they were read, and the 27 daie of the same moneth was the church cast downe, & the canons which were already there placed, had commandement to depart from thence without further delaye. Thus the monks in despite of the king and archbishop had their willes, but yet their veration ceased not, for the king and archbishop bearing them no small euill will, for that they had so obtained their purpose contrarie to their minds and intents, molested them diuerse waies, although the monks still upon complaint to the pope, were verie much releued, and found great friendship both with him and likewise with his court. ¶ So that it may be obserued that these disheulties of the popes kitchen haue in all ages, since their first quickening bene troublesome and mutinous, fatuall and insolent, proud and malapert. But

*Prohibitoribus tolerare potest ecclesia porcos,
Cum sint laici nimirum, nimirumq; superbi,
Duntaxat ventri, venter somnoq; vacantes?*

In this meane time, king Richard being now at rest from troubles of warre, studied busilie to provide monie, meaning to make a new voyage into the holie land. Therefore finding himselfe bare of treasure, by reason the French warres had emptied his cofers, he set a great tax upon his subjects, and by that means, hauing recovered a great summe, he builded that notable strong castell in Normandie,

upon the banke of the river of Saine, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finished, he fell a telling thereat and said; Behold, is not this a faire daughter of one yeares growth. The soile where this castell was builded, belonged to the archbishop of Rouen, for which there followed great strife betwixt the king and the archbishop, till the pope took by the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

After this, he determined to chastise certeine persons in Poitou, which during the warres betwixt him and the French king, had aided the Frenchmen against him: whereupon with an armie he passed forth towards them, but by the waie he was informed, that one Vidomer a vicount in the countie of Britaine, had found great treasure: and therefore pretending a right thereto by vertue of his prerogative, he sent for the vicount, who smelling out the matter, and supposing the king would not be indifferent in parting the treasure, fled into Limosin, where although the people were tributaries to the king of England, yet they took part with the French king.

There is a towne in that countie called Chalus Chenerell, into which the said vicount retired for safeguard of himselfe, and then gaue the townemen a great portion of treasure, to the end they should defend him and his quarell for the rest. King Richard still following him, as one that could not auoid his fatall ordinance, haied into the confines of Limosin, fullie determining either to win the towne by force, if the inhabitants should make resistance, or at least wise, to get into his hands the preie, which he so earnestlie pursued. At his first approach he gaue manie fierce assaults to the towne, but they within hauing thoughtlie provided aforehand for to defend a siege, so resisted his attempts, that within three daies after his comming, he ceased to assaile the towne, meaning to undermine the walles, which otherwise he persecuted would verie hardlie be gotten, considering the stoutnesse of them within, and withall, the naturall strength and situation of the place it selfe.

Whereupon therefore on the 26 of March, whiles he (together with capteine Marchades) went about vnadvisedlie to bieto the towne (the better to consider the place which waie he might conuete the course of his mine) they came so farre within danger, that the king was striken in the left arme, or (as some write) in the shoulder, where it ioined to the necke, with a quarell inuenomed (as is to be supposed by the sequelle.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horse, and rode home againe to his lodging, where he caused the wound to be searched and bound up, and as a man nothing dismayd therewith, continued his siege with such force and assurance, that within 12 daies after the mishap, the towne was yelded vnto him, although verie little treasure (to make any great account of) was at that time found therein.

In this meane season, the king had committed the cure of his wound to one of Marchades his surgeons, who taking in hand to plucke out the quarell, drew forth onelie the shaft at the first, and left the iron still within, and afterwards going about most vnskillfullie to get forth the head of the said quarell, he used such incisions, and so mangled the kings arme, per he could cut it, that he himselfe despaired of all helpe and longer life, affirming flatlie to such as stood about him, that he could not long continue by reason of his butcherlie handling. So he thought, feeling himselfe to war weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceived now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

Chateau Galiard built.

Images of an emperor and of his wife & children all of fine gold.

The annales of Aquitaine,

Images of an emperor and of his wife & children all of fine gold.

The annales of Aquitaine,

Chalus Chenerell. R. Houed,

R. Richard besieged Chalus.

He is wounded.

Ra. Niger,

The king despaired of life.

He ordeined his testament.

Into

1199

Houed.

A truce concluded for five yeares.

Contention about the choosing of the emperor.

R. Houed. The popes letters to the king for the church of Lameth.

The monks came out by the pope.

A. D. 1199.

A. D. 1199. The king's letters to the pope.

Housed.

March Paris.

Rog. Housed.

A notable example of forgiving an enemy.
March Paris.

King Richard departed this life.

His stature & shape of bodie.
Gal. Vinlaf.

His disposition of mind.

The vices that were in King Richard.

Unto his brother John he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie vnto him. His monie, his iewels, and all other his goods moueable he willed to be diuided into thre parts, of the which the emperor his sisters sonne to haue one, his household seruants an other part, and the third to be distributed to the poore. Finallie, remembering himselfe also of the place of his buriall, he commanded that his bodie should be interred at Fontenouard at his fathers feet, but he willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried, in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. His bowels he ordeined to be buried in Poitiers, as in a place naturallie vnthankfull and not worthe to retaine any of the more honorable parts of his bodie.

Moreouer he caused the archbailiff that wounded him, to be sought out, whose name was Bartholomew de Curden, or Peter Basill (for so he named himselfe as some write) who being brought before the king he demanded wherein he had so much offended him, that he should so lie in wait to slea him, rather than Archabades, who was then in his companie, and attendant on his person. The other answered boldly againe, saying; I purposed to kill thee, because thou sleest my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldest also now haue slaine me, if I had hapned to fall into thy hands. Wherefore I intended to reuenge their deaths, not caring in the meane time what became of my selfe, so that I might in anie wise obtaine my will of thee, who in such sort hast bereft me of my friends. The king hearkening vnto his words, and pondering his talke by good aduisement, freely pardoned him, and withall commanded that he should be set at libertie, and thereto haue an hundred shillings giuen him in his pursie, and so to be let go. Moreouer, he gaue strait charge that no man should hurt him, or seeke any reuenge for this his death hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not onlie forgau, but also rewarded his aduersarie. Whereafter his decesse, Archabades getting him into his hands, first caused the skin to be stripped of his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

At length king Richard by force of sicknesse (increased with anguish of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tuesday before Palmesundaye, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xi. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine months, and od daies: he left no issue behind him. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face, so as in his countenance appeared much fauour and grauitie, of haire bright aboue, as it were betwixt red and yellow, with long armes, and nimble in all his ioints, his thighes and legs were of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his bodie.

As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that not without cause, he obtained the surname of Cueur de lion, that is to saie, The lions hart. Moreouer, he was courteous to his souldiours, and towards his friends and strangers that resorted vnto him verie liberall, but to his enemies hard and not to be intreated, desirous of battell, an enemy to rest and quietnesse, verie eloquent of speech and wise, but readie to enter into jeopardies, and that without feare or forecass in time of greatest perils.

These were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the wars which he maintained were thoroughlie looked) were either none at all, or else few in number, and not verie notorious.

He was noted of the common people to be partlie subiect vnto pride, which surely for the most part followeth stoutnesse of mind: of incontinencie, to the which his youth might happlie be somewhat bent: and of couetousnesse, into the which insanie most captiues and such princes as commonlie followe the warres do oftentimes fall, when of necessitie they are diuened to exact monie, as well of friends as enemies, to mainteine the infinit charges of their wars.

10 Hereof it came, that on a time whiles he sojourned in France about his warres, which he held against King Philip, there came vnto him a French priest whose name was Fulco, who required the King in any wise to put from him thre abominable daughters which he had, and to bestow them in marriage, least God punished him for them. Thou liest hypocrite (said the king) to thy verie face, for all the world knoweth that I haue not one daughter. I lie not (said the priest) for thou hast thre daughters, one of them is called pribe, the second couetousnesse, and the third lecherie. With that the king called to him his lordes & barons, and said to them; This hypocrite here hath required me to marrie a waite my thre daughters, which (as he saith) I cherish, nourish, foster and mainteine, that is to say, pride, couetousnesse, and lecherie. And now that I haue found out necessarie & fit husbands for them, I will do it with effect, and seeke no more deuilaies. I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded templers and hospitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himselfe. My couetousnesse I giue vnto the white monks, otherwise called of the Cisteria order, for they couet the diuell and all. My lecherie I commit to the prelates of the church, who haue most pleasure and felicitie therein.

Here liued in the daies of this king Richard, men of worthe fame amongst those of the cleargie, Baldwinus & Hubert archbishops of Canturburie, who succeeded him in that see, also Hugh bishop of Lincoln, a man for his worthinesse of life highlie to be commended. Moreouer, William bishop of Ely, who though otherwile he was to be dispaired for his ambition and pompous haughtinesse, yet the king vnder his seruice for a time greatlie to his profit and aduancement of the publike affaires. Also of learned men we find diuerse in these daies that flourished here in this land, as Baldwinus of Deuonshire that came to be bishop of Worcester in this kings time, and after his decesse, he was aduanced to the gouernment of the archbishops see of Canturburie, he wrote diuerse treatises, namelie of matters pertaining to diuinitie. Daniell Gozley well scene in the Mathematicals, John de Heram, and Richard de Werham two notable hystoricians, Guilielmus Stephanides a monke of Canturburie, who wrote much in the praise of archbishop Becket. Beside these, we find one Richard, that was an abbat of the order Premonstratensis, Richard Diuisiensis, Nicholas Walkington, Robert de Bello Foro, an excellent philosopher, &c. See Bale in his third Centurie.

60 In martiall renoume there flourished in this kings daies diuerse noble captiues, as Robert earle of Leicester, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Barons, Hugh and Henrie, thre Williams, Marshall, Bunell, and Pandeuill, with two Roberts, Kos and Sabeuille. Furthermore, I find that in the daies of this king Richard, a great death reigned in England, and also in France, for the space of thre or foure yeares during the wars betwene him & king Philip, so that after his returne out of Germanie, and from imprisonment, a quarter of wheat was sold at 18 shillings eight pence, no small price in those daies, if you consider the alay of monie then currant.

Also immediatlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, one hundred, nintie six, which was

Fulco a priest

Baldwine & Hubert archbishops of Canturburie

John Bale

A great death

A great mortali-
tie of peo-
ple.
Wil. Parvus.

was about the seventh yere of the said kings reigne, there followed a marvellous fore death, which daile consumed such numbers of people, that scarce there might be found any to keepe and loke to those that were sicke, or to burie them that died. Which sicknesse was a pestilentiall feuer or sharpe burning ague. The accustomed manner of buriall was also neglected: so that in manie places they made great pits, and threwo their dead bodies into the same, one vpon an other. For the multitude of them that died was such, that they could not haue time to make for euerie one a severall graue. This mortalitie continued for the space of five or six monthes, and at length ceased in the cold season of winter.

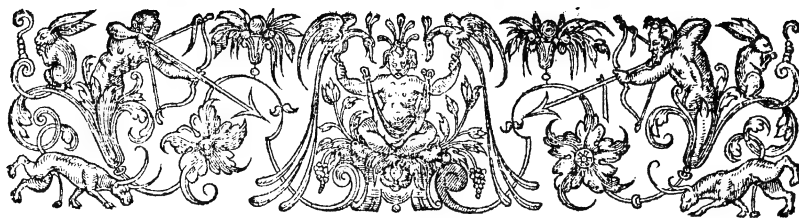
Two sunnes.

In the octaves of Pentecost befoze this great death, in the first houre of the day, there appeared two sunnes, the true sunne & another, as it were a counterfeitt sunne: but so apparentlie, that hard it was to the common people, to discern the one from the o-

ther. The skilfull also were compelled by instruments to distinguish the one from the other: in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the end they found the new apparition, as it were, to wait vpon the planet, and so continued by the space of certeine houres. At length when the beholders (of whom Wil. Parvus that recorded things in that age was one) had well wearied their eyes in diligent marking the maner of this strange appearance, the counterfeitt sunne vanished awaie.

This strange wonder was taken for a signification of that which followed, that is to say, of war, famine and pestilence: or to say the truth, it betokened rather the continuance of two of those mischifts. For warre and famine had fore afflicted the people befoze that time, and as yet ceased not: but as for the pestilence, it began some after the strange sight, whereof ensued such effect, as I haue already rehearsed.

Thus farre king Richard.



John the yongest sonne of Henrie the second.



Anno Reg. i.

Whit the yongest son of Henrie the second was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the first date of April, in the yere of our Lord 1199, the first of Philip emperor of Rome, and the 20 of Philip king of France, & William

Reg. Houed.

as yet living in gouernment ouer the Scots. This man, so soone as his brother Richard was deceased, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepflow) into England, both to proclaim him king, and also to see his peace kept, together with Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord chiefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilst he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laye, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turnham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Salumer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephew to the said Robert de Turnham deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and pæres of the countries of Aniou, Haine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and soueraine lord of the same countries.

Math. Paris.
Chinon.
Robert de
Turnham,
Salumer.
Reg. Houed.
Thomas de
Furnes.

Strife a-
mongst the
English sub-
iects on the
other side of
the sea.

For enen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilst he liued, fell at ods among themselves, some of them inducuring to preferre king John, other labouring rather to be vnder the

gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine, considering that he seemed by most right to be their chiefe lord, forso much as he was sonne to Geoffrey elder brother to John. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in proceste of time ensued great inconuenience, and finally the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Now whilst king John was thus occupied in recovering his brothers treasure, and traueling with his subiects to reduce them to his obedience, quene Elianor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the English people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king John. For the said archbishop and William Marshall earle of Striguill, being sent ouer into England (as befoze you haue heard) to proclaim him king, and to keepe the land in quiet, assembled the estates of the realme at Northampton, where Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord chiefe iustice was present with other of the nobles, afore whom those lords whose fidelities were earli suspected, willinglie toke their oths of obedience to the new king, and were assured by the same lords on his behalfe, that they should find him a liberall, a noble and a righteous prince, and such a one as would see that euerie man should inioy his owne, and such as were knowne to be notorious transgressors, should be sure to receiue their condighe punishment.

They sent Gualace de Wescie also vnto William king of Scotland, to signifie to him, that king John vpon his arriual in England, would satisfie him of all such right as he pretended to haue within the English dominions. And thus was king John accompted and proclaimed king of England by the generall

Math. Paris.
The states
assembled at
Northamp-
ton.

Gualace de
Wescie sent into
Scotland.

generall consent of all the lords and barons of the same. The names of the cheefe of those peeres that were sworne (as you haue heard) are as followeth. Dauid earle of Huntingdon brother vnto William king of Scots; Richard earle of Clare; Ranulfe earle of Chester; William earle of Tutberie or rather Darbie; Walter earle of Mawthie; Roger Lacie constable of Chester; and William de Spowbraie, with diuerse other, whose names I here omit; because I would not be tedious and irksome to the readers.

Now the king of Scotland being informed by the lord Eustace Meslie (who had married his daughter) that there was some hope to be had on his part, for the recouerie of such seignories as he and his predecessors sometime held in England, did further dispatch sundrie ambassadours with full purpose to send them ouer into Normandie vnto king John, there to require restitution of the countries of Poythumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, and he promised also by his letters, that if the same might be granted vnto him, in as ample manner as they had bene in times past to his ancestors, he would gladlie do his homage to king John, as to the true & lawfull king of England for the same, and furthermore yeld to him his faithfull seruice against all men, so often as he should be required therunto. Howbeit when the archbishop of Canturburie and the rest of the counsell, vnderstood that these ambassadours should passe through England, they would not suffer them so to do, but speedilie sent Dauid earle of Huntingdon into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earnestlie that he would not send any ambassadours ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take patience a while, till the king should come ouer into England: which (as they said) he purposed to do verie shortly.

King John also hauing vnderstanding of his purpose, sent ouer the said lord Eustace againe vnto him with the like request, who in such wise perswaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better successe in his late attempted suit. And all this was done chieflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loved. For she being bent to prefer hir sonne John, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betwene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as John was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto his will, and seeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, she signified the whole matter vnto R. John, who forthwith framed all his induements to the accomplishment of his businesse.

Surelie quene Elianor the kings mother was sore against hir nephue Arthur, rather moued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion given in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw if he were king, how his mother Constance would loke to beare most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe. ¶ So hard it is to bring women to agree in one mind, their natures commonlie being so contrarie, their words so variable, and their deeds so vndiscreet. And therefore it was well said of one (alluding to their disposition and qualities,

—nulla diu femina pondus habet)

When this doing of the quene was signified vnto the said Constance, she doubting the suertie of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised

to defend him from all his enemies, and forthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French soldiers. Quene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all possible speed passed ouer the sea, and came to hir sonne John into Normandie, and shortly after they went forth together into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and castell of Bauns, throwing downe the wals and towers therof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, because they had aided Arthur against his vncle John.

After this, king John entring into Anjou, held his Easter at Beaufort (which feast fell that yeare the 18 day of Aprill) and from thence he went straight vnto Rouen, where on the sundae next after Easter being S. Marks day, he was girded with the sword of the duchtie of Normandie in the high church there by the hands of Walter archbishop of Rouen. And so being inuested duke of Normandie, receiued the oath according to the custome, that he should defend the church, and mainteine the liberties thereof, see iustice ministered, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders abolished. In the meane time his mother quene Elianor, together with capteine Marchades entred into Anjou, and wasted the same, because they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their soueraigne lord and gouernour. And amongst other towne and fortresses, they tooke the citie of Angiers, due manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.

This enterprize being thus luckilie atchined, the residue of the people in those parties were put in such feare, that of their owne accord they turned to their wonted obedience, seeming as though they would continue still therein. The French king all this while conceiuing an other exploit in his head, more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre against the Englishmen vpon so light an occasion, dissembled the matter for a time, as though he would know nothing of all that was done, till the king should be otherwise occupied in England about his coronation.

In the meane season king John hauing set some stay in his businesse on the further side of the sea, he left his mother still in Guien, to defend that countrie against the enemies, and taking the sea, came ouer himselfe into England, landing at Shorham, the 25 day of Maie. On the next day, being Ascension eue, he came to London there to receiue the crowne. On the morow after being Ascension daie, when the nobilitie and commons were assembled, and the king brought into the church of S. Peter at Westminister there to receiue his diademe; Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie being chiefe in authoritie and honour, both for his age and calling, spake these words or the like in substance before the whole assembly, as followeth.

Hubert the archbishop of Canturburies oration to the lords spirituall and temporal in the presence of the king, &c.

Most honorable lords of the spirituallie, and most graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporallie, you are come hither this day to chosse you a king, and such a one as (if need should require) may be able of himselfe to take such a charge vpon him, and (hauing vnderaken the same) readie to execute that which he shall thinke to be expedient

Quene Elianor passeth into Normandie.

The citie of Bauns taken.

Math. Paris R. Houed.

R. John inuested duke of Normandie.

The citie of Angiers taken.

R. John cometh ouer into England.

Quene Elianor enuie against Arthur.

Constance dutchesse of Britaine.

Prop. lib. 2.

expedient for the profit of his subjects: we haue therefore one present heere among vs, vpon whome harts and good willes of high and low, rich and poore, doo generallie depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne part will applie his whole indouour, studie, and thought vnto that onelie end, which he shall perceiue to be most profitable for the commonwealth, as knowing himselfe to be bozne not to serue his owne turne, but for to profit his countrie, and to seeke for the generall benefit of vs that are his subjects.

And albeit I am sure that you doe well know, how all these qualities are most abundantlie planted in the person of John duke of Normandie (a person of high prowesse and no lesse prudence, for the which ye ought to iudge him right worthe of the gouernement) yet bearing in doubt least the common fame should carrie you awaie, or least you should turne your minds to the fauour of an other, as in respect of some better right, by title of a more lawfull descent of inheritance pretended by others than he hath to shew, I require you to giue eare vnto my words: who bearing the state of two manner of persons, ought to be profitable to my countrie, not onelie by example and exhortation, but also by loialtie and good counsell, which hitherto I haue euer studied to performe, and wherein (God willing) I meane to persist, so long as I shall continue in this mortall and transitorie tabernacle.

Therefore whereas at this present we haue in hand to conclude vpon such a weightie matter, which beeing once done, can not be vndone, I commend vnto you this John, euen withall my verie heart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your king, who in all things which he shall ordeine, purpose, or take in hand, shall not faile so to answer your opinions with his well doing, and so satisfie your god expectations already conceived of him with his diligent providence, that all the whole realme shall not onelie like of and allow your doing heerin, but also with high commendation extoll the same to the verie stars. These things do I promise vnto you, and so farforth as in me may lie, I dare take vpon me all chanches and perils that may proceed thereof.

When the archbishop had ended his speech, diuerse held their peace, and manie with great zeale saluted king John, whom the same daie the said archbishop crowned at Westminister, after the manner then vsed with great solemnitie, and no lesse reioicing of all such as were present. At the same time also he receiued the homages of the lords and barons of the realme, and promised with all speed to haue consideration of things that appertained as well to religion as to the due execution of lawes, whereby euerie man might come to inioice that which was his owne, by right and due course of iustice. We find that there were present at this solemnitie and coponation of king John, which was celebrated on the Ascension day the 27 of Maie, archbishops and bishops to the

number of leaue-taking, as Hubert archbishop of Cantuarburie, John archbishop of Dublin, also the archbishop of Raguse, William bishop of London, Gilbert bishop of Rochester, John bishop of Norwich, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Eustace bishop of Ely, Godfrey bishop of Winchester, Henrie bishop of Exeter, Seftide bishop of Chichester, Godfrey bishop of Couentre, Sauarie bishop of Bath, Herbert bishop of Salisburie, Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger bishop of saint Andrew in Scotland, and Henrie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. The bishop of Duresme found himselfe somewhat grieued in the matter, making obiections, that the coronation ought not to be celebrated without the presence of Gesefrey archbishop of Worhe: but it preuailed not.

Besides these bishops, there were of the temporall
lords and earles, Robert of Leicester, Richard of
Clare, William of Cantuarie, Hamlin of Warren,
William of Salisbury, William of Chepesham
otherwise called Strigulle, Alan of Marbrike,
Roger Bigot, William of Arundell, and Ranulfe of
Chester, with manie other barons, lords, knights,
and no small multitudes of gentlemen and other
common people. The same date of his coronation al-
so, he inuected William Parshall with the sword of
the earldome of Strigulle, and Geoffrey Fitz Pe-
ter, with the sword of the earldome of Essex. For al-
though they were called earles, and exercised the ad-
ministration of their earldoms; yet were they not
till that date girded with the sword of those earl-
doms, and so that day they seru'd at the table with
their swords girded vnto them.

In like manner, Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie was made lord chancellor of England; who as he uttered some words inaudible, that theyed how he inwardly rejoiced at the kings fauour toward him in the gift of this office, and so gloriized in the honour thereto he was preferred (which he would neuer haue done, if he had feared of worldlie pompe as by his profession he ought, and as one asseeth the question in the same case:

— *dic mihi, nunquid*
Corporibus profunt? certe nil; dic animisue?
Tantundem, &c.)

the lord Hugh Wardolf said vnto him, yet not to loſe
lie in his eare, but that ſome ouer-heard it; My lord,
to ſpeake and not offend you , ſuerlie if you would
well conſider the dignitie and honoz of your calling,
you would not willinglie yeeld to ſuffer this yoke of
bondage to be laid vpon your ſhoulders, for we haue
oftentimes heard of a chancelloir made an archbiſ-
shop, but neuer an archbiſhop made a chancelloir
till now . The coronation being thus ended, it was
not long yer there came ambaffadoꝝ from the Sco-
tiſh king, namelie William the prioꝝ of May, Will-
iam the prioꝝ of ſaint Colmes Ins, and one Willi-
am May, the which on the behalfe of the ſaid Scothiſh
king required reſtitution of Northumberland and
Cumberland, with the apurtenances , promiſſing
that if the ſame were reſtoꝝed to him, he would ſerue
the king of England with all his power againſt all
men then alieue ; otherwiſe, that is, if he could not
haue thoſe countries, which of right to him appertey-
ned by law, as he pretended, he would doe the beſt he
could to recover them by force.

King John made answer herevnto, that if his
cosen the king of Scots would come vnto him, he
should be assured to receiue at his handes all that
was reason, as well in those demands, as in all other
things. He also sent him the bishop of Duresme,
to requite him to come vnto Nottingham, where he
would meet with him. Hobbeis, king William refus-
ed to come himselfe as then, but sent the bishop
of Saint Andrew, and Hugh Spaldibille to follow his
suit,

Match. Paris.
Additions to
John Pike.

Rog.Houed.
willm Mar=
shall earle of
Striguille.
Geffrey Fitz
Peter created
earle of Essex.

The archb. of
Canterburie
made lord
chancellor.

The scieng
of the lord
Bardolf.

“Ambassadors
from the king
of Scots.

Math. Paris.

Polydor.

Reg.Housed

lent, with promise to abstaine from any forceable inuasion of England, by the space of foure daies, so that he might within that terme haue some resolute answer from king Iohn, whereunto he might stand either on the one side or the other.

Whilist these things were a doing in England, Philip II. of France having leued an armie, brake into Normandie, and toke the cite of Crecur, the towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the English. And passing from thence into Maine, he recovered that countie lately before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains both great diligence won the townes of Coney, Votouant and Sensim, and following the viduie, toke the cite of Angiers, which king Iohn had won from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These things being signified to king Iohn, he thought to make promise for the recouerie of his losses there, with all speed possible. And thereupon perceiuing that the Scotch king meant not to meet with him at Nottingham whither he was come, and where he kept the feast of Whitsuntide, he determined to passe the seas over into Normandie: but first he toke order for the gouernement and defense of the realme in his absence.

Whereupon he deliuered the charge of the countie of Northumberland and Cumberland, vnto the lord William de Stutemille, with all the castles, and other the appurtenances, which the lord Hugh Barboise before held, and had in keeping. He also deliuered vnto Roger de Lacie constable of Chester, the castell of Pomfret, hauing first the sonne and heire of the same Lacie deliuered vnto him as an hostage for his loialtie and faithfull obedience. This done, he barked vnto the sea side, and sailed ouer into Normandie, landing first at Diep, and from thence went to Rouen, whither he came vpon the sundaie before Midsummer day, which was the 26 of June as W. Harrison hath noted.

Immediatlie vpon his arrivall in those parts, there resorted vnto him a great number of souldiers both horsemen and footmen, hoping to be intertained, but by reason of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt the two kings, they came to a communication, and toke truce for fiftie daies. The earle of Flanders being certified thereof, was soie in his hart, and loth that the French king should come to any accord with the king of England, and therefore to turne the mind of king Iohn from the purpose of peace, he came to visit him at Rouen, where they received the league betwixt England & Flanders, to be the better able to defend themselves from the French power: and withall determined fullie, that immediatlie vpon the expiring of this last truce they would make the French king warre, to reuenge their late receiued iniuries. The French king aduertised by espials of their determination, prepared also for the warres.

In this meane time it chanced, that Henrie earle of Namure, brother to Philip earle of Flanders, and one Peter of Doway, a right valiant knight, with his brother that was the elect bishop of Cambray, were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and presented to the French king. Whereupon the cardinall of Capua (being at the same time the popes legat in France) interdicted that realme for the taking of the same elect of Cambray, & also all Normandie, for the detaining of the bishop of Beauuois in prison (who had laine there a long time, & was taken in the field after such manner as is before rehearsed) so that the French king was glad to restore the elect of Cambray to his libertie. And likewise king Iohn deliuered the bishop of Beauuois, who paid two thousand marks, besides expenses of diet during the

time of his captiuitie, and furthermore toke an oath, that he should neuer after beare armour in the war against any christian or christians.

About the same time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Anjou, Poitiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire, to wit, on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Culeton. Within three daies after, they came together personallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betwixt them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiff and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countie of Mencheffine to be restored vnto him, as that which had bene granted by Geoffrey earle of Anjou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewis le Grasse, to haue his aid then against king Stephen. Moreover, he demanded, that Poitiers, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholly resigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.

But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king Iohn would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of any agreement. Therefore diuerse earls and barons of France, which before that time had serued king Richard, repaired vnto king Iohn, and toke an oath to assist him, and not to agree with the French king without his consent: and he likewise sware vnto them, not to make peace with the French king, except they were therein compyled. In the moneth of September, Iohn king Iohns sister, wife to Raimond earle of Sicily, and sometime quene of Sicily, died at Rouen, and was buried at Fontenard. The French king also toke diuerse townes and castles, but amongst other the castell of Salun, and rased the wals thereof downe to the ground, wherewith William de Roches, generall of the armie of Arthur duke of Britaine, was greatlie offended, and did so much by his drift, that shortly after a peace was concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephew duke Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpose.

The French king hauing (as I haue said) overthrowne the wals of Salun, besieged a fortreffe called Lanardin, but king Iohn coming with an armie, caused him to raise his siege, and to withdraw himselfe to the cite of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him (mauger his force) to remoue from thence. All this while was William de Roches busilie occupied about his practise, to make king Iohn and his nephew Arthur friends, which thing at length he brought about, and thereupon deliuered into king Iohns hands the cite of Mauns which he had in keeping. Also the vicount of Tours came to the king of England, and surrendered vnto him the castell of Chinon, the keeping whereof he betooke vnto Roger de Lacie the constable of Chester. But in the night following, vpon some mistrust and suspicion gathered in the obseruation of the covenants on Iohns behalfe, both the said Arthur, with his mother Constance the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse other, fled awaie secretlie from the king, and got them to the cite of Angiers, where the mother of the said Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Chester, married hir selfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation. The same yere, Philip bassard some to king Richard, to whom his father had giuen the castell and honoz of Coinache, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as we haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheurrell.

Moreover,

The French king made Arthur duke of Britaine knight.

Philip II. of France

William de Stutemille

Roger de Lacie constable of Chester

King Iohn passed over into Normandie

A truce for fiftie daies

The earle of Flanders, being certified thereof, was soie in his hart, and loth that the French king should come to any accord with the king of England, and therefore to turne the mind of king Iohn from the purpose of peace, he came to visit him at Rouen, where they received the league betwixt England & Flanders, to be the better able to defend themselves from the French power: and withall determined fullie, that immediatlie vpon the expiring of this last truce they would make the French king warre, to reuenge their late receiued iniuries. The French king aduertised by espials of their determination, prepared also for the warres.

Roger de Lacie constable of Chester

France interdicted Normandie

Philip II. of France

The French king made Arthur duke of Britaine knight.

William de Stutemille

A peace between king Iohn & his nephew

Lanardin

William de Roches

The vicount of Tours

The mistrust that duke Arthur had in his brother king Iohn

Philip king of France killed the vicount of Limoges

Moreover, there fell manie great clouds in England, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence thereof diuerse bridges were bozne downe, and amongst other, the bridge at Barwik. For the building by againe thereof, some variance arose betwixt Philip bishop of Durham and earle Patrike lord cheefe iustice of Scotland, and capiteine at the same time of the towne of Barwik, who by the Scottish kings commandement would haue repaired againe the same bridge, which could not be done, but that the one end thereof must be builded on the bishop of Durhams ground, which he would not suffer, till by the counsell of the lord William de Stutewille, he agreed, so that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scots and his predecessor bishop Hugh might be reserved inuiolable.

Furthermore, king John did set a rate vpon the prices of wines, as Roshell wine to be sold for twentie shillings the tun, and not above. The wine of Aragon for twentie foure shillings the tun, and no other French wines above five and twentie shillings the tun, except it were of such notable goodnesse as that some peradventure for their owne expenses would be contented to giue after twentie six shillings eight pence for the tun, and not above. Moreover, the gallon of Roshell wine he appointed to be sold at foure pence: and the gallon of white wine at six pence. It was also ordeined, that in euerie citie, towne, and place where wine was vsed to be sold, there should be twelue honest men sworn to haue regard that this assise should not be broken: and that if they found any vintner that should from the pin sell any wine by small measures contrarie to the same assise, his bodie should be attached by the shiriffe, and detained in prison, till other commandement were giuen for his further punishment, and his goods seized vnto the kings vse. Furthermore, if any persons were or should be found to buy and sell by the hogthead or tun, contrarie to this assise, they should be committed to prison, there to remaine, till other order were taken for them: neither should there be any regrating of wines that were brought into England. But this ordinance lasted not long, for the merchants could not beare it, and so they fell to and sold white wine for eight pence the gallon, and red or claret for six pence.

King John also came ouer from Normandie into England, and there leuied a subsidie, taking of euerie ploughland three shillings. In the Lent following, he went to Porke, in hope to haue met the king of Scots there, but he came not, and so king John returned backe, and sailed againe into Normandie, because the variance still depended betwene him and the king of France. Finally vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his reigne, they came effectones to a communication betwixt the townes of Clermon and Lisle Danelie, where finally they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanche, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, a nece to k. John by his sister Elianor.

In consideration whereof, king John, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in silver, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said nece, resigned his title to the citie of Cœur, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by covenants of the same agreement. The French king restored also to king John (as Rafe Niger writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the castles and fortresses which he had taken within Touraine: and moreover, receiued of king John his homage for all the lands, fees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the said

king Lewes or any his predecessors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmond of his nephew Arthur. He also gaue the earldome of Gloucester vnto the earle of Cœur, as it were by way of exchange, for that he resigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Cœur.

By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanche, the right of king John went auaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Cœur, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau, Mouz or Maoul, Crestle and Foldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Menurin or Menquessine, which is a part of the territoire of Gisors: the right of all which lands, townes and countries was released to the king of France by k. John, who supposed that by his assentie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for euer. And in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the fore said Blanche should be conueied into France to his husband with all speed. That done he returned into England.

Certes this peace was displeasing to manie, but namelie to the earle of Flanders, who herevpon making no accompt of king Johns amitie, concluded a peace with king Philip hostile after, and went to make warre against the infidels in the east parts, whereby we may see the discontented minds of men, and of how differing humors they be, so that nothing is harder than to satisfie manie with one thing, be the same neuer so good,

*—o cecis mortalia plena tenebris
Pectora, & o mentes caligine circumseptas!*

But by the chronicles of Flanders it appeareth, that the earle of Flanders concluded a peace with the French king in February last past, before that king John and the French king fell to any composition. But such was the malice of writers in times past, which they bare towards king John, that what soeuer was done in preiudice of him or his subiecs, it was still interpreted to chance through his default, so as the blame still was imputed to him, in so much that although manie things he did peradventure in matters of gouernement, for the which he might be hardlie excused, yet to thinke that he deserued the tenth part of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might seeme a great lacke of aduised consideration in them that so should take it. But now to proceed with our purpose.

King John being now in rest from warres with foren enemies, began to make warre with his subiects pursles at home, emptieng them by taxes and tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the minds of a great number of them from his loue and obedience. At length also, when he had got together a great masse of monie, he went ouer againe into Normandie, where by Helias archbishop of Bourdeaux, and the bishop of Poitiers and Secone, he was diuorced from his wife Isabell, that was the daughter of Robert earle of Gloucester, because of the merencie of blood, as touching hir in the third degre. After that, he married Isabell the daughter of Amerie earle of Angoiesme, by whome he had two sonnes, Henrie and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Elianor, and Jane.

Moreover, about this time, Cestrey archbishop of Porke was deprived of all his manours, lands, and possessions, by the kings commandement, directed to the shiriffe of Dorsetshire for diuerse causes, for that he would not permit the same shiriffe to leuie the du-

Polyd.

The king cometh backe againe into England.

La Meir.

R. Houed.
King John is diuorced.
Math. West.
Math. Paris.
R. Houed.Math. Paris.
Cestrey arch.
of Porke de-
prived.

tie called Charugage, that was; three shillings of cuerie ploughland within his diocesse, rated and appointed to be leuied to the kings use, throughout all parts of the realme. Secondlie, for that the same archbishop refused to go ouer with the king into Normandie to helpe to make the marriage betwixt the French kings sonne and his neece. Thirddie, because he had excommunicated the same shiriffe and all the prouince of Poike: whereupon the king tooke displeasure against him, and not onelie spoiled him (as I said) of his goods, but also banished him out of the court, not suffering him to come in his presence for the space of twelue moneths after.

Rog. Houed.
A counsell
called at west-
minster by the
archbishop of
Canturburie.

Arthur duke
of Britaine
doth homage
to the king of
England.

King Iohn
returneth in-
to England.
The queene is
crowned.

In this yeare also, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie held a counsell at Westminster against the prohibition of the lord chiefe iustice, Geoffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex. In the which counsell or synod, diuerse constitutions were made and ordeined for orders and customes to be used touching the seruice and administration of sacraments in the church, and other articles concerning churchmen and ecclesiasticall matters. About the same time, king Iohn and Philip king of France met together nere the towne of Vernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as balsall to his uncle king Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & those other places which he held of him on this side and beyond the riuer of Loir, and afterward still mistrusting his uncles curtesie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himselfe to his said uncle, who (as he supposed) did beare him little good will. These things being thus perforced, king Iohn returned into England, and there caused his new married wife Isabell to be crowned on the fundaie before the feast of S. Denise, the eight of October.

At the same time he gaue commandement vnto Hugh deuil high iustice of his foreests, that he should auard his precepts vnto all foreesters within the realme, to giue warning to all the white monks, that before the quindene of S. Michaell they should remoue out of his foreests all their horses of Haraz, and other cattell, vnder the penaltie to forfeit so manie of them, as after that day chanced to be found within the same foreests. The cause that moued the king to deale so hardlie with them was, for that they refused to helpe him with monie, when before his last going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the payment of the thirtie thousand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king, to liue in rest and peace, which he coueted to haue done for reliefe of his people, and his owne suertie, knowing that enemies he had that late in wait to deströie him, and againe, what discommodities had chanced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall wars. But now to proceed with other doings.

An ambassage
sent vnto the
king of Scots.

The king of
Scots came
to the king
of England
at Lincolne.
March. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
R. Houed.
Polydor.

Immediatlie after the solemnization of the queens coronation ended, he sent Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger Bigot earle of Northfolke, and Henrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, nephew to William king of Scotland, and David earle of Huntingdon, brother to the said king, and Roger de Lacie constable of Chester, the lord William de Mescie, and the lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of the said king, & Robert Fitz Roger shiriffe of Northumberland, as ambassadours from him vnto the foresaid William king of Scotland, with letters patents, containing a safe conduct for him to come into England, and to meet with king Iohn at Lincolne on the morrow after the feast of S. Edmund, who gladlie granted therevnto, and so according to that appointment, both the kings met at Lincolne the 21 day of Nouember. And on the morrow after king Iohn went to the cathedrall church,

and offered vpon the high altar a chalice of gold.

On the same day, vpon a hill without the citie, the king of Scots did homage vnto king Iohn, in the presence and sight of a great multitude of people, swearing fealtie of life, limme, and worlde honour vnto king Iohn, which oath he made vpon the crosse of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie. Where were present at that time, beside other problems, three archbishops, Canturburie, Poike, and Ragule, with other bishops, to the number of thirtene, as Duresme London, Rochester, Ebie, Bath, Salisburie, Winchester, Hereford, Norwich, S. Andrews in Scotland, Landasse, and Bangor in Wales, and Geth in Ireland, beside a great multitude of earles, barons, and other problems. When the king of Scots had thus done his homage, he required restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, which he claimed as his right and lawfull heritage. Such talke was had touching this matter, but they could not agree, and therefore king Iohn asked respit to consider of it till the feast of Pentecost next insuing, which being granted, the king of Scots the next morrow being the 23 of Nouember returned homeward, and was conducted backe againe into his countrie by the same public men that brought him to Lincolne.

The same day that the king of Scots toke his iournie homewards from Lincolne, the corps of Hugh bishop of that citie (latele before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parts of beyond the seas) was brought thither to be buried, the king and all the bishops, earles and barons went to receiue it, and honoured his buriall with their presence. On the morrow after being fridaie, he was interred within the new church which he had builden. This Hugh was a Frenchman by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant wit, and skillfull both in science of holie scripture and humane knowledge. He was first a regular canon, and after became a Carthusian monke. King Henrie the second moued with the fame of his vertue and godlie life, sent the bishop of Bath to bring him into England, and after he was come, made him first abbat of Withing in the diocesse of Welles, and after created him bishop of Lincolne.

He was noted to be of a verie perfect life, namely, because he would not sticke to reprove men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the fauour or disfauour of any man, in so much that he would not feare to pronounce them accursed, which being the kings officers, would take vpon them the punishment of any person within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forests and chases, yea (and that which is more) he would denie payments of such subsidies and taxes as he was assessed to paie to the uses of king Richard and king Iohn, towards the maintenance of their wars, and did oftentimes accurse by his ecclesiasticall authoritie, such shiriffes, collectors, or other officers, as did disreine vpon his lands and goods for to satisfie these kings of their demands, alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one christian prince, vpon priuate displeasure and grudge, made against another prince of the same religion. This was his reason.

And when he came before the king to make answer to his disobedience shewed herein, he would so handle the matter, partlie with gentle admonishments, partlie with sharpe reproofes, and sometime mixing merrie and pleasant speeche amongst his serious arguments, that often times he would so qualifie the kings mood, that being diuinen from anger, he could not but laugh and smile at the bishops pleasant talke
and

A prelatious
part in
bishop.

and merrie conceits, so that it might well be said of him,

Omne talit punctum quimiscuit vile dulci.

This maner he vsed, not onelie with the king alone, but with the father and the two sonnes, that is to say, Henrie the second, Richard and Iohn, in whose time he ruled and gouerned the see of Lincolne. He was after his deceasse, for the opinion which men conceiued of his holinesse and vertues, admitted into the number of the saints.

For haue heard how king Iohn had conceiued no small displeasure against the monks of the white order, for that they would not part with any monie, excusing themselves that they might not do it, without consent of a generall chapter of their order. Whereupon the king had caused them diuerse waies to be molested, but cheselie in restraining them of libertie to haue any horses or other cattell going to pasture within his forrests. They therefore taking aduise together, chose forth twelue abbats amongst them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make suit to the king (comming thither at this time to meet the king of Scots) that it would please him to remit his displeasure conceiued against them, and to take them againe into his protection.

This suit was so followed, although with some difficultie, that at length, to wit, the sundaie after that the king of Scots had done his homage, through the helpe and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to the kings speech, and obtained so much, as they in reason might desire: for he pardoned them of all his passed displeasure, received them againe into his fauour, took them into his protection, and commanded that all iniuries, greunances and molestacions should be reformed, redressed and amended, which in respect of his indignation had bene offered and done to them by any manner of meanes. And to see the same accomplished, to wit, were directed vnto the shiriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the 27 of Nouember. And thus were those monks for that time restored to the kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

five monies. About the moneth of December, there were scene in the prouince of Yorke five monies, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the midst of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went five or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortly after vanished awaye. The winter after was extreamelie cold, more than the naturall course had bene aforesetime. And in the spring time came a great glutting and continuall raine, causing the riuers to rise with higher floods than they had bene accustomed.

1201
Matt. Paris.
Anno. Reg. 3. In the yeare 1201 king Iohn held his Christmas at Olsford, and there gaue to his seruants manie faire liveries and suits of apparell. The archbishop of Canturburie did also the like at Canturburie, seeing in deed to strue with the king, which of them should passe the other in such sumptuous appareling of their men: whereat the king (and not without god cause) was greatlie moued to indignation against him, although for a time he coloured the same, going presentlie into the north, where he gathered of the countrie there no small summs of monie, as it were by way of fining them for their transgressions committed in his forrests.

From thence he returned and came to Canturburie, where he held his easter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, in the which feast he sat crowned, together with his wife queene Isabell, the archbishop of Canturburie bea-

ring the charges of them and their trains while they remained there. At the feast of the Ascension next ensuing, king Iohn set out a proclamation at Setwhelburie, that all the earles and barons of the realme, and also all other that held of him by knights seruaice, should be readie in the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, with horse and armour at Portesmouthe, to passe ouer with him into Normandie, who made their appearance accordingly. Howbeit, a great number of them in the end gat licence to tarry at home, paying for euery knights fee two markes of siluer for a fine, which then was a great matter.

But he sent before him into Normandie William Marthall earle of Striguille with an hundred knights or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacie with an other hundred men of armes to defend the confines of Normandie against the enemies: and to his chamberleine Hubert de Burgh he deliuered the like number of knights or men of armes also, to keepe the marches betwixt England and Wales as warden of the same. This done, he pardoned his brother the archbishop of Yorke, and restored him to all his dignities, possessions and liberties, confirming the same vnto him in as full and large manner, as euer Roger late archbishop of that see had enioied the same: for the which confirmation his said brother undertooke to paie to the king within the terme of one yeare the summe of a thousand pounds sterling: and for the assurance thereof, engaged his baronie to the king in pledge.

Whereouer, about the same time, the king sent Geoffrey bishop of Chester, and Richard Paleville, with Henrie de Poisse, vnto William king of Scotland, requiring him that the time appointed for him to make answer touching his demand of Northumberland, might be prozoned untill the feast of saint Michael the archangel next ensuing, which was obtained, and then the king and queene (being come to Portsmouth on the mondaie in Whitfunweeke) took the sea to passe ouer into Normandie, but not both in one ship, so that the queene with a prosperous gale of wind arrived there at hir owne desire. But the king was driuen by reason of a pirrie, to take land in the Ile of Wight, and so was staid there for a time: howbeit, within a few daies after, he took ship againe at Portsmouth, and so passed ouer into Normandie, where shortly after his arriual in those parties he came to an enteruiew with the king of France, nere to Lille Donelie, where comming a long time together alone, they agreed so well, that within three daies after, king Iohn at the French kings request went into France, and was receiued of him with much honour, first at S. Denise with procession of the cleargie: and there lodging one night, vpon the morrow the French king accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receiued of the citizens with great reuerence, the prouost presenting vnto him in the name of the whole citie manie rich gifts for his welcome. King Philip feasted him also in his owne palace, and for his part gaue to him, to his lords, and to his seruants manie great and princelie gifts. Whereouer, the league at this time was renewed betwixt them, and put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them first brake the covenants, such lords on his part as were become suerties for performance, should be released of their allegiance which they owght to him that so should brake, and that they might thereupon freely become subiects to the other prince.

These things done, at length when as king Iohn had remained at Paris with great mirth and solace certeine daies, the French king brought him forth of the citie, and took leaue of him in verie louing wise.

After

Rog. Houed.

*The archbish.
of Yorke re-
stored.*

*Ambassadors
sent to Scot-
land.*

*The king
passeth ouer
into Nor-
mandie.*

*He commeth
to talke with
the king of
France.*

*King Iohn
entrencheth
Paris.*

*The league
renewed.
Matt. Paris.
R. Houed.*

Walter Lacie
meant to haue
taken the lord
Curcie.

Polydor.
aid against
the Turkes
and infidels.

Matth. Paris.

Unseasonable
weather.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.
1202

The French
king beginneth
to make war
against king
Iohn.

Polydor.
Hugh earle of
March.

After this king Iohn went to Chinon, & from thence into Normandie; about which time there chanced some troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacie under pretence of a communication that was appointed betwixt him and Iohn de Curcie, lord of Ulster, meant to haue taken the said Curcie, and for the accomplishment of his purpose set upon him, slue manie of his men, and for his safegard constrained Curcie in the end to take a castell which belonged unto Hugh Lacie, vpon faire promises made to him by the same Hugh, to be preferred out of all danger, it came to passe, that when he was once got in, he might no more be suffered to depart. For the Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to king Iohn, but the seruants and friends of the said Curcie made such cruell war, in wasting and destroying the lands and possessions that belonged unto the said Walter and Hugh Lacies, that finally they were constrained to set him againe at libertie whether they would or no.

At the same time also, the kings of France and England gaue large monie towards the maintenance of the armie, which at this present went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the christian faith, at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted unto them the fortieth part of all the reuenues belonging to ecclesiasticall persons, towards the aid of the christians then being in the holie land, and all such as well of the Nobilitie as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretly laid it downe, were compelled to receiue it now againe.

There chanced this yeare wonderful tempests of thunder, lightning, haile, and abundance of raine, in such wise, that mens minds were greatly affonied therewith: medowes and marsh grounds were quite overflowed, bridges broken and bozne downe, and great quantitie of corne and haie lost and carried away, and diuerse men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Constance, duchesse of Britaine, sister to William king of Scots, and mother to Henrie Boun earle of Hereford, deceased. This yeare also by the counsell and aduice of the burgesse of London, there were chosen of the most substantiall and wisest men, which after the report of some writers, were called the councill of the citie of London, out of which number the Maior and Bailiffes were yearely chosen.

In the yeare 1202 king Iohn held his Christmasse at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met together, nere unto the castell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betwixt them, he commanded king Iohn with no small arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promise, to restore vnto his nephew Arthur duke of Britaine, all those lands now in his possession on that side the sea, which king Iohn earnestly denied to do, whereupon the French king immediatly after, began war against him, and toke Buteuant, Augi, and the castell of Linos. Moreover, he besieged the castell of Radeport for the space of eight daies, till king Iohn came thither, and forced him to depart with much dishonor. Wherupon after this, the French king went Courney, and then returning to Paris, he appointed certeine persons to haue the gouernment of the foresaid Arthur duke of Britaine, and then sent him forth with 200 men of armes into Poitou, that he might bring the countrie also vnder his subiection.

Whereupon Hugh le Boun earle of March (vnto whom queene Isabel the wife of king Iohn had bene promised in marriage, before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inward displeasure towards the king of England, for

that he had so beneft him of his promised spouse) being now desirous to procure some trouble also vnto king Iohn, joined himselfe with Arthur duke of Britaine, and found meanes to cause them of Poitou (a people euer subiect to rebellion) to revolt from king Iohn, and to take armour against him, so that the young Arthur being encouraged with this new supplie of associats, first went into Touraine, and after into Aniou, compelling both those countreies to submit themselues vnto him, and proclaimed himselfe earle of those places, by commission and grant obtained from king Philip.

Queene Elianor that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturte, got hir into Spiraubeau a strong towne, situat in the countrie of Aniou, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortly after followed hir, and wone Spiraubeau, where he toke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported.) But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within which she was straitly besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poitou, and namelie the foresaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie together in the field.

King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangeness of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all possible hast speeded him forth, continuing his iourne for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be brieue, he used such diligence, that he was vpon his enemies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his coming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approach so nere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once wone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as presented by the hastie coming of the enemies vpon them, and wanting leisure to take aduice what was best to be done, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a marvellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flee, to yield or to resist.

This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noise and tumult) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either toke or slue them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towards the towne of Spiraubeau, into which the enemies made verie great hast to enter: but such speed was used by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wone the said towne before their enemies could come nere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Spiraubeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first breaking was taken, who being hereby committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping, some into castles within Normandie, and some were sent into England.

The Poitoui
did revolt
from king
Iohn.

Arthur pro-
claimeth him-
selfe earle of
Aniou, &c.

Queene E-
lianor.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.

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Polydor.

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Matth.
Paris.
Matth.
West.

Rafe

Arthur duke
of Britaine
taken prisoner.

Matth. Paris.

King Iohn hauing gotten this victorie,
and taken his nephue Arthur, he wrote the man-
ner of that his successe vnto his barons
in England, in manner
as followeth.

Iohn by the grace of God king of
England, and lord of Ireland, to all
his barons sendeth greeting. Know
yee that we by Gods good fauour
are in sound and perfect health, and through
Gods grace that maruellouslie worketh with
vs, on tuesday before Lammas daie, we being
before the citie of Mauns, were aduertised that
our mother was besieged in Mirabeau, and
therfore we hasted so fast as we possibly might,
so that we came thither on Lammas daie, and
there we tooke our nephue Arthur, Hugh le
Brun, Andrew de Chauenie, the vicount of
Chateau Erald, Raimond de Touars, Sauerie
de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other e-
nimies of Poitou that were there assembled
against vs, to the number of two hundred
knights and above, so that not one of them es-
caped. Giue God therefore thanks, and reioise
at our good successe.

De Castre
Erald.

300 knights
or men of
armes besides
demittances.

Anno Reg. 4.

The French king at the same time lieng in siege
before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this
ouertrow, raised from thence, and returned home-
wards, destroing all that came in his waie, till he
was entred into his owne countrie. It is said that
king Iohn caused his nephue Arthur to be brought
before him at Falais, and there went about to per-
suade him all that he could to forsake his friendship
and alliance with the French king, and to leane and
sticke to him being his naturall uncle. But Arthur
like one that wanted good counsell, and abounding
too much in his owne willfull opinion, made a pre-
sumptuous answer, not onelie denieng so to do, but
also commanding king Iohn to restore vnto him the
realme of England, with all those other lands and
possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the
houre of his death. For sith the same appertained to
him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except re-
stitution were made the sower, he should not long
continue quiet. King Iohn being soe moued with
such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as
before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in pri-
son, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the
new castell there. Thus by means of this good suc-
cesse, the countries of Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou
were recovered.

March. Paris
King Iohn
enthroned
crowned.

Rafe Cog.

Shorlie after king Iohn comming ouer into
England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at
Canterburie by the hands of Hubert the archbishop
there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went
backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie
vpon his arriuall, a rumour was spred through all
France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it
is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at li-
bertie, as well by the French king, as by William
de Riche a valiant baron of Poitou, and diuerse
other noble men of the Britains, who when they
could not preuaile in their suit, they banded them-
selues togither, and joining in confederacie with
Robert earle of Arlon, the vicount Beaumont,
William de Fulgiere, and other, they began to leuie
harpe wars against king Iohn in diuerse places,
in so much (as it was thought) that so long as Arthur
liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: where,

upon it was reported, that king Iohn through per-
suasion of his counsellors, appointed certeine per-
sons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in
prison, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and
there to put out the yong gentlemen es.

But through such resistance as he made against
one of the tormentors that came to execute the
kings commandement (for the other rather forsooke
their prince and countrie, than they would consent
to obeye the kings authoritie herein) and such la-
mentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh
old preserve him from that infurie, not doubting but
rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings
hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would
haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the yong gen-
tlemen had bene so cruellie dealt withall. For he
considered, that king Iohn had resolved vpon this
point onelie in his heat and furie (which mouth men
to undertake manie an inconuenient enterpryse, be-
leseming the person of a common man, much more
reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being
mere folish and furious, and prone to accomplish
the peruerse conceits of their ill possessed heart; as
one saith right well,

— prout in iram
Stultorum est animus facile exardescit, et audet
Omne scelus, quoties concepta bile tumescit

and that afterwards, vpon better aduiseement, he
would both repent himselfe so to haue commanded,
and giue them small thanke that should see it put in
execution. Howbeit to satisfie his mind for the time,
and to stalle the rage of the Britains, he caused it to
be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings
commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur also
though sorrow and greife was departed out of this
life. For the space of fiftene daies this rumour in-
cessantlie ran through both the realmes of England
and France, and there was ringing for him through
townes and villages, as it had bene for his funerals.
It was also bruted, that his bodie was buried in
the monasterie of saint Andzelues of the Cisterci-
an order.

But when the Britains were nothing pacified,
but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all
the mischefe they could deuise, in reuenge of their
soveraignes death, there was no remedie but to sig-
nifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing
and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of
all this matter, he was nothing displeased for that
his commandement was not executed, sith there
were diuerse of his capteins which vttered in plaine
words, that he should not find knights to keepe his
castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if
it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of
France or other their aduersaries, they should be
sure to tast of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the
maner in vertie deed of the end of this Arthur, writ-
ters make sundrie reports. Whereof the certeine it
is, that in the yeare next ensuing, he was remoued
from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out
of the which there was not any that would confesse
that euer he saw him go aliue. Some haue written,
that as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and
prouing to cline ouer the wals of the castell, he fell
into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other
write, that through vertie greife and languor he pined
awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some as-
stirne, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be mur-
thered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie
agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies:
But verelie king Iohn was had in great suspition,
whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth. Yet how
extremelie soeuer he delt with his nephue, he relea-
sed and set at libertie diuerse of those lords that were
taken

P. ij.

taken

taken prisoners with him, namely Hugh le Brun, and Sauerie de Hauleon, the one to his great trouble and hinderance, and the other to his gaine: for Hugh le Brun afterwards leuied and occasioned fore warres against him, but Sauerie de Hauleon continued euer after his loiall subiect, doing to him verie agreeable seruice, as hereafter may appeare.

Some forme to the vicount of Comars.

Constance the mother of duke Arthur accuseth king John.

Matt. Paris. The ordinance for the assise of bread.

The Lord Cite, forme to the vicount of Comars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the duocle made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obtained the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, took the matter verie graueouslie, and upon occasion thereof, cited king John to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such objections as Constance the duchess of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murder of hir sonne. And because king John appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adjudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, as well Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.

About the same time the king caused a proclamation to be published for the lawfull assise of bread to be made by the bakers, upon paine to be punished by the pillorie: which assise was approued and assented by the baker of Cestre Fitz Peter, lord chiefe iustice of England, and by the baker of Robert de Luningham. So that the baker might sell and gaine in euerie quarter thre pence, besides the bran, and two loaves for the heater of the oven, and for foure seruants foure halfe pence, for two boies a farthing, for allotmance in salt an halfe pence, yest an halfe pence, for candell a farthing, for setwell thre pence, and for a bulter an halfe pence. And this was the rate.

When wheat was sold for six shillings the quarter, then shall euerie loafe of fine manchet wey 41 shillings, and euerie loafe of cheate shall wey 24 shillings. When wheat is sold for five shillings and six pence, then manchet shall wey 20 shillings, and cheate 28 shillings. When wheat is sold for five shillings, then manchet shall wey 24 shillings, and the cheate bread 32 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings six pence, manchet shall wey 32 shillings, and cheate 42 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings, manchet shall wey 36 shillings, and cheate 46 shillings. When wheat is sold for thre shillings six pence, then shall manchet wey 42 shillings, and cheate 54 shillings. When wheat is sold for thre shillings, manchet shall wey 48 shillings, and cheate 44 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings and six pence, manchet shall wey 54 shillings, and cheate 72 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings, manchet shall wey firtie shillings, and cheate foure pound. When wheat is sold for 18 pence the quarter, manchet shall wey 77 shillings, & cheate foure pound and eight shillings. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the realme, as most necessarie and profitable for the common-wealthe.

Great tempests.

This yeare manie wonderfull things happened, for besides the sore winter, which passed any other that had bene heard of in manie yeares before, both for continuance in length and extreme colde of frosts, there followed grieuouse tempests, with thunder, lightning, and stormes of raine, and haile of the biggnesse of hens eggs, wherewith much fruit & great store of corne was perished, beside other great hurts done upon houses and vpon cattell. Also spirits as it was thought in likenesse of birds and foules were seene in the aire slieng with fire in their beaks, wherewith they set diuerse houses on fire: which did import great troubles yer long to insue, and followed in deed, as shall appeare hereafter.

With this entrance of the yeare of our lord 1203,

king John held his Christmasse at Caen, where not having (as some writers say) sufficient regard to the necessarie affaires of his wars, he gaue his mind to banquetting, and passed the time in pleasure with the queene his wife, to the great greife of his lords, so that they perceiuing his rechelesse demeanour (as some write, the doubtfull minds of the Nobilitie which serued on that side, and were readie daile to revolt from his obedience) withdrew their dutifull hearts from him, and therefore getting licence, returned home into England.

In this meane time the French king, to bring his purpose to full effect, entred into Normandie, wasted the countreies, and toan the towncs of Coloches, le Val de Kueil, and Lille Dandele. Le Val de Kueil was giuen ouer without any great inforcement of assault, by two noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Wlaster, and the other Saer de Duncie. Howbeit Lille Dandele was valiantlie for a certeine time defended by Roger de Lacie the constable of Chester. But at length they within were so constrained by famine and long siege, that the said Lacie and others perceiuing it to be more honourable for them to die by the sword, than to starue through want of food, brake out upon their enemies, and slue a great sort of the Frenchmen, but yet in the end they were taken prisoners, and so these fortresses came into the French kings hands.

The pope hearing of these variances betwixt the two kings, sent the abbat of Cassin into France, accompanied with the abbat of Croissons, to moue them to a peace. These two abbats took such paines in the matter, that the kings were almost brought to agreement. But the French king perceiuing himselfe to be aforehand in his businesse, stricken at one article, which was to reparaire all such abbeyes as he had destroyed within the dominions of king John: and king John to do the like by all those that he had wasted within the French kings countreies. The popes Nuncij would haue ercommunicated king Philip, because he would not thus agree. But king Philip appealing from them, pursued the warre, and besieged the towne of Radpont. The soldiers within the towne defended the first assault verie manfullie, and caused the Frenchmen to retire backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne yer he departed, did so inclose it about, that within ten daies he toan it, and took there twentie men of armes, an hundred demianers, and twentie archers.

After this, when he had fortified this place, he went to castell Galiard, which he besieged; and though by the high valiance of Hugh de Courney the capitaine there, the Frenchmen were manfullie braten backe, and kept out for a moneth and more, yet at length by streit siege and neare approaches hardlie made, the fortresse was deliuered into the French kings hands. And in the end the said Hugh Courney revolted from his obedience, deliuering also the castell of Mountfort unto the French king, which castell with the honoz thereto appertaining king John had giuen to the same Hugh, not verie long before. All this while king John did lie at Rouen: but so much as he could not well remedie the matter as then, because he wanted such helpe as he desired toke for out of England, and durst not trust any of that side, he passed it over with a stout countenance for a while, and would saie oftentimes to such as stood about him; What else doth my cosen the French king now than scale those things from me, which hereafter I shall endeavour my selfe to cause him to restore with interest? But when he saw that his enemies would still proceed, and that no aid came out of England, he came ouer himselfe, and landed at Portesmouth.

1203
March. Paris.

Anno Reg. 1.
March. Paris.
Polydon.
The French king inuaded Normandie.

Roger de Lacie constable of Chester taken.

The pope sendeth his Nuncij into France.

Gaguine.

Polydon.

Radpont toane.

Castell Galiard.

March. Paris.

Hugh de Courney revolteth from king John.
Polydon.

1203
March. Paris.
to England.

mouth on S. Nicholas day.

King Philip doubting by bling the victorie with too much rigor, lest he should bring the Normans into a desperate boldness, and so cause them for safeguard of their lives to hazard all upon resistance, he staied for a time, and withdrew his souldiers backe againe into France, hauing not onelie furnished those places in the meane time which he had won, with strong garisons of his souldiers, but also appointed certeine personages to traueill with the people, yet remaining in the English subiection, to reuolt and turne from king Iohn, to his obeisance and subiection.

King Iohn being returned into England, accused diuerse of his Nobles for shewing themselves negligent and slothfull in aiding him, according to his commandement, alledging furthermore, that being destitute of their due and requisite seruice, he was constrained to lose his time in Normandie, as not being able for want of their aid to resist his enemies. Wherefore for this and other matters laid to their charges, he did put them to greuous fines. By meanes whereof, and by leauing a subsidie of his people, he got together an huge summe of monie. This subsidie was granted him in a parlement holden at Orenford, and begun there vpon the second of Januarie 1204, wherein of euerie knights sex was granted the summe of two markes and an halfe. Neither were the bishops, abbats, nor any other ecclesiasticall persons exempted, by meanes whereof he ran first into the hatred of the clergie, and consequently of manie other of his subiects: so that they failed him at his need, whereby he often sustained no small damage, which he might haue prevented and withstood, if he had bene so qualified with discretion as to haue seene what was conuenient and what inconuenient for his roiall estate. But

—voluntas

Improbis perniciem ingentem mortalibus affert,
as it did to him, which may be gathered by a due obseruation of the consequence. ¶ This yeare the aire toward the north and east parts seemed to be on a bright fire for the space of six houres together. It began about the first watch of the night, on the first of April.

King Iohn about the beginning of this first yeare of his reigne, sent in ambassage to the French king the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of Norwich and Ely, the earles Barthall and Leicester, to treat with him of peace: but he was so far off from comming nere to any reasonable motions, because he saw the world frame as he wished, that still by demanding somewhat that might not be granted, he kept off, and brought in such hard conditions, that it was not possible to conclude anie agreement. And this he did of purpose, hoping within short time to conquer all that the king of England possessed as yet on that side the seas. He was the more vntoward to compound, for that he was informed how Arthur the duke of Britaine was dispatched of his life, and therefore not doubting but to haue manie to take part with him in seeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chiefe quarell, swearing that he would not cease to pursue the warre against king Iohn, till he had depriued him of his whole kingdome. So the ambassadors departed without all hope to come to any agreement. ¶ This yeare Easter day fell so high as it possible might, that is to saie, on saint Sparks day.

King Philip vnderstanding that king Iohn remained still in England, rather occupied in gathering of monie amongst his subiects, than in making other provision to bring them into the field (to the great offense of his said people) thought now for his part to lose no time: but assembling a mightie ar-

mie, he came with the same into Normandie, and vpon his first comming, he won the towne of Falaise, and shortly after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by surrender. This done, he marched further into the countrie, and with his sudden inuasion so oppressed the people euerie where, that they could haue no time to make shift by flight to get into the toiwnes. With this swiftnesse of speed, he brought also such a feare into the hearts of most men, that he won all the countrie of Normandie euen to Mount S. Michael. The inhabitants in euerie place submitted themselves; as those of Baieulx, Constances, Lisieux, and other towines thereabouts.

Finallie, he came before Rouen, the principall citie of all the countrie, and incamped so in sundrie places about the citie, that all the issues, entrees and waies were closed vp by his armie, being so diuided into seuerall camps, that the distance was not great from one to another, making a terrible shew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things necessary for his purpose, and taken good aduise of his captains how he should best imploye his force for the winning of this citie (in which exploit he knew the full perfection of all his passed conquests chiefe to consist) he did manfullie assault it, and they within as manfullie defended themselves, so that he got little by the assaults and approaches which he made. Where vpon he fell in hand to practise with the citizens to win them with meed, curtesie, gentle speech, and great promises. So that in fine, they within were so moued with such reasons as he vsed to persuaade them with, all, that they made request for a truce to be had for certeine daies, within the terme whereof if no succour came, they couenanted to yeld without any further trouble.

This truce being obtained, ambassadors were sent from them of Rouen into England, to signifie vnto king Iohn the whole state of the citie, and of the truce, so that if aid came not within the time appointed, the citie must needs be deliuered into the enimies hands. The king hauing no armie in readinesse to send ouer, nor other shift to make for the succour of the citie, permitted the ambassadors to depart without comfort of any aid, who here vpon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they had heard, seene, and found, brought the citie into great sorrow. For whereas that citie had euer bene accustomed to glorie for the great loialtie and faithfull fidelitie which the same had euer shewed towards their liege lords and naturall princes; now the citizens perceived manifestlie, that vntlesse they would cast awaie themselves, and lose all they had, they must of force yeld into the hands of their enimies. Wherefore to make their true allegiance more apparant to the world, they staied the surrender as long as they had any store of vittels within the citie to relceue their fainting bodies withall: and so in the end being vanquished with hunger, they submitted themselves to the French king. Their submission being once knowne, caused all those other towines which had not yelded, to deliuer vp their keies vnto the French men, as Arques, Vernucill, and others.

Whereouer the towines in Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou, which king Iohn had recovered latelie before, did now againe (being in no small feare) yeld themselves vnto king Philip: so that of all the towines within those countries, there remained none vnder the English obeisance, save onelie Rochell, Tours, Blois, and a few other. Thus Normandie which kingollo had purchased and gotten 316 yeares before that present time, was then recovered by the French men, to the great repproach and dishonour of the English, in this yeare 1204. About this time quene Elianor, the mother of king Iohn departed this life, con-

Towns won by the French king.

Rouen besieged by the French king.

The great fidelitie of the citizens of Rouen.

Rouen through famine is surrendered to the French king.

March. Paris.

March. Paris.
A parlement at Orenford.
1204.
A subsidie granted.

Anno Reg. 6.

Rafe Cog.
Ambassadors sent into France.

1204

Sp. Rafe Coghill
report this
should seme
to have cha-
ced in the
baies of Is.
Henric the
second.
A fish like to
a man.

seemed rather through sorrow and anguish of mind,
than of any other naturall infirmity.

In this first year of king Johns reigne, at Ox-
ford in Suffolke, as Fabian saith, although I thinke
he be deceived in the time, a fish was taken by fish-
ers in their nets as they were at sea, resembling in
shape a toide or savage man, whome they presented
unto Sir Bartholomew de Glanville knight, that
had then the keeping of the castell of Oxford in suf-
folke. He was naked, and in all his limbs and mem-
bers resembling the right proportion of a man; he
had haire also in the small parts of his bodie, albeit
that the crowne of his head was bare, his beard was
long and ragged, and his breast haire. The knight
cauled him to be kept certeine daies & nights from
the sea, meat set afore him he greedilie deuoured,
& did eat fish both raw and sod. Those that were raw
he pressed in his hand till he had thrust out all the
moisture, and so then did eat them. He would not or
could not utter any speech, although to trie him they
hung him up by the heeles, and miserable tormented
him. He would get him to his couch at the setting of
the sunne, and rise againe at the rising of the same.

One day they brought him to the haven, and suf-
fered him to go unto the sea, but to be sure he should
not escape from them, they set three ranks of mightie
strong nets before him, so to catch him againe at
their pleasure (as they imagined) but he straight-
waies dived downe to the bottome of the water,
got past all the nets, and coming up, shewed him-
selfe to them againe that stood waiting for him, and
dovoking divers times under water and coming
up againe he beheld them on the shore that stood still
looking at him, who seemed as it were to mocke
them, for that he had deceived them, & got past their
nets. At length after he had thus sported himselfe a
great while in the water, and that there was no more
hope of his returne, he came to them againe of his
owne accord, swimming through the water, and re-
mained with them two moneths after. But finally,
when he was negligentlie looked to, and now seemed
not to be regarded, he fled secretlie to the sea, and
was neuer after scene nor heard of.

Thus much out of Rafe Coghill, who affirmeth
that this chanced in the daies of Henric the second,
about the 23 of his reigne, as John Stow in his sum-
marie hath also noted. Which report of theirs in re-
spect of the strangenesse thereof might seme incredi-
ble, speciallie to such as be hard of beleefe, and refuse
to give faith and credit to any thing but what their
owne eyes have seald to their consciences, so that
the reading of such wonders as these, is no more be-
neficall to them, than to carrie a candle before a
blind man, or to sing a song to him that is starke
deafe. Nevertheless, of all uncomon and rare sights,
speciallie of monstrous appearances we ought to
be so farre from having little regard; that we should
rather in them and by them observe the event and
falling out of some future thing, no lesse miraculous
in the issue, than they be wonderfull at the sudder
sight. This was well noted of a philosopher, who to
the purpose (among other matters by him touched)
hath spoken no lesse pithilie than crediblie, saying;

*Non ferri aut errore aut calu monstra putandum,
Cum certas habebant causas, ut trillia monstrant,
Unde illis nomen, quare & portentosa vocantur.*

The war was mightilie maintained all this while
betwixt them of Poitou and Aquitaine, and manie
sharpe encounters chanced betwixt the parties, of
which the one following the king of Englands lieute-
nant Robert de Turnham, valiantlie resisted the
other that held with the French king under the con-
duict of William de Roches, & Hugh le Brun earle
of March, chief leaders of that faction. But Robert

Turnham, together with Saverie de Spauldon, and
Gerard de Arie, bare themselves so manfully, that
in all combats for the most part the victorie remained
on their sides. The Countenies also took part with
king John, and continued in dutifull obedience to
him, for the which their loiaute he was ready
to consider them with princelie gifts and beneficall
rewards, in such bountifull sorte, that he gave unto a
poble man of that countrie named Spere, the
summe of 22 thousand marks, to leue & wage five
thousand men to aid him at his coming out
into those parties. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, that
was brother unto the foresaid Spere, became mer-
cenary for performance of the countenies, and remained
in England a long time, because the same countenies
were not in all points accomplished.

The bishop of London was sent ambassadour
from king John unto the emperor upon certeine
earnest business. The duke of Louain, and the earle
of Ffloungne were made friends by the French
kings will, and promised to invade England with
an armie, and to make waie against king John for
the withholding of such lands and revenues as they
claimed to be due unto them, in right of their wives.
King Philip also undertoketh to follow them within a
moneth after they should be entred into England,
& thus did the French king seeke to make him strong
with friends, which daie fell from king John on ech
hand. Godfrey bishop of Winchester, that was son
to the lord Richard de L. was departed this life. This
yeare the king was on Christmase day at Lechel-
burie, where he staid not past one day.

The 14 day of Januarie it began to freeze, and so
continued till the 22 of March, with such extremite,
that the husbandmen could not make their till, by
reason wherof in the summer following, corn began
to grow to an excessive price, so that wheat was sold
by the quarter at 10 shillings of monie then cur-
rant. This prate about the feast of Pentecost, the
king (by the advice of his counsell assembled at
Portsmouth) prepared a manie of ships, muffled
soldiers, and shewed great tokens that he would
renew the war, and seeke to be revenged of his ene-
mie the French king. The peoples of the realme
inducoured themselves also to match the diligence
of the king in this preparation, upon an earnest de-
sire to revenge the injuries lately done to the com-
mon-wealth.

Now when all things were ready, and the ships
fraught with vittels, armour, and all other promi-
sons necessarie, the king came to Portsmouth, there
to take the sea, purposing verilie to passe over into
France, in hope of such faire promises as his friends
of Normandie and Poitou had made, in sending of
tentenues to him, to procure him with speed to come
to their succours. But as the king was ready to en-
ter on shipboard, Robert archbishop of Cantorburie,
and William Sparshall earle of Pembroke came
to him, and with manie great reasons went about to
persuade him to fraie his iourne. Who although he
was verie loath to follow their counsell, yet they put
forth so manie doubts and dangers that might fol-
low of his departing the realme at that present, to
the hazarding of the whole state, that in the end (fore
to his grieve) he was overcomen by their importunate
persuasions, and so dismissing the most part of his
armie, appointed his brother the earle of Salisburie
with a certeine number of knights & men of armes
to passe over into Rochell, whither the lord Gessrey
the kings base sonne was gone before him, with ma-
nie other knights and men of armes.

The lords and other that were dismissed, took it
verie ill, considering the great preparation that
had bene made for that iourne. But speciallie the
mariners

In extremum
frost.

Anno Regi
Polydor.
March. Paris
King John
preparat
armis to p
into France

Rafe Cog-
The arch-
shop of Can-
turburie, and
the earle of
Pembroke
persuade the
king to fraie
at home.

M. Pal. in
sup.

John Stow.

mariners were sore offended, cursing the archbishop and the said earle of Penbroke, that were knowne to be authors of so naughty counsell as they take this to be. It was as thought there was neuer so manie ships gotten together at one time before, as were at that present, to haue attended the king: for (as writers haue recozded) there were to the number of fourteene thousand mariners that had brought their ships thither for that purpose. But as the breaking up of this boiage greued others, so it pinched the king so nere the heart, that he being come backe from the sea side to Winchester, repented so much that he had not gone forward with his iourne, that the next daie he returned againe to the coast, and at Portesmouth, entering the sea with his ships, on the fifteenth of Julie he sailed to the Ile of Wight, and waisted by and downe for the space of two daies together, till by aduise of his friends he was perswaded not to aduenture to passe ouer, sith his armie was dismissed and gone home, and so he returned backe to the shoure againe, arriving at Scotland, nere unto Warham, the third daie after his setting forth: yet such as were behind, and halsted after him, thought verelie he had bene gone ouer, and such a hute was spread ouer all, till at length in time the truth was knowne.

The king repenting him
goeth backe
to the sea side.

He goeth to
the sea the 15
of Julie, as
some authors
haue.

At his comming backe (as some write) he charged certeine of the Nobilitie with treason, bicause they did not follow him: whereupon shortly after he punished them verie grauoulie, and peradventure not without some ground of iust cause. For likelie it is, that some greater matter forced him to breake by his iourne, than appeareth in our writers, although Rafe Cogheshall setteth downe some reasons alledged by the archbishop Hubert, and earle Sparshall, to perswade him not to depart the realme. But peradventure other causes there were also of farre moze importance that constrained him so greatlie against his mind & full resolution, both at the first, and now at this second time to returne. ¶ Verelie to bitter my coniecture, it may be that vpon his last determination to go ouer, he gaue new commandement to his lordes to follow him, and they peradventure vsed not such diligence in accomplishing his pleasure therein, as he looked they should haue done: or it may be, when the armie was once discharged, the souldiers made such hast homewards, ech man towards his countrie, that it was no easie matter to bring them backe againe in any convenient time. But howsoeuer it was, as it had bene vpon a change of purpose, he came backe againe (as before ye haue heard.)

The death of
the archb. of
Canturburie.
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.

The thirtenth of Julie Hubert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life at Tenham, the king not being gratlie soze for his death (as some haue written) bicause he gathered some suspicion that he bare too much good will towards the French king. In verie deed (as some write) the archbishop repented himselfe of nothing so much, as for that he had commended king Iohn to the Noblemen and Peeres of the realme, sith he proued an other manner of man than he looked to haue found him. This archbishop had gouerned the see of Canturburie eleuen yeares, eight moneths, and six daies.

An archbishop
chosen.

After his decesse, the monks of Canturburie without knowledge of the king, chose one Reigbold the subprior of their house to be their archbishop, who secretly went to Rome to obtaine his confirmation of the pope. Which thing bred much mischefe and great discord betwixt pope Innocent & king Iohn, since the pope would not confirme the election, bicause he saw some peece of secret practise, till he might vnderstand and be certified by report of sufficient witnesse (for that he wanted the letters com-

mendatorie from the king) that the same election was lawfull and orderlie made. Of this delate also the monks being spædilie aduertised, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauour, whome they had verie sore offended in not making him partie to the first election, they made request vnto him, that by his nomination it might be lawfull for them to chose an other archbishop.

The king gladlie hereunto assented, requiring them to grant their voices vnto Iohn Gray the bishop of Pozzwich, being both his chapleine and president of his counsell. The monks to gratifie the king obeyed his request, and so electing the same bishop of Pozzwich, they sent their procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to signifie the same vnto the pope, and to require him to confirme this their second election, as vnmindfull of their first, and clearelie aduiliating the same to all intents and purposes. Amongst other that were sent to Rome about this business, Helias de Bzantfeld was one, a manke of great estimation, and had in god credit with the king, who ministered vnto them that were thus sent, sufficient allowance wherewith to beare their charges and expences.

Math. West.
John Gray
bishop of Pozz-
wich president
of the counsell,
Marth. Paris.

Helias de
Bzantfeld.

Also at the same time the bishops that were suffragans to the see of Canturburie, sent their procurators to Rome, about a quarrell which they had against the monks there, for that the same monks presumed to proceed to the election of an archbishop without their consent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrees and customes to be associated with them in the said elections. But how this matter was answered, ye shall see hereafter. In the meane time, these and other like things procured the pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the third person, whereby the trouble begun was not a little augmented (as you shall heare hereafter.) Now whilst these procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king minding to conquer all that which king Iohn yet held within France, assembled an armie, and comming before the towne of Loches, tooke it, and tooke Gerard de Atie prisoner, that had so long time and with such valiantie defended it. The same time also was Robert de Turnham taken prisoner, who with great manhood had all this while repressed and chastised the rebellious Poitouins.

The bishops
quarrell with
the monks of
Canturburie
about the elec-
tion of an
archbishop.

Gerard de Atie
& Robert
de Turnham
taken prisoners.

Moreouer, when the French king had tooke Loches, he went to Chinon, within the which Hubert de Burgh was captaine, a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found, who hauing prepared all things necessarie for defense, manfullie repelled the Frenchmen, who enforced themselves to win the towne with continuall assaults and alarms, not suffering them within to rest neither day nor night, who yet for certeine daies together, by the valiant encouragement of their captaine defended the towne, with great slaughter of the Frenchmen. Perce the lesse, at length beginning to despaire by reason of their incessant trauell, certeine of them that were somewhat fainthearted stole ouer the walles in the night, and ran to the Frenchmen, and for safeguard of their liues instructed them of the whole estate of the towne. The French vnderstanding that they within were in no small feare of themselves, with such violence came vnto the walles, and renewed the assault vpon all sides, that straightwaies they entred by force. A great number of Englishmen were taken, and amongst other their captaine the foresaid Hubert de Burgh. [This chanced on the vigill of S. Iohn Baptist.]

Hubert de
Burgh a valiant
captaine.

Polydor.
Chinon taken
by force of
assault.

After this, king Philip tooke diuerse other townes and castels in that countrie, of the which some he rased, and some he fortified and stozed with garisons

of his soldiers. This done he passed over the river of Eclair, and won a castell situate nere unto a promontorie or head of land called Crapelitum, which was wont to be a great succour & aid to Englishmen arriving on that coast. The occasion why he made wars thus upon the Britains, was (as some write) for that Queene duke of Britaine, who had married the duchesse Constance, and succeeded in the duchie after his son Arthur, without regard to revenge the death of the same Arthur, was joined in league with king John together with Sauerre de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignan, lords of great honour, power, and stoutnesse of stomach.

1206
Anno Reg. 8.

Polydor.

Montalban town.

Les annales de France.
Polydor.

King John
won the citie
of Angiers
by assault.

King John also in this meane while, moved with the increase of these his new associates, and also with desire to revenge so manie injuries and losses suffered at the French kings hands, preparing an armie of men, and a number of ships, took the sea with them and landed at Rochell the ninth of Julie, where he was received with great joy and gladnesse of the people; and no small number of gentlemen and others that inhabited thereabout repaired unto him, offering to aid him to the uttermost of their powers. He therefore with assured hope of good speed departed from thence, and won the towne of Montalban, with a great part of all the countrie thereabouts. Finally he entred into Anjou, and comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horsemen to compass the towne about, whilst he, with the residue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go to assault the gates. Which enterprise with fire and sword he so manfully executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entered and delivered to the soldiers for a price. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the walls of the citie beaten flat to the ground. This done, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction. Then came the people of the countries next adjoining, of their owne accord to submit themselves unto him, promising to aid him with men and vittels most plentifully.

King John being verie joyfull of this good success, marched towards Poitou, sending out his troops of horsemen to waste the countrie on euery side. In the meane while the French king being here advertised, came forth with his armie readie furnished to resist king John, and by the way encountered with the duke of Britaine, Sauerre de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignan, which had bene abroad to spoile the French kings countries. But being now overset with the kings puissance, they were taken, and all their companies stripped out of their armour, to their great confusion. This mishap sore weakened the power and courage of king John. But the French king proud of the victorie, kept on his iourne, and approaching nere unto the place where king John was as then lodged, did cause his tents to be pitched doونه for the first night, and on the morrow after, as one desirous of battell, brought his armie into the fields, ranged in good order and ready to fight.

The like did king John, so that with stout stomachs and eager minds, they stood there in the field ready to trie the matter with dint of sword upon sound of the warning-blast given by the trumpets. Howbeit, by the mediation of certeine graue personages, as well of the spiritualtie as of the temporallie, which were in good estimation with both the princes, a communication was appointed, which took such effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the prisoners on either side being released by waie of exchange: and thus the wars ceased for that time. When king Philip returned into France, and

king John into Eng'land, where he landed at Portemouth the 12 of December.

About this time came one John Ferentino (so called peradventure *A friend*), a common name to all the whelps of that litter, for they neuer came into the land as legats but they would be sure to carrie out with them manie large legacies and blisped duties a legat from the pope into England, and passing through the same as it were in visitation, gathered a great summe of monie; and finally at Reading on the morrow after saint Lukes day, celebrated a counsell, which being ended, he caused his coffers to be packed up and sent awaie, hasting himselfe after to depart the realme, and so taking the sea bad England farewell. About the same season also pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the prior and monks of Canturburie had to elect and choose the archbishop of that see, giuing sentence against the suffragans which claimed a right to be joined with the said prior and monks in the election, as by a letter directed to the same suffragans from the said pope it may more plainelie appeare.

After this it chanced that king John remembring himselfe of the destruction of the citie of Angiers, which (because he was descended from thence) he had before time greatlie loved, began now to repent him, in that he had destroyed it, and therefore with all speed he took order to haue it againe repaired, which was done in most beautifull wise, to his great cost and expences, which he might haue saved, had not his foolish rashnesse driuen him to attempt that, whereof upon sober aduicement afterwards he was ashamed. But what will not an ordinarie man do in the full tide of his furie; much more princes & great men, whose anger is relembed to the roying of a lion, euen upon light occasions oftentimes, to satiffie their vnbridled and vaine glorie affections, which carrie them with a swift and full streame into such follies and dotages as are vnderstanded for their degrees. Where to assenteth the poet, saying,

*magni regisque ducisque
Delirant sepe, et vitionem peste laborant,
Stultitijque suis sepe urbes exisio dant,
Imperijque sibi miserrimum caede lucrantes.*

Mal. Palas
suo cap.

Howeuer, in this yeare about Candlemasse, the king caused the 13 part of euery mans goods, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporallie, to be leuied and gathered to his vse, all men murmuring at such doings, but none being so hardie as to gainsaie the kings pleasure, except onelie Geoffrey the archbishop of Poike, who thereupon departing secretlie out of the realme, accused all those that laid any hands to the collection of that payment, within his archbishopricke of Poike. Also upon the 17 of Januarie then last past, about the middle of the night, there rose such a tempest of wind upon a sudden, that manie houses were overthrowne therewith, and sheepe and other cattell destroyed and buried in the drifts of snow, which as then laye verie deepe euery where upon the ground.

The order of strict priuies began about this time, and increased maruellouslie within a short season. And the emperor who came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was most roiallie receiued by king John, who taking counsell with the said emperor to renew the warre against the French king (because he was promised great aid at his hands for the furnishing of the same) gaue vnto him at his departing forth of the realme, great sommes of monie in hand towards the payment of such soldiers as he should leuie for this businesse.

In this meane while, the strife depended still in the court of Rome betwixt the two elected archbishops of Canturburie, Reginald and John. But after

John Ferentino the pope's legat.

The pope's north senten-
tence against the
shops.

See Mart. Pa-
ris pag. 27. in
the printed
copie.

King John
repaired the
citie of An-
giers.

of
the
city
of
Angiers

of
the
city
of
Angiers

The duke of
Britaine and
other of king
Johns friends
overthrewne.

Mart. West.
March. Paris.
This truce
was conclu-
ded upon 21
hallowes day.

1207
3 tag leuied

The archb-
shop of York
secretly out
of the realme

3 mightie
tempest.

The emperor
who cometh
into England

Five thou-
sand marks
of silver, as
Mart. West.
and Mart.
Parus do
saye.
Anno Reg. 8

Ch
into
the
h

Stephen
Langton cho-
sen archbishop
of Canturbu-
rie by the pope's
appointment.

after the pope was fullie informed of the manner of their elections, he disanulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the monks of Canturburie (of whome manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to chose one Stephen Langton the cardinal of S. Chyppogon an Englishman borne, and of god estimation and learning in the court of Rome to be their archbishop. The monks at the first were loth to consent thereto, alledging that they might not lawfullie do it without consent of their king, and of their convent.

But the pope as it were taking the word out of their mouths, said unto them: Do ye not consider that we haue full authoritie and power in the church of Canturburie: neither is the assent of kings or princes to be looked for upon elections celebrated in the presence of the apostolike see. Wherefore I command you by vertue of your obedience, and upon paine of cursing, that you being such and so manie here as are sufficient for the election, to chose him to your archbishop, whome I shall appoint to you for father and pastor of your soules. The monks doubting to offend the pope, consented all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Wyntfield, who refused. And so the foresaid Stephen Langton being elected of them, was confirmed of the pope, who signified by letters the whole state thereof to king John, commending the said Stephen as archbishop unto him.

The monks
of Canturbu-
rie banished.
King John
swores to
the pope.

The king soe offended in his mind that the bishop of Norwich was thus put beside that dignitie, to the which he had advanced him, caused forthwith all the goods of the monks of Canturburie to be confiscate to his use, and after banished them the reime, as well I meane those at home, as those that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters unto the pope, giving him to understand for answer, that he would neuer consent that Stephen which had bene brought by all waies conuerfant with his enemies the Frenchmen, should now enjoy the rule of the bishopricke and dioces of Canturburie. Whereupon, he declared in the same letters, that he marvelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not consider how necessarie the friendship of the king of England was to the see of Rome, sith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this side the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would stand to the death, if the matter so required. And as for the election of the bishop of Norwich unto the see of Canturburie, sith it was profitable to him and to his realme, he meant not to release it.

How gainfull
England
was to the
court of Rome

Whereupon, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his mind, he would suerlie restraine the passages out of this realme, that none should go to Rome, least his land should be so emptied of monie and treasure, that he should want sufficient ability to beat backe and expell his enemies that might attempt inuasion against the same. A little of all he concluded, sith the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and other ecclesiasticall persons, as well of his realme of England, as of other his lands and dominions, were sufficientlie furnished with knowlege, that he would not go for anie need that should dzine him thereto, to seeke iustice or iudgement at the prescript of any foreign persons.

The popes
answer unto
the king.

The pope greatlie maruelling hereat, wrote againe to the king, requiring him to abstaine from the spoiling of those men that were priuiledged by the canons of the church, that he would place the monks againe in their house and possessions, and receite the archbishop canonically elected and confirmed, the which for his learning and knowledge, as well in the liberal sciences, as in holie scripture, was thought worthy to be admitted to a prebend in Paris; and

what estimation he himselfe had of him it appeared, in that he had written to him thrice since he was made cardinall, declaring that although he was minded to call him to his seruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher ronne; adding further, how there was good cause that he should haue consideration of him, because he was borne within his land, of father and mother that were his faithfull subjects, and for that he had a prebend in the church of Pothe, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Whereby not onelie by reason of flesh and blood, but also by hauing ecclesiasticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with sincere affection.

Spanie other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king John, to haue perswaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephen Langton. But king John was so far from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spirituality, but also of the temporality, which by any manner means had aided the foresaid Stephen. The pope being herof aduertised, thought god not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spirituality, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decreed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespasses so committed.

These things being brought to this issue, the further narration of them shall staie for a time, till I haue told you of a little trouble which about this time happened in London. For upon the seauenth of June, the bailiffes of London, Roger Winchesser and Edmund Hardell were discharged, and Serle the mercer and Hugh of saint Albons chosen in their rowmes. The two former bailiffes were discharged and committed to prison by the kings commandement, upon displeasure taken against them, because they had resisted his purueier of wheat, and would not suffer him to conueie anie of that kind of graine out of the citie, till the citie was storied. The thirtie & fine rulers of the citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commandement to them directed for the discharging of those bailiffes, and imprisoning them, did after take aduice together, and appointed a certaine number of themselves with other to ride vnto the king, as then being at A. angley, to obtaine pardon for the said bailiffes, and so coming thither, they made such excuse in the matter, shewing further, that at the same season there was such scarcitie of wheat in the citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an insurrection about the same. By which means, and through friendship which they had in the court, the king was so satisfied, that he released them from prison, and pardoned their offenses.

Bailiffes of
London dis-
charged and
committed to
ward.

Also upon the first of October, Henrie the sonne of king John, begotten of his wife queene Isabel, was bozine at Winchesser, who after succeeded his father in the kingdome. But now againe to our purpose. The pope perceiuing that king John continued still in his former mind (which he called obstinacie) sent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William bishop of London, to Eustace bishop of Ebie, and to Gauger bishop of Worcester, commanding them that unless king John would suffer peaceable the archbishop of Canturburie to occupie his see, and his monks their abbie, they should put both him and

The birth of
king Henrie
the third.
N. Truett.

1208
The pope
swores to the
bishops.
Matt. Paris.
Nic. Treuej.

Paul. Paris.

his land under the sentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainlie accursed. And further he wrote expresse letters vnto all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, that they should by vertue of their obedience, which they ought to the apostolike see, receiue and obeye the archbishop Stephen for their father and metropolitane.

Romans, that is such chappelines strangers as be longed to the pope.

These bishops with other to them associate, made instant request and suit to the king for the obteyning of the popes commendement, and to eschew the censures of the church, but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage swore, that if either they or any other presumed to put his land under interdiction, he would incontinentlie thereupon send all the prelates within the realme out of the same vnto the pope, and seize all their goods vnto his owne vse. And further he added, that what Romans sooner he found within the precinct of any his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and slit their noses, and so send them packing to Rome, that by such marks they might be knowne from all other nations of the world. And herewith he commanded the bishops to packe out of his sight, if they loued their owne health and preferuation.

The mondaie in the passion weeke faith March West. The king and realme put vnder the popes curse.

Hereupon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and farthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed vp, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be vsed, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. When perceiving that the king ment not to stope for all this which they had done, but rather sought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephen the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, Malger bishop of Worcester, Joceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

Anno Reg. 10. The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized vpon all their temporalities, and conuerted the same to his vse, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their doings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Wherof the most part of the prelates wiselie provided for themselves in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceived, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbies, and other habitations, because they had no commission to vse any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings vse, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

In heauie time for churchmen.

¶ It was a miserable time now for preests and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a thiriffe brought before the king a fellow which had robbed and slaine a preest, desiring to vnderstand his pleasure what should be done with that offender: vnto whome the king made this answer, He hath slaine mine enimie, and therefore set him at libertie.

Math. Paris.

The king also doubting least the pope should proceed further, and absolue all his subiects of their allegiance which they ought to him, and that his lords would happlie reuolt and forsake him in this his trouble, toke hostages of them whom he most suspected. And as the messengers, which were sent abroad for that purpose, came vnto the lord William de Breuse, requiring to haue his sonnes for the said purpose, his wife (like a quicke and hasty dame) taking the word out of his husbands mouth, made this round

answer, that she would not deliuer his sonnes vnto king John, who already had slaine his sonne Richard, whom he ought rather honourable to haue loved and preferred. These words being signified vnto the king, yet him in such an heat against his wife, that he would have slaine her for the same, but she fled to the king, who was glad together with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Ireland for safe guard of their liues.

London bridge repaired.

¶ Whereas before this time London bridge was made of timber, and was ruled, gilded & repaid by a fraternitie of collegers of priors, this yeere by great aid of the citizens of London and others passing that waie, the same bridge was begun to be made of stone. And at the same yeere, Henry Quierles in Southwarke was begun to be repaired. The same yeere also, the citizens of London made such suit vnto the king, that he granted vnto them by his letters patents, licence to choose for themselves a maior, and two shiriffes euerie yeere. After which grant vnto them confirmed, they chose for their maior, Henrie Fitz Alwin, who was woome and charged at that present maior of that citie, vpon the day of Michaelmas the archangel, in the tenth yeere of king John his reigne. On the same day and yeere, were Peter Duke & Thomas, his lieges for shiriffes, thus the name of bailiffes from thenceforth was clearelie extinguished.

But here ye haue to vnderstand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had bene maior of London long before this time, euer from the first yeere of king Richard (as John Stow hath gathered out of ancient instruments and records) vnto this present tenth yeere of king John, and now vpon grant made to the citizens, that it should be lawfull for them to choose euerie yeere a maior, and two shiriffes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the said Henrie Fitz Alwin was newlie by them elected, and likewise afterwards from yeere to yeere, till he departed this life, which chanced in the yeere 1213, and fiftenth of king Johns reigne, so that he continued maior of the same citie of London, by the terme of twentie and foure yeeres.

John Stow.

¶ Now therefore because it appeareth here how the gouernors of the citie of London had their names altered for their greater honour, and the state of gouernment thereby partlie changed, or rather couermed; I haue thought good (though verie brieflie) to touch somewhat the signification of this word Maire, before I proceed any further with the rest of this historie. The ancient inhabitants of Franconia, or Frankenland, from whence the Frenchmen are descended, and their neighbors the old Saxons, of whom the Englishmen haue their originall, being people of Germanie, and descended (as Berolus saith) of the old Hebrewes, haue retained manie Hebrew words, either from the beginning, or else borrowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, passing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conuersation with those people whom they subdued, they brought home into their owne countrie and tong manie borrowed words, so that their language hath no small store of them fetched out of sundrie strange tonges.

The signification of the word Maire, Wulf. Laz. Berolus.

¶ Now among other old words remaining in their tong, this word Mar was one, which in Hebrew signifieth Dominus, (that is to saie, lord) but pronounced now somewhat corruptlie Maire. So as it is to be supposed, hereof it came to passe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of maior, though in the cities of London and Poike, for an augmentation of honour by an ancient custome (through ignorance what the title of

Lord William de Breuse.

maire doth signifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of lord maire, where Maire simple pronounced of it selfe, signifieth no lesse than lord, without any such addition. Thus much for the name of Maire. And now to proceed.

1209
Matth. Paris.

The eschequer remoued.

King Iohn holding his Christmasse this yeare at Bristow, let forth a commandement, whereby he restrained the taking of wild foule. About the same time, Henrie duke of Suaben came into England from the emperor Otto, and receiuing no small portion of monie of the king, departed backe into his owne countrie againe. In the vigill of the Epiphanie also, the kings second sonne was borne, and named Richard after his uncles name. And the court of the eschequer was remoued from Westminster vnto Portsmouth. Moreover in the same yeare, Walter Gray was made lord chancelour, who in all things studied to satisfie the kings will and purpose, for the which he incurred great indignation of the cleargie, and other that fauoured not the proceedings of the king.

¶ It was suerlie a rufull thing to consider the estate of this realme at that present, when as the king neither trusted his pères, neither the nobilitie fauoured the king: no, there were verie few that trusted one another, but ech one hid & hoarded by his wealth, looking daile when another should come and enter vpon the spoile. The communalitie also grew into factions, some fauouring, & some cursing the king, as they bare affection. The cleargie was likewise at dissention, so that nothing preuailed but malice and spite, which brought forth and spred abroad the fruits of disobedience to all good lawes and orders, greatlie to the disquieting of the whole state. So that herein we haue a perfect view of the perplexed state of princes, chaſtic when they are ouerswaied with forren & prophane power, and not able to assure themselves of their subiects allegiance and loialtie. Whereto this claue alludeth,

M. Pal. in
two Leas.

*cruciat comes improbus ipsos
Asidui merna atque timor, suspectaque iſdem
Omnia sunt: hinc insidius, hinc dira venena
Conspiciunt, soli nec possunt ire nec audent,
Nec sine fas illis præſtatore comesse.*

Anno Reg. II.
Polydor.

A new oath of
allegiance.

Alexander II.
of Scots.

King Iohn notwithstanding that the realme was thus wholie interdicted and bered, so that no preests could be found to saie seruice in churches or chapels, made no great account thereof as touching any offense towards God or the pope: but rather mistrusting the hollow hearts of his people, he took a new oath of them for their faithfull allegiance, and immediately thereupon assembled an armie to go against Alexander king of Scots, vnto whome (as he had heard) diuerse of the nobilitie of this realme were fled, which Alexander was the second of that name that had ruled the Scots, and latelie before was entered into the rule as lawfull successor to the crowne of Scotland, by the death of his father R. William.

In this meane while also Stephan archbishop of Canturburie lamenting (as some haue reported) the state of his native countrie, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obtained of pope Innocent, that vpon certeine daies it might be lawfull for an appointed number of preests within the realme of England, to celebrate diuine seruice, that is to say, for those of conuentuall churches once in the weeke. But the monks of the white order were forbidden to vse that priuilege, because in the beginning of the interdiction they had at the appointment of their principall abbat presumed to celebrate the sacraments without the popes consent or knowledge.

Matth. Paris.
The white monks.

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

In like manner on the other side, king Iohn hauing his armie in a readinesse, hasted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the castell

of Forham, prepared to invade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battell, sought to come vnto some friendlie agreement with him, and so by counsell of his lordes, calling off his armour, he came to the king, and for a great summe of gold (or 11 thousand marks of siluer as some write) with much adoe he purchased peace, deliuering two of his daughters in hostage for more assurance of his dealing. Whereupon king Iohn, after his re-

Alexander II.
of Scots com-
poundeth for
peace with
king Iohn.

Polydor.

10 turne from Forham, which was about the 24 of June, shewed himselfe not a little displeased with those of the nobilitie, which had refused to attend vpon him in that iournie, hauing receiued streit commandement from him to attend vpon him at that time. Certes the cause why they refused to follow him, was euident, as they said, in that they knew him to stand accursed by the pope. About the same time also, when cozne began to wax ripe, to reuenge himselfe of them that had refused to go with him in that iournie, he caused the pales of all the parks & forests which he had within his realme to be throtene downe, & the diches to be made plaine, that the deere breaking out and ranging abroad in the cozne fields, might destroe & eat vp the same before it could be re-
20 pened, for which act (if it were so in deed) manie a bitter curse proceeded from the mouths of the poore husbandmen towards the kings person, and not without thilie. Moreover in this season the Welshmen (which thing had not bene seene afore time) came vnto
30 Woodstoke, and there did homage vnto the king, although the same was chargeable, as well to the rich as the poore so to come out of their countrie.

Matth. Paris.

About the same time also, it chanced that a preest slue a woman at Driford, and when the kings officers could not find him that had committed the murder, they apprehended three other preests not guiltie of the fact, and straightway hanged them vp without iudgement. With which crueltie others of the Universitie being put in feare, departed thence in great
40 numbers, and came not thither againe of a long time after, some of them repairing to Cambridge, and some to Reading to applie their studies in those places, leauing Driford void. The same yeare one Hugh archdeacon of Welles, and keeper of the kings great scale, was nominated bishop of Lincoln; and here-
50 withall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the archbishop of Rouen, that he might be consecrated of him. Wherewith the king was contented and gladlie gaue him leaue, who no sooner got ouer into Normandie, but he straight took the high waie to Roine, and there receiued his consecration of Stephan archbishop of Canturburie. Now when the king vnderstood this matter, and saw the dulnesse of the bishop, he was in a wonderfull chafe toward him, and therupon made post-sale of all his goods, and receiued the profit of the reuenues belonging to the see of Lincoln for his owne vse.

Matth. Paris.
A murder at
Driford.

Three thou-
sand as faith
Matth. Paris.

Driford forsa-
ken of the
scholiers.

Hugh archdea-
con of welles
made bishop
of Lincoln.
Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

¶ There liued in those daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the monks and friers saie) against his subiects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords iustise, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessel, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. He did see (as it should seeme) the euill disposed humors of the people concerning their dutifull obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall prince king Iohn, and therefore as a doctrine most necessarie in that dangerous time, he taught the people how they were
by

Cementarius

by Gods lawes bound in dutie to obeie their lawfull prince, and not through any wicked perswasion of butte heads and lewd discourters, to be carried away to forget their loiall allegiance, and so to fall into the damnable sinke of rebellion.

He went about also to proue with likelie arguments, that it appertained not to the pope, to haue to do concerning the tempozall possessions of any kings: other potentats touching the rule and government of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters appertaining thereunto. By such doctrine of him set forth, he wan in such wise the kings fauour, that he obtained manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of saint Austines in Canturburie: but at length, when his manners were notified to the pope, he toke such order for him, that he was despoiled of all his goods and benefices, so that afterwards he was driuen in great miserie to beg his bread from doze to doze, as some write. This did he procure to himselfe by telling the trueth against that beast, whose hornes were pricking at euerie christian prince, that he might set himselfe in a seat of supremacie aboue all principalities: so that we may saie,

In audaces non est audacia tuta.

Furthermore, about the same time the king tared the Jewes, and greuouslie tormented and emprisoned them, because diuers of them would not willinglie pay the summes that they were tared at. Amongst other, there was one of them at Bristow, which would not consent to giue anie fine for his delinquence: wherefore by the kings commandement he was put vnto this penance, that euerie daie, till he would agree to giue to the king those ten thousand marks that he was seized at, he should haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the space of seauen daies together he stood steadfast, losing euerie of those daies a tooth, but on the eight day, when he shuld come to haue the eight tooth and the last (so he had but eight in all) drawne out, he paid the monie to saue that one, who with more wisdom and lesse paine might haue done so before, and haue saved his seauen teeth, which he lost with such torments, for those homelie toothdrawers bled no great cunning in plucking them forth (as may be coniectured.)

A Jew hath his teeth drawne out.

Anno Reg. 12.

Math. Paris. King Iohn passeth ouer into Ireland. Polydor. Math. Paris.

Whilost king Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Irish rebels made foule worke and sore annoied the English subiects. He therefore assembling a mightie armie, imbarked at Penbroke in Wales, and so hasting towards Ireland, arriued there the twentie five of Maie, and brought the people in such feare immediatlie vpon his arrival, that all those that inhabited vpon the sea coasts in the champaine countries, came in, and yielded themselues, receiuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him. There were twentie of the cheefest rulers within Ireland, which came to the king at his coming to Dublin, and there did to him homage and fealtie as appertained. The king at the same time ordeined also, that the English lawes should be vsed in that land, and appointed shiriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrie, to rule the same according to the English ordinances. After this, he marched forward into the land, and toke diuerse fortresses and strong holds of his enemies, which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacie and manie other. At length, comming into the countrie of Meth, he besieged a castell, wherein the wife of William de Breuse, and hir sonne named also William were inclosed, but they found means to escape before the castell was twone, though afterwards they were taken in the Ile of Man, and sent by the king into England, where they were so strait-

Walter de Lacie.

The Ladie de Breuse & hir sonne taken.

lie kept within the castell of Windsor, that (as the same went) they were famished to death.

We read in an old historie of Flanders, written by one whose name is not knotone, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare 1562, that the said ladie, wife to the lord William de Breuse, presented vpon a time vnto the queene of England, a gift of foure hundred kine, and one bull, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were red. Although this tale may seeme incredible, yet if we shall consider that the said Breuse was a lord marcher, and had goodlie possessions in Wales, and on the marches, in which countreies the most part of the peoples substance consisteth in cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelihood of truth. And suerlie the same author writeth of the iourne made this yeare into Ireland, so sensible, and namelie touching the manners of the Irish, that he seemeth to haue had good informations, sauing that he misteth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in manner common to all forreine writers. Touching the death of the said ladie, he saith, that within eleuen daies after she was committed to prison here in England, she was found dead, sitting betwixt hir sonnes legs, who likewise being dead, saie directed by against a wall of the chamber, wherein they were kept with hard pittance (as writers do report.) William the father escaped, and got away into France.

The colour of white kine.

The husband escaped.

Thus the more part of the Irish people being brought vnder, he appointed Iohn Cray the bishop of Norwich, to be his deputie there, removing out of that office Hugh Lacie, which bare great rule in that quarter before. The bishop then being appointed deputie and cheefe iustice of Ireland, reformed the coine there, causing the same to be made of like weight and finenesse to the English coine, so that the Irish monie was currant, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of the like weight, forme, and finenesse to the English. Moreover, those that inhabited the wood countries and the mountaine places, though they would not as then submit themselves, he would not at that time further pursue, because winter was at hand, which in that countrie approacheth timelie in the yeare. Having thus subdued the more part of all Ireland, and ordered things there at his pleasure, he toke the sea againe with much triumph, and landed in England about the thirtieth day of August.

The bishop of Norwich lieutenant of Ireland.

Irish monie reformed.

The king returneth into England.

From hence he made hast to London, and at his comming thither, toke counsell how to recouer the great charges and expences that he had bene at in this iourne, and by the aduise of William de Breuse, Robert de Turnham, Reigbold de Cornhill, and Richard de Sparsh, he caused all the cheefe prelates of England to assemble before him at S. Brides in London. So that thither came all the abbats, abbes, ses, templers, hospitallers, keepers of farmes and possessions of the order of Clugnie, and other such forreners as had lands within this realme belonging to their houses. All which were constrained to paie such a greuous tax, that the whole amounted to the summe of an hundred thousand pounds. The monks of the Cisterce order, otherwise called white monks, were constrained to paie 40 thousand pounds of silver at this time, all their priuileges to the contrary notwithstanding. Moreover, the abbats of that order might not get licence to go to their generall chapter that yeare, which yearelie was used to be holden, least their complaint should moue all the world against the king, for his too hard and seuerer handling of them.

The tax levied.

In the summer following, about the 18 day of Iulie, king Iohn with a mightie armie went into Wales, and passing forth into the inner parts of the countrie, he came into Snowdon, beating downe

Anno Reg. 14. King Iohn goeth into Wales with an armie.

all

Math. Paris.
white church
3. thynke.

Pandulph &
Durant the
pope's legats.
Polydor.

Fabian.

Math. Paris.

Reginald erle
of Bullongne.

The like lea-
guage was made
in the same
first yeare of
king John
betwixt him
& Ferdinand-
do erle of
Flanders.

all that came in his way, so that he subdued all the rulers and princes, without contradiction. And to be the better assured for their subiection in time following, he took pledges of them, to the number of 28, so returned to Album Monasterium on the daie of the Assumption of our ladie, from whence he first set forth into the Welsh confines. In the same yeare also, the pope sent two legats into England, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durand a templer, who coming unto king John, exhorted him with manie terrible wordes to leaue his stubborn disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdoings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Portsmouth, being not farre distant from the place where he met them upon his returne forth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to priests which he had seized upon, neither of those that appertained to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope the legats departed, leaving him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their coming.

¶ Touching the manner of this interdiction there haue bene diuerse opinions, some haue said, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houses of religion closed vp, that no where was anie diuine seruice used: but it was not so streit, for there were diuerse places occupied with diuine seruice also that time, by certeine priuiledges purchased either then or before. Children were also chiselled, and men houseled and annoied through all the land, except such as were in the bill of excommunication by name expessed. But to our purpose.

King John, after that the legats were returned toward Rome againe, punished diuerse of those persons which had refused to go with him into Wales, in like manner as he had done those that refused to go with him into Scotland: he took now of ech of them for euerie knightes fee two marks of siluer, as before is recited. About the same time also, Reginald erle of Bullongne being accursed in like manner as king John was, for certeine oppressions done to poore men, and namelie to certeine priests, fled ouer into England, because the French king had banished him out of France.

The chiefest cause of the French kings displeasure towards this earle, may seeme to proceed of the amitie and league which was concluded betwixt king John, and the said earle, in the first yeare of the said kings reigne, whereby they bound themselves either to other, not to make anie peace, or to take anie truce with the king of France, without either of theirs consent first thereto had, and that if after anie agreement taken betwixt them and the king of France, he should chance to make warre against either of them, then should the other aid and assist him, against whom such warre should be made, to the utmost of his power.

This league was accorded to remaine for euer betwixt them and their heires, with suerties sworn on either part: and for the king of England, these, whose names insue, William Marshall earle of Penbrooke, Ranulfe earle of Chester, Robert earle of Leicester, Baldwin earle of Alchemarle, William earle of Arundell, Ralph earle of Angli, Robert de Mellet, Hugh de Courney, William de Baen, Geoffrey de Cella, Roger constable of Chester, Ralph Fitz Water, William de Albanie, Robert de Ros, Richard de Montficht, Roger de Clare, Saer de Quincie, William de Montchenise, Peter de Walleis, William de Pore, John de Stagno, Adam de

Post, Robert de Turnham, William Mallet, Guisace de Mesle, Peter de Wus, William de Presennie, Hubert de Burgh, William de Hansey, and Peter Saunier. For the earle, these were suerties, Anselme de Baen, Guy de Schans, Ralph the said earles brother, &c. But now to returne.

After that the earle of Bullongne was expelled out of France (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer to king John, and was of him iustlie receiued, hauing three hundred poundes of reuenues in land to him assigned within England, for the which he did homage and fealtie unto him. Shortlie after this also, died William de Bruce the elder, which fled from the face of king John out of Ireland into France, and departing this life at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the abbey of S. Medo.

In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that king John would not be ordered by him, determined with the consent of his cardinals and other counsellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelates being there with him, to depriue king John of his kinglie state, and so first absolved all his subiects and vassals of their othe of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solenne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his deprivation vnto the French king and other christian princes, admonishing them to pursue king John, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoever imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and ouercome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, not onlie in their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be moze iust vnto his holinesse, than to haue king John to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiveness for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which lastlie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English erles, to go into France, together with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be done against king John, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse communicated. Wherevnto this Pandulph was commanded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king John such letters as the pope had written for his better instruction, and to seeke by all means possible to draw him from his naughty opinion.

In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had released the people & absolved them of their othe of fealtie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes sentence, by little and little a great number both of souldiers, citizens, burgesses, capteins and constables of castles, leauing their charges, & bishops with a great multitude of priests revolting from him, and abandoning his companie and patience, secretly stole awaie, and got ouer into France.

Notwithstanding that diuerse in respect of the popes curse, and other considerations therein making, bitterlie refused in this manner to obeye king John, yet there were manie others that did take his part, and mainteined his quarrell vnto earnestlie, as his brother William earle of Salisburie, Alberich de Here erle of Orford, Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord of

Polydor.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

Pandulph sent into France to pacifie with the French king, for king John his destruction.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

justice of England, also three bishops, Durham, Winchester, and Norwich, Richard de Parish lord chancellor, Hugh Nevill chief forester, William de Aroching lord warden of the ports, Robert Clerk point and his brother Puan, Brian de Lille, Geoffrey de Lucie, Hugh Ballioll, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow and his son William Fulke de Cantlow, Reginald de Cornhill thirsk of Kent, Robert Braibroke and his son Harrie, Philip de Louerotes, John de Basingborne, Philip March, Chatelaine of Nottingham, Peter de Pauley, Robert de Gangy, Gerard de Athie and his nephew Ingelrand, William Bzower, Peter Fitz Robert, Thomas Basset, and Fouls de Bziant a Norman, with many other, so long here to rehearse, who as fautors and counsellors unto him, sought to defend him in all causes, notwithstanding the censures of the church so cruelly pronounced against him; knowing that they were bound in conscience to stick to him, notwithstanding this general apostasy of his peers and people. For they were opinioned, that it was

Ouid Lib. 3. de Pont.

*Turpe referre pedem, nec passu stare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem.*

I 2 I 2

Bernewell.

The same yeare king Iohn held his Christmase at Windsor and in the Lent following, on midlent Sunday being at London, he honoured the lord Alexander sonne and heire to the king of Scots, with the high order of knighthood. And (as I find it mentioned by some writers) whereas he understood how there were diverse in Scotland, that contemning their natural lord and king by reason of his great age, king Iohn went thither with an armie to repress the rebels, and being come thither, he sent his men of war into the inner parts of the country, who following the coasts, took Guthred Macwilliam capteine of them that moved sedition, whom king Iohn caused to be hanged on a paire of gallowses. This Guthred was descended of the line of the ancient Scottish kings, and being assisted with the Irishmen and Scots that favoured not the race of the kings that presentlie reigned, wrought them much trouble, as his father (named Donald) had done before him, sometime secretly under hand, and sometime againe by way of open rebellion.

The Welshmen made rebellion.
March, Paris.

Anno Reg. 14.

King Iohn hangeth the Welsh prisoners.

Shortlie after, the Welshmen began to stirre also, who rushing out of their owne confines, fell upon their next neighbours within the English marches, wasted the countrie, and overthrow diverse castles flat to the ground. Whereof the king having knowledge, assembled a mightie armie out of hand, and comming to Nottingham, he hanged by the Welsh hostages which the last yeare he had received, to the number of eight and twenty young striplings. And by reason he was now set in a marvellous chafe, he roughly proceeded against all those whom he knew not to favour his cause: some he discharged of their offices, other he deprived of their captainships and other honours, & revoked certayne privileges & immunities granted to monks, priests, & men of religion.

Furthermore, having his armie ready to passe on into Wales, he received letters the same time, both from the king of Scots, and from his daughter the wife of Leoline prince of Wales, containing in effect the advertisement of one matter, which was to let him know, that if he proceeded on his journey, he should either through treason be slaine of his owne lords, or else be delivered to be destroyed of his enemies. The king iudging no lesse, but that the tenor of the letters contained a truth, brake up his armie and returned to London. From whence he sent messengers unto all such lords as he suspected, commanding them to send unto him hostages for moze assurance of their fidelities. The lords durst not disobey his commandement, but sent their sons, their

nephews, and other their kinsmen, accordinglie as he required, and so his rancour was appeased for a time. But Eustace de Melcie, Robert Fitz Walter, and Stephan Kidell, being accused and suspected of the treason for the said treason, were glad to flee the realme, Melcie departing into Scotland, and the other two into France.

The same yeare, the church of S. Marie Oueres, and all the buildings upon London bridge on both sides the same, were consumed with fire, which was iudged to be a signification of some mishap to follow. The king held his Christmase this yeare at Westminster, with no great traine of knights about him. About the same time Geoffrey archbishop of York departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a seaven yeares. But now to returne againe to the practices of the popes legats.

We shall understand, the French king being requested by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand against king Iohn, was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare unto our king, and thereupon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe over into England: and now was his nauie ready rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greatest forwardnesse, to take his journey. When Pandulph upon good considerations thought first to goe softly, or at the least wise to send into England, before the French armie should land there, and to assaile once againe, if he might induce the king to shew himselfe reformatable unto the popes pleasure: king Iohn having knowledge of the French kings purpose and ordinance, assembled his people, and lodged with them alongst by the coast towards France, that he might resist his enemies, and keepe them off from landing.

Here writers declare, that he had got together such an armie of men out of all the parts of his realme, both of lords, knights, gentlemen, peomen, & other of the commons, that notwithstanding all the prouision of vittells that might possible be recovered, there could not be found sufficient store to susteine the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongst the coast, namelie at Dover, Feuertham, Gipewich, and other places. Whereupon the capitains discharged and sent home a great number of the commons, retaining onelie the men of armes, peomen, and freeholders, with the crossbowes and archers. There came likewise to the kings aid at the same time, the bishop of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him five hundred men of armes, & a great sort of other horsemen.

To conclude, there was esteemed of able men assembled together in the armie on Warhamdowne, that of chosen men of armes, and valiant peomen, and other armed men, the number of fiftie thousand: so that if they had bene all of one mind, and well bent towards the service of their king and defense of their countrie, there had not bene a prince in Christendome, but that they might have bene able to have defended the realme of England against him. He had also prouided a nauie of ships farre stronger than the French kings, ready to fight with them by sea, if the case had so required.

But as he lay thus ready, nere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enemies, there arrived at Dover two Templers, who comming before the king, declared unto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coveted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meane to suppose, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to have forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdom.

March, Paris.
March, West.
Saint Mary Oueres burnt.

I 2 I 2

The death of Geoffrey archbishop of York.

The French king prepared to invade England.

Anno Reg. 14.
March, Paris.
The great armie which king Iohn assembled together.

The bishop of Norwich.

Polydor.
Two knights of the temple.

March, Paris.
King Iohn breaketh up his armie.

The

The legat
Pandulph
cometh ouer.

The king vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers, sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, at whose arrivall when the king was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence. Now after they had talked together a little, and courtesiously saluted each other (as the course of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) uttered these words following.

The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph
the popes lewd legat, to king John, in the presumptuous popes behalfe.

Now not thinke that you are ignorant, how pope Innocent, to do that which to his dutie apperteineth, hath both absolved your subjects of that oth which they made vnto you at the beginning, and also taken from you the gouernance of England, according to your deserts, and finallye giuen commandement vnto certeine princes of Christendome, to expell you out of this kingdom and to place an other in your roome; so worthwhile to punish you for your disobedience and contempt of religion: and that Philip king of France, with the first being readie to accomplish the popes commandement, hath an armie in a readinesse, and with his nauie noblie decked, rigged and furnished in all points, lieth at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, looking for a prosperous wind, that as soone as it cometh about, he may saile therewith hither into England, trusting (as he saith) with the helpe of your owne people (which neither name you, nor will take you for their king) to spoile you of your kingdome with small adoe, and to conquer it at his pleasure, for he hath (as he listeth not to protest openly to the world) a charter made by all the chiefe lordes of England touching their fealtie and obedience assured to him. Therefore, sith God for your iust desert is worthy with you, and that you are as euill spoken of by all men, as they that come against you be well reported, I would aduise you, that whilest there is a place for grace and fauour, rather to obeie the popes iust demands, to whose word other christian princes are readie to giue eare, than by striving in vaine to cast auaie your selfe and all others that take your part, or are bent to defend your quarell or cause.

These words being thus spoken by the legat, king John as then vterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constrained to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waiting with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue done, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortly after in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded, he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at any time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Upon

th. John de-
liuereth his
croune vnto
Pandulph.

this, he promised to receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and barshes men, making vnto them sufficient attendas for all iniuries to them done, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

When Pandulph keeping the crowne with him for the space of five daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By meanes of this act (saith Polydor) the same went abroad, that king John willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition; that his successors should likewise from thenceforth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdome from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king John, haue not obserued any such latres of reconciliation, neither do the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king John to obserue, pertained vnto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor.

Pandulph
restoereth the
croune againe
to the king.

Whobest, Ranulph Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, saith indeed, that king John did not onesse bind himselfe, but his heires and successors, being kings of England, to be feudaries vnto pope Innocent and his successors popes of Rome, that is to say, that they should hold their dominions of them in fee, paying and pating yerele to the see of Rome the summe of seauen hundred marks for England, and three hundred marks for Ireland. Furthermore, by report of the most autentike and approued writers, king John, to auoid all dangers, which (as he doubted) might insue, despairing as it were in himselfe, or rather most speciallie for lacke of loiall dutie in his subjects, consented to all the persuasions of Pandulph, and so (not without his great hartgraeue) he was contented to take his oth, together with sixteen earles and barons, who laicng their hands vpon the holic euangelists, sware with him vpon perill of their soules, that he should stand to the iudgement of the church of Rome, and that if he repented him, and would refuse to stand to promise, they should then compell him to make satisfaction. Whereupon, they being all together at Douer, the king and Pandulph, with the earls and barons, and a great multitude of other people, agreed and concluded vpon a small peace in forme as here insucth.

Ran. Higd.

England be-
came tributa-
rie to the pope.

March. West.

March. Paris.

The charter of king John his submissi-
on, as it was conueied to the pope
at Rome.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglie, omnibus Christi fidelibus hanc chartam inspecturis salutem in Domino. Vniuersitati vestra per hanc chartam sigillo nostro munitam, volumus esse notum, quod cum Deum & matrem nostram sanctam ecclesiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina misericordia plurimum indigeamus, nec quid dignè offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo & ecclesie debita facienda, nisi nosmetipsos humiliemus & regna nostra, volentes nos ipsos humiliare, pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratia sancti spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontanea, voluntate, ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum conferimus, & liberè concedimus Deo & sanctis apostolis eius Petro & Paulo, & sancte Romana ecclesie matri nostre, ac domino pape Innocentio, eiusque catholicis successoribus, totam regnum Anglie, & totum

D. iij.

regnum

regnum Hybernia, cum omni iure & pertinentijs suis, pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostro-
rum, & totius generis nostri, tam pro uiuis quam
pro defunctis, & amodo illa ab eo & ecclesia Roma-
natantum secundarius recipientes & tenentes,
in presentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini papa
subdiaconi & familiaris.

Exinde predicto domino papa Innocentio, e-
iusque catholicis successoribus, & ecclesia Roma-
na, secundum subscriptam formam fecimus & iur-
auimus, & homagium ligium in presentia Pan-
dulphi, si coram domino papa esse poterimus, eidem
facimus: successores nostros & heredes de uxore
nostra in perpetuum obligantes, ut simili modo
summo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, & eccle-
sia Romana, sine contradictione debeant fidelita-
tem prestare, & homagium recognoscere.

Ad indicium autem huius nostre perpetua ob-
ligationis & concessionis, volumus & stabilimus,
ut de proprijs & specialibus redditibus nostris pre-
dictorum regnorum, pro omni seruitio & consue-
tutine, qua pro ipsis facere debemus, saluis per om-
nia denarijs beati Petri, ecclesia Romana mille
marcas Esterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in
festo scilicet sancti Michaelis quingentas mar-
cas, & in Pascha quingentas: septingentas scilicet
pro regno Anglia, & trecentas pro regno Hyber-
nia, saluis nobis & heredibus nostris, iustitijs, li-
bertatibus, & regalibus nostris. Que omnia, sicut
supra scripta sunt, rata esse volentes atque firma, ob-
ligamus nos & successores nostros contra non vene-
re, & si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum con-
tra hac attentare presumpserit, quicumque ille fuerit,
nisi rite communitus respuerit, cadat a iure regni.

Et hac charta obligationis & concessionis no-
stra, semper firma permaneat. Teste me ipso, apud
domum nostrum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H.
Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Iohanne Norwicensi e-
piscopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sarisburie,
Willielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononia, W.
comite Warenna, S. comite Winton, W. comite A-
rundel, W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Briwere, Petro
filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, 15 die Maij,
anno regni nostri decimo quarto.

This deed and instrument being written and in-
rolled, the king deliuered it unto Pandulph, to take
with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof
to pope Innocent, and herewith did homage to the
same pope, in forme as followeth.

The words of fealtie made by king Iohn to the pope.



Go Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglia,
& dominus Hybernia, ab hac hora &
in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Pe-
tro & ecclesia Romana, & domino
meo papa domino Innocentio, eiusque
successoribus catholicis intrantibus. Non ero in fa-
cto, in dicto, consensu vel consilio, ut vitam per-
dant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eo-
rum damnum si sciuerio, impediam, & remanere
faciam si potero: alioquin eis quam citius potero in-
timabo, vel tali persona dicam, quam eis credam
pro certo dicturam. Consilium quod mihi credide-
rint, per se vel per nuncios suos seu literas suas, se-
cretum, tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pan-
dam me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & spe-

cialiter regnum Anglia, & regnum Hybernia ad-
iutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra
omnes homines pro posse meo. Sic me adiuvet Deus,
& hæc sancta euangelia, Amen. Acta autem sunt
hæc, ut predictum est, in vigilia dominica Ascen-
sionis ad Doueram, Anno 1213.

In English thus.



Ohn by the grace of God king of
England, and lord of Ireland, from
this houre forward, shall be faithfull
to God and to saint Peter, and to the
church of Rome, and to my lord pope Inno-
centius, and to his successors lawfully entring.
I shall nor be in word nor deed, in consent or
counsell, that they should lose life or member,
or be apprehended in euill manner. Their losse
if I may know it, I shall impeach and staie, so far
as I shalbe able, or else so shortie as I can I shall
signifie vnto them, or declare to such person
the which I shall beleue will declare the same
vnto them. The counsell which they shal com-
mit to me by themselves, their messengers, or
letters, I shall keepe secret, and not vtter to any
man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patri-
monie of S. Peter, and specialie the kingdomes
of England and Ireland, I shall indeuour my
selfe to defend against all men to my power. So
helpe me God, and these holie euangelists, A-
men. These things were done on the eue of
the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare 1213.

Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king Iohn,
thought not god to release the excommunication,
till the king had performed all things which he had
promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight
thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be
made to the archbishop, and the other banished men,
he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where
he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell,
and what he had done in England. But king Philip
hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse
of monie, to the summe of sixtie thousand pounds, as
he himselfe alledged, about the furnitue of his tour-
nte, which he intended to haue made into England,
upon hope to haue had no small aid with in the
realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished
men as he had in France with him, was much offen-
ded for the reconciliation of king Iohn, and determi-
ned not so to bryake off his enterprise, least it might
be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue bene
at such charges and great expences in vaine. There-
fore calling his counsell togither, he declared vnto
them what he purposed to do.

All his Nobles in like manner held with him,
and allowed his purpose to be verie good and requi-
site, except the earle of Flanders named Ferdinan-
do, who in hope to recouer againe those tostones,
which the French king held from him in Arthois, as
Aire, and S. Omers had ioined secretlie in league
with king Iohn, and with the earle of Bologne,
and therefore disliked the conclusion of their ad-
uise. Notobest king Philip not being yet fullie certi-
fied hereof, caused his name to draw alongest the
coast towards Flanders, whither he himselfe basted
to go also by land, that comming thither, he might
from thence saile ouer into England, and take land
at a place to him assigned.

Now it came to passe, that at his comming to Gra-
uelling, he had perfect knowledge, that the earle of
Flanders was ioined in league with his enemies,
wherefore he determined first to subdine the earle, least
whilest

March. Paris

For the thos-
sand markes
of silver each
March. Well

The French
king displeased
for the recon-
ciliation of I.
John with
the pope.

The French
king meant
to proceed in
his tourne
against the
realme of
England.

The French
is manabeth
Flanders.

Cannt be-
sed by the
French king.

March Paris.

The English
men assaile
the French
ships.

The English
men wanne
the French
ships.

whilst he should be out of his realme, some great trouble or sedition might rise within his owne dominions. Therefore, leaving the enterprize which he ment to have made against England, he turned his power against the earle of Flanders, and first commanded his navie to saile unto the port of Dam, whilst he himselfe keeping on his iournie still by land, toke the towne of Cassile, and likewise Wyres. From thence he went to Buges, and besieged the towne, but he could not win it at the first, and therefore leaving a power of men to mainteine the siege before it, he himselfe went to Gaunt, and thereto also laid his siege.

In the meane time, the earle of Flanders perceiving that he was not able to resist so puissant an enemy as the French king, sent over in hast unto the king of England for aid. Whereupon king John understanding that his adversarie king Philip had turned all his force against the earle of Flanders, and that thereby he was delivered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England; that same navie (which as before is recited) he had put in a readinesse, containing the number of five hundred saile, he sent straight into Flanders with a strong armie, both of horsemen and footmen, under the guiding of William duke of Holland, William Longspee earle of Salisbury base brother to king John, and Reinhold earle of Bullongne.

These capitains being now passed forth with their fleets into the maine sea, espied anon manie ships lieng without the haven of Dam (for the number of ships of the French fleet was so great, that the haven could not receive them all, so that manie of them laye at anchor without the haven mouth, and all alongst the coast.) Wherefore they sent forth certeine shallops, to espie whether they were friends or enemies, and what their number and order was. It chanced, that the same time, the men of warre which were appointed to keepe the French fleet, were gone forth, together with a great number of the mariners, to spoile and fetch booties abroad in the countrie.

The English espials therefore, making semblance as though they had bene some fishermen of those parts, came verie nere the French ships lieng at anchor, and perceiving them to be unfurnished of people necessarie to defend them, came backe to their companie, and declared what they had seene, certifying their capitains that the victorie was in their hands, if they would make speed. The capitains glad of these newes, commanded their men to make them readie to give battell, and causing their mariners to make saile directlie towards the French fleet, at their first approach they wanne those tall ships that laye at anchor abroad before the haven, without any great resistance, the mariners onelie making request to have their lives saved. The other smaller vessels which (after the tide was gone) remained upon the sands (spoiling them first of their tackle and other things that would serve to use) they consumed with fier, the mariners escaping by flight.

Thus the Englishmen having dispatched this business with good successe, did set upon those ships that laye in harbrough within the haven. But here was hard hold for a while, because the narrownesse of the place would not give any great advantage to the greater number. And those Frenchmen that were gone abroad into the countrie, perceiving that the enemies were come, by the running afloat of the mariners, returned with all speed to their ships to aid their fellows, and so made valiant resistance for a time, till the Englishmen getting on land, and ranging themselves on either side of the haven, beat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and the ships grapling together on front, that they fought as it had bin in a

pitched field, till that finally the Frenchmen were not able to susteine the force of the Englishmen, but were constrained (after long fight and great slaughter) to yeld themselves prisoners.

The English capitains glad of this victorie gotten, contrarie to expectation, first gave thanks to God for the same, and then manning three hundred of those French ships, which they had taken straught with coyne, wine, oile, flesh, and other vittels, and also with armour, they sent them afloat into England, and afterwards they set fire upon the residue that laye on ground, which were above an hundred, because they were drawn up so farre upon the sands, that they could not easilie get them out, without their further inconvenience. After this, comming on land with their power, they marched forth into the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that if they should encounter with king Philip by the way comming to the rescue of his ships, they might be ready to give them battell, which thing was not denied, without god and great consideration.

For king Philip being certified of the danger wherein his ships stood by the sudden comming of his enemies, and therewithall being in good hope to come to their succours in time, and yet the Englishmen had wrote their full feat, he raised his siege, and made hast toward the coast; but as he was comming forward towards his navie, he was advertised that the enemies had wanne all his whole fleet, and were now marching forth to meet him, and to give him battell. Also it was told him, how Ferdinando the earle of Flanders, being certified of the victorie achieved by his friends, followed at his backe. Wherefore, least he should come over rashlie to commit himselfe into manifest perill, he staid a little from Buges, and there incamped for that day, as if he ment to abide the comming of his enemies.

The next morrow he raised and returned towards France, the verie same waie that he came, no man pursuing him. For the Englishmen contented with that victorie which they had gotten, thought it not necessarie to follow him with their further hazard. In the meane time, king John receiving newes of this prosperous victorie thus gotten by his people, did wonderfullie reioice for the same, conceiving an hope, that all his businessse would now come forward and growe to good successe.

This is the truth of this historie, as some authors have set it forth. But James Meir in his discourse of Flanders declareth the matter somewhat otherwise, as thus: Upon the thurdate before the Pentecost (saith he) the English fleet setting upon the French navie, which laye at anchor in the haven of Dam, drowned certeine of the French vessels, and toke to the number of foure, which they conveyed afloat with them. Ferdinando the earle of Flanders having an armie of men ready by land, was lodged the same time not far off from the coast, and therefore hearing what had chanced, came the next day, and joined with the Englishmen.

There were yet remaining also divers other of the French ships (besides those which the Englishmen had sunke and taken) which were drawn up further into the land ward. The earle of Flanders therefore, and the English capitains iudged, that it should much hinder the French kings attempts, if they might win those ships also with the towne of Dam, wherein the king had laid up a great part of his provision for the furniture of his warres. Whereupon the Englishmen were set on land, and joining with the earls power, they marched strait towards Dam. This was upon Whitsun euen, on the which day, as they were most busie in assaulting the towne and ships which laye there in the haven, the French king being

The French
is. returneth
into France.

Matt. Paris.
Polydor.
Iacob. Meir.

being come afloat from Gaunt, suddenly set upon them, and though in the beginning he found sharpe resistance, yet in the end the Englishmen and Flemings overset with the great multitude of the Frenchmen, were put to flight, and chased to their ships, with the losse of two thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, amongst the which were found to be 22 knights.

The Englishmen and Flemings banquished by the French force.

The earle of Flanders with the earles of Hullen and Sahsburie, doubting to lose their ships, and late gotten bottie, sailed strait into one of the Isles of Zealand called Walcheren. Then the French king constraining them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, to deliver unto him pledges, caused the towne of Dam, and his ships lieng there in the haven to be burned, doubting lest they should come into the hands of his enemies. This done, he returned into France, leaving his sonne Lewis and the earle of S. Paule in garrison at Lille and Dobbay, and for great sums of monie, which by agreement he received of the townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, he restored unto them their pledges. Thus saith Meiret and Matthew Paris differeth not much from him touching the success which chanced to the Englishmen by land. I have writt I think a while in the further narration of this matter, and touch by the way a thing that happened to king John about this present time.

An hermit named Peter of Pontreux, or Walscheld as some writers have. See W. Fox, tome first, pag. 331.

There was in this season an hermit, whose name was Peter dwelling about Porke, a man in great reputation with the common people, because that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people believed, or else having some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell that should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his sayings proved true, great credit was given to him as to a verie prophet: which was no good consequence that therefore his predictions comprised undoubted events. Paie rather fith in this pious prophet or false foreteller of afterclaps, these necessarie concurrents (namelic,

*Si sensus atq; affectus compresserit omnes,
Si sperners profus mortalia gaudia, sese
Abdicet a cura terrenis, aspidibus
Conetur studio ad superos extollere mentem,
Tunc etenim sapiens fiet, poteritq; futura
Cernere, vel vigilans vel somno oppressus inertis,
Hoc pacto cecine olim ventura prophetæ)*

were wanting, and that he was contrarie qualified to that which this heptastichon comprehendeth, necessarilie it followeth, that he was not as he was taken, but rather a deluder of the people, and an instrument of satan raised up for the enlargement of his kingdom; as the sequels of this discourse importeth. This Peter about the first of Januarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdom. And whether, to the intent that his words should be the better believed, or whether upon too much trust of his owne cunning he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie proved not true. Whereupon being committed to prison within the castle of Cox, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage unto king John, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castle, unto the towne of Clarham, & there hanged, together with his sonne.

The hermit and his sonne hanged.

The people much blamed king John, for this extreme dealing, because that the hermit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offence committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreover, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, because the matter fell out even as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king John had resig-

ned the superiority of his kingdom (as they take the matter unto the pope, and had done to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which moved king John the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said hermit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the dissolacoe of his people, that it made him yield the sooner. But to the matter againe.

King John (after his captives in Flanders had sped so well as before we have heard) prepared to make a voyage into Guien, not much regarding the matter, in that the realme stood as yet interdicted. But when he understood by his lords, that they would not go with him except the interdicting might first be released, and he clearlie absolved of the popes curse, to the end that Gods wrath and the popes being folie pacified towards him, he might with better speed move and mainteine the warres, he was constrained to change his purpose, and so coming to Winchester, dispatched forth a messenger with letters, signed with the hands of foure and twentie earles and barons, to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Hereford, as then sojourning in France, requiring them with all the other banished men to returne into England, promising them by his letters patents, not onelie a safe conduct for their coming over, but that he would also forget all passed displeasures, and frankly restore unto euerie man all that by his means had bene wrongfullie taken from them, and as yet by him detained.

King John wrote to the archbishop and the other bishops to returne.

The archbishop and the other bishops receiving the kings letters, with all speed made hast to come into England, and so arriving at Dover the sixteenth day of Julie, with other the banished men, they went to Winchester, where the king yet remained, who hearing that the bishops were come, went forth to receive them, and at his first meeting with the archbishop of Canturburie, he kneeled downe at his feet, and besought him of forgiveness, and that it would please him and the other bishops also to provide for the release of the miserable state of the realme. Where with the water standing in diuerse of their eyes on both sides, they entred into the citie, the people greatly reioicing to behold the head of the commonwealth agree at length with the members. This was in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1213.

The bishops do returne.

They came to Winchester 20 of Julie.

The king wrote to the archbishop.

King John required of the archbishop (having as then the popes power in his hands, because he was his legat) to be absolved, promising upon his solemn receipted oath, that he would (as for all things) defend the church and the order of priesthood from receiving anie wrongs. Also, that he would restore the old lawes made by the ancient kings of England, and namelic those of S. Edward, which were almost extinguished and forgotten. And farther, that he would make recompense to all men whom he had by anie means indamaged. This done, he was absolved by the archbishop, & shortly after he sent his oratours to Rome, to intreat with the bishop to take afloat the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after also, the king sent his letters unto all the shiriffes of the counties within the realme, commanding them to summon foure lawfull men of euerie towne belonging to the demesnes of the crowne, to make their appearance at S. Albons, upon the 4 daie of August, that they and other might make inquisition of the losses which euerie bishop had sustained, what had bene taken from them, and what ought to be restored to them as due for the same.

The king himselfe was absolved.

He is absolved.

A quest of inquisition.

The archbishop for that time taking his leave of the king, went to Canturburie, where he restored the monks

The archb-
shop taketh
possession of
his see.

monks to their abbie, and then toke possession of his see, being the two and fortyth archbishop that had ruled the same. In the meane time, the king repaired to Portsmouth, there to take the sea to saile ouer into Portugal, committing the rule of the realme vnto Geoffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peters, lord chiefe iustice, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to vse the counsell and aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie, in gouerning things touching the common-wealth. Herewith there came also to the king a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had spent in flaileng for him, and his going ouer sea all their monie, so that he must now needs giue them wages, if he would haue them to passe ouer with him into France. The which when he refused to do, he was constrained to take the water with his owne seruants, arriuing about a thre daies after at the Ile of Jersey: but perceiving that none of his lords followed him according to his commaundement, as one disappointed of aid, he returned backe againe into England, there to take further order for this their misdeuour.

The lords re-
fule to follow
the king into
France.

King Henrie
the first his
lawes.

Whilist these things were thus in doing, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and the bishop of Winchester were come to St. Albons, togither with the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and pères of the realme, where the kings peace being proclaimed to all men, it was on his behalfe streitlie commanded, that the lawes of St. Henrie his grandfather should be obserued vniuersallie within his realme, and that all iustit lawes and ordinaunces should be abrogated. It was also commanded, that no thiriffe, nor forrester, nor other minister of the kings, should vpon paine of life and limme, take violentlie anie thing of any man by waie of extortion, nor presume to wrong anie man, or to fine anie man, as they had afore time bene accustomed to do.

After this, the king being come backe from his tourne, which he purposed to haue made into Portugal, assembled an armie, and went to haue gone against those lords which had refused to go with him, but the archbishop of Canturburie comming to him at Southampton, sought to appease his mod, and to cause him to staie, but yet in his furious rage he went forward till he came to Nottingham, and there with much adoe, the archbishop following him with threatening to excommunicate all those that should aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprize.

The archb-
shop menaceth
to excommu-
nicate those
that aid the king.

When the archbishop (about the five and twentieth day of August) came to London, there to take aduise for the reformation of things touching the good gouernement of the common-wealth. But here whilist the archbishop, with other pères of the realme deuised orders verie necessaie (as was thought) for the state of the common-wealth, the king doubting least the same should be a hydele for him to restraine his authoritie rofall from doing things to his pleasure, he began to find fault, and seemed as though he had repented himselfe of his large promises made for his reconciliation: but the archbishop of Canturburie so asswaged his mod, and perswaded him, by opening vnto him what danger would insue both to him and to his realme, if he went from the agreement, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble.

In this hurle burle also the lords and pères of the realme (by the setting on of the archbishop) were earnestlie bent to haue the king to restore and confirme the grant which his grandfather king Henrie the first had by his charter granted and confirmed to his subjects, which to do, king Iohn thought greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall estate and dignitie. The earle of Arholouse hauing lost all his possessions, the citie of Arholouse onelie excepted, came ouer into England, & rendered the said citie into the hands of king Iohn,

Ralph Cog.
The earle of
Arholouse.

and receiued at his departure, the summe of ten thousand marks as was reported, by the bountifull gift of king Iohn.

Vpon the second of October, Geoffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex and lord chiefe iustice of England departed this life, a man of great power and autoritie, in whose politike direction and gouernement, the order of things pertaining to the common-wealth chiefelie consisted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in possessions, and ioined in blood or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, so that his death was no small losse to the commonwelth: for through him and the archbishop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from such wilfull purposes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practise, in so much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) seemed to reioice for his death, because he might now worke his will without anie to controll him.

Matth. Paris.
Geoffrey Fitz
Peters or Fitz
Peter depar-
teth this life.

The same time, to wit, about the feast of saint Michael, came Nicholas the cardinall of Tusculane into England, sent from the pope, to take awaie the interdiction, if the king would stand to that agreement which he had made and promised by his oth to reforme. King Iohn receiued this cardinall in most honorable wise, and gladlie heard him in all things that he had to saie. This legat at his comming to Westminster, deposed the abbat of that place, named William from his roome, for that he was accused both of waisting the reuenues of the house, and also of notable incontinencie. Whereouer the burgeses of the towne of Oxford came vnto him to obtaine absolution of their offense, in that through their presumption, the thre schollers (of whom ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the great terroze of all the residue. To be short, they were absolved and penance imposed them, that they should strip them out of their apparell at euerie church in the towne, and going barefooted with scourges in their hands, they should require the benefitt of absolution of euerie parish priest within their towne, saing the psalme of Miserere.

A cardinall
sent into En-
gland.

The burges-
ses of Oxford
require abso-
lution.

After this, the said cardinall called a counsell or conuocation of the cleargie, to reforme such things touching the state of the church as should be thought requisite. And though he handled not this matter with such fauour and byrightnesse as the bishops wished on their behalves, yet he caused king Iohn to restore the most part of all those goods that remained vnspent, and also the value of halfe of those that were consumed and made awaie, vnto those persons as well spirituall as tempozall, from whom they had bene taken in time of the discord betwixt him and the pope. But before all things could be thus quieted and set in order betwixt the king and the bishops, manie meetings were had, as at London, Reading, Wallingford, and in other places.

A conuocation
called by the
cardinall.

Now the archbishop and prelates for their parts thought this recompense to be but small, in respect of the great losses and hinderances which they had sustained: and to haue the whole restitution delated, they toke it not well. Wherefore the cardinall leaned so to the kings side (hauing receiued of him to the popes vse the charter of subiection of the realmes of England and Ireland, now bulled with gold, where at the first it was deliuered to Randulph sealed onelie with wax). But their suit came to little effect, and in the end it fell out in such wise, that their complaint was lesse regarded. Whereouer, the rating of the value which the king should restore vnto the archbishop, and the other bishops, was by agreement of the king and them togither, appointed vnto foure barons indifferencie chosen betwixt them.

Restitution to
be made to
the bishops.

King Iohn
commended
to the pope
for an hun-
dle prince.

Math. Paris.
The presump-
tion of the
cardinal.

1214

Burton upon
Crent.
Dunstable.
A synod.
Discreet be-
fore the car-
dinal and the
archbishop of
Canterburie.

Walter Gray
bishop of wor-
cester is re-
moved to the
see of Ely.

At length notwithstanding that bewise took no place: for it was otherwise decreed by the pope, that the king should restore to them the summe of forty thousand marks, of the which he had paid already twelve thousand, before the returne of the said archbishop and bishops into the realme, and sithene thousand more at the late meeting had betwixt them at Reading, so that there remained onelie 13000 be hind: for not onelie the king, but also the cardinall had sent to the pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertise him, that there was a great fault in the archbishop and his fellowes. In so much that Wandulph which was sent to him from the legat, declared in fauour of the king, that there was not a more humble and modest prince to be found than king Iohn, and that the archbishop and his fel lowes were too hard, and shewed themselves to co uetous in requiring the restitution that should be made to them for losses sustained in tyme of the in terdiction.

Now the cause wherefore the legat and the king did send unto the pope, was this. There was some grudge betwixt the legat and the archbishop, for that where the pope had writtten to the legat, how he should according to the order of the ancient canons of the church, place in euerie bishops see and abbacie (that was void) meet and able persons to rule and guide the same, the legat presuming on that autho rity granted him by the pope, without the aduise of the archbishop or other bishops, took onelie with him certeine of the kings chaplains, and comming with them to such churches as were vacant, ordeined in them such persons as were nothing meet to take such charge upon them, and that according to the old abuse of England, as Matthew Paris saith. Where upon the archbishop of Canturburie repining at such doings, sent to the legat as then being at Burton upon Crent, two of his chaplains from Dunstable (where he and his suffragans held as then a synod, after the feast of the Epiphanie) commanding him by waile of appeale, in no wise to meddle with institu ting any gouernours to churches, within the precinct of his iurisdiction, where such institutions belonged onelie to him.

Where upon therefore the legat dispatched Wandulph to Rome unto the pope as is aforesaid, and the king likewise sent ambassadors thither, as the bishop of Norwich, and the archdeacon of Northumberland, with others, the which in the end so behaued them selves in their suit, that notwithstanding Simon Langton the archbishops brother earnestlie with stood them, as prodo: for the bishops, yet at length, the pope took order in the matter, writing unto his le gat, that he should see the same fulfilled, and then ab solute the realme of the former interdiction. In this meane time, king Iohn made promission to go ouer into France (as after ye shall heare) but at his go ing ouer he committed the whole ordering of this matter unto the legat, and to William Marshall the earle of Penbroke. The legat therefore upon the re ceipt of the popes bulles, called a counsell at Lon don, and there declaring what was conteined in the same, he took bands for payment of the residue of the forty thousand marks which was behind, being 13000 onelie, as before I haue said.

About the same time also, Walter Gray bishop of Worcester was removed to the gouernment of the see of Ely, which had been vacant euer since the death of the archbishop Geoffrey. This Walter was the thirteenth archbishop that gouerned that see. But now to returne and speake of the kings af faires in the parts beyond the sea. We shall under stand, that hauing set his businesse in some good staile at home with the legat, he applied his studie to the

performance of his wars abroad, and therefore he first sent monie into Flanders to paie the soldiers wages, which he had sent thither to aid the erle there against king Philip. Which earle came ouer this yeare into England, and at Canturburie the king receiued him, where he did homage to the king for the whole earldome of Flanders: and on the other part, the king as well to the said earle, as to such lords and bishops which came over with him, declared his roiall liberalitie by princelie gifts of gold, siluer, iewels, and precious stones. After his returne, such captiues as remained in his countrie with their bands at the king of Englands paie, made a iourne into France, and possessed the lands that belonged to the earle of Guisnes, waunne the castell of Espun cham, and rased it, taking within it dauncie men of armes and demnlances. They also waunne by siege the towne of Aire, and burnt it. The castell of Lens they took by assault, and slue manie soldiers that defended it, beside those which they took prisoners.

Moreover, they wasted and destroyed the lands which Lelwes the French kings sonne was possessed of in those parts. In the meane time, king Iohn ha uing prepared a mightie nauie, and a strong armie of valiant soldiers, took sea at Portsmouth on Can dlemas day, with his wife, his sonne Richard, and Eliu no: the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine. He had not many of his earles or barons with him, but a great number of knights and gentlemen, with whom he landed at Rochell in Gascoie, within a few daies after his setting forth. He took ouer with him inestimable treasure, as it was reported, in gold, siluer, and iewels. Immediatlie upon his arrivall at Rochell, the barons of Poitou reuolted from the French king, and comming in to king Iohn, did homage un to him, as to their king and soueraigne lord.

But howsoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had granted unto the earls of Barthe and Augi, on the friday before Whitsunday he came with his armie before the castell of Spetrucant, which belonged unto Geoffrey de Lacygnam, and on the day next ensuing being Whitsun eue, he waunne the same. On Whitsunday he laid siege unto Pouant, an other castell belonging to the same Geoffrey, who as then was lodged in the same, and also two of his sonnes: but within three daies after that the siege was laid, the earle of Barthe came to king Iohn, and did so much pteuall, that through his means, both Geoffrey and his two sonnes were receiued to mer cie, and king Iohn put in possession of the castell. Af ter this, because king Iohn was aduertised, that Lelwes the French kings sonne had now besieged Spountcounter, a castell that was appertaining to the said Geoffrey, he hastied thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to him as well the fore said earle of Barthe, as also the earle of Augi, and both they together with the said Geoffrey de Lacig nam, did homage to our king, and so became his liege men. The same time also, the ladie Jane the kings daughter was affianced to the said earle of Barthe his sonne, whereas the French king made means to haue hir married to his sonne: but because king Iohn doubted lest that suit was attempted but vnder some cloaked pretence, he would giue no care thereto, but rather made this match with the earle of Barthe, in hope so to assure himselfe of the said earle, that he might stand him in no small stead to defend his cause against his aduersaries of France. But now to the doings in England.

We haue heard before how pope Innocent, or ra ther Accont, who was the root of much mischief and trouble, which qualities are nothing consonant to his name) according to that king Iohn had required of him by sollemne messengers, directed his bulles unto his

Some seeme to be Iohn.

Rafe Cog. The earle of Flanders doth homage to king Iohn.

Math. Paris. The ladie Jane the daughter of king Iohn married to the earle of Barthe.

Anno. Regi.

Spetrucant. Geoffrey de Lacygnam.

Pouant.

Spount counter.

Parthenay.

Jane the daughter of king Iohn married to the earle of Barthe.

1214
Walter Gray
bishop of wor-
cester is re-
moved to the
see of Ely.

his legat Nicholas, declaring vpon that conditi-
his pleasure was to haue the sentence of interdi-
tion releafed. Wherein first he commanded that
the king should satisfie and pay so much monie vnto
the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of
London and Ely, as should fullie amount to the
summe of 40 thousand markes (with that which al-
readie he had paid, which was 27 thousand markes,
at two seuerall payments, as vpon his accounts ap-
peared.) For true contentation and payment to be
made of the residue, he ordeined that the king should
be sworn, and also seale to an obligation, and cer-
teine suerties with him (as the bishops of Dorset
and Winchester, with the earles of Chester, Win-
chester, and Warthall) all which things were perfor-
med at this present, so that after the assurance so ta-
ken for payment of the said 13 thousand markes behind,
residue of the 40 thousand markes, the interditi-
on was taken vtterlie awaie, and the land solemnlie
releasid by the legat, sitting within the cathedra-
ll church of S. Paule at London, vpon the 29 of June,
in the yeare 1214, after the terme of six yeares, three
moneths, and 14 daies, that the realme had bene strit-
ten with that dreadfull bart of correction, as it was
then esteemed.

The interditi-
on releasid.

King John in the meane time remaining still in
France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauor-
able inough vnto him, by reason his power was
much increased by the aid of the Poitouins, determi-
ned to attempt the winning of Britaine, for this
cause speciallie, that he might by so doing weaken
the French kings power, and partlie also to with-
draw him from the wars of Flanders, on which side
he had procured likewise the French borders to be
inuated with great force, and that not onlie by the
earle and such capteins as he had sent thither, and re-
trained in wages, but also by the emperor Otho, who
in proper person came downe into that countrie
himselfe.

The emperor
Otho.

King John in-
uaded Brit-
taine.

Herevpon king John went forth with all his
power of horsemen, and entering into Britaine,
made robes through the countrie, wasting the same
euen to the walles of Haunts: but shortly after the
Britaines assembled together, vnder the leading of
Peter, the son of Robert earle of Flanders (the French
kings uncle, who had married the ladie Adela, daugh-
ter to duke Guie of Britaine) and marching forth in-
to the field to defend their countrie from the eni-
mies, came to ioin with them in battell. At the first
there was a berie sharpe encounter, but at length the
Britains being vanquished and put to flight, a great
number of them were taken prisoners, and amongst
other their capteins, the foresaid Peter was one,
whom king John sent awaie with all the rest vnto
Angiers, to be kept in safegard untill he should re-
turne.

The Brit-
taines put
to flight.

Peter the erle
of Flanders his
sonne taken
prisoner.

The French
kings sonne
came to fight
with king
John.

King John re-
moued to
Angiers.
The Poitou-
ins subdued
by the French.
The battell at
the bridge of
Bouins.

After this, he besieged a castell that stood vpon the
banke of the riuer of Loier, called La Roch au
moine, inforcing his whole indouour to haue wone
it. But per he could attaine his purpose, he was ad-
uertised that Lewes the sonne of king Philip was
comming towards him with a great power to raise
his siege. Wherefore hauing no great confidence in
the Poitouins, and vnderstanding that Lewes
brought with him a berie strong armie, he toke ad-
uise of his counsell, who iudged that it should be best
for him to breake vp his siege and to depart, which he
did, and went streight waies to Angiers. Lewes (af-
ter king John was thus retired) brought the Poitou-
ins againe to subiection, and put the chiefe authours
of the rebellion to death. In the meane time also his
father king Philip with like successe, but in a fough-
ten field, vanquished the emperor Otho at the
bridge of Bouins on the 28 day of Iulie, as in the hi-

storie of France more at large appeare. There a-
mong other prisoners, the three earles of Flanders
Salisbury and Wallogne were taken.

Now king John being aduertised of that ouer-
throw, was maruellouslie sad and sorrowfull for the
chance, in somuch that he would not receiue any
meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was
brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow in-
to rage, he openlie said, that since the time that he
made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of
Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with
him. Indeed he condescended to an agreement with
the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of de-
uotion, and therefore rather dissimuled with the pope
(as he could not otherwise choise) than agreed to the
covenants with any hartie affection.

The saierg of
king John.

But to the purpose. Perceiuing himselfe now de-
stitute of his best friends, of whom diuerse remained
prisoners with the French king (being taken at the
battell of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king
Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce,
which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and
fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure
for five yeares, and to begin at Easter, in the yeare
of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of
October he returned into England, to appease cer-
teine tumults which began already to shoot out buds
of some new ciuill dissention. And suerlie the same
spred abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit
was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouisi-
on could be hindered. For the people being set on by
diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding them-
selues grieved that the king kept not promise in re-
storing the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determi-
ned from thenceforth to vse force, since by request he
might not preuaile. To appease this furie of the peo-
ple, not onlie policie but power also was required,
for the people undertaking an euill enterprise, speci-
allie raising a tumult or ioining in a conspiracie are
as hardlie suppressed and banquished as hydra the
monster hauing manie heads: and therefore it is
well said, that

A truce taken
betwixt the
two kings of
England &
France.

— comes est discordia vulgi;

Namque à turbando nomen sibi turba recepit.

The Nobles supposing that longer delate therein
was not to be suffered, assembled themselues toge-
ther at the abbete of Burie (vnder colour of going
thither to do their deuotions to the bodie of S. Ed-
mund which late there insyned) where they uttered
their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners, al-
ledging how they were oftentimes called forth to
serue in the wars & to fight in defense of the realme,
and yet notwithstanding were still oppressed at home
by the kings officers, who (vpon confidence of the
lawes) attempted all things whatsoever they concei-
ued. And if anie man complained, or alledged that
he receiued wrong at their hands, they would an-
swer by and by, that they had law on their side to doe
as they had done, so that it was no wrong but right
which they did, and therefore if they that were the lords
and pates of the realme were men, it stood them vpon
to prouide that such inconueniences might be a-
uoided, and better lawes brought in vse, by the which
their ancestours liued in a more quiet and happie
state.

A cloked dis-
simulation.

There was brought forth and also read an ancient
charter made sometime by Henrie the first (which
charter Stephen the archbishop of Canturburie had
deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London)
concerning the grant of certeine liberties according
to the lawes of king Edward the confessor, profit-
able to the church and barons of the realme, which they
purposed to haue vniuersallie executed ouer all the
land. And therefore being thus assembled in the queene
of

The charter
of H. Henrie
the first.
A firebrand of
dissention.

of the church of S. Edmund, they refused a solemn oath upon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thenceforth make warre upon him, till they had obtained their purpose, and enforced him to grant, not onlie to all these their petitions, but also yield to the confirmation of them under his seale, for ever to remaine most stedfast and inuincible.

Bernewell.

The these cause that moued the lords to this conspiracie, rose by reason the king demanded escauage of them that refused to go with him into Poitou: and they on the other part mainteined, that they were not bound to paie it, for any warres which the king made in the parts beyond the seas. But he to proue that he ought to haue it, declares how in his fathers and brothers time it was paid, and therefore he ought to haue it. Such adoe there was about this matter at the first broyching thereof, and more adoe there had bene, if the legats presence had not somewhat staid the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of king Henrie the first at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, they made such a sinister interpretation thereof, that supposing it to serue their turnes, they proceeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

Finallie it was determined amongst them, that shortly after Christmase, they should go to the king, and require of him that they might haue those laws restored, which he had promised to them (as is aforesaid.) But forasmuch as they knew well that their sute would not be thankfullie accepted, in the meane time they provided themselves of horse, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readinesse and safegard, if in exhibiting their request, the matter did grow to any such enforcement. They appointed also diuerse of the most ancient lords to moue the said matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worcester, and being advertised of this conspiracie, as soon as the feast of Christmase was past, he went straight to London: thither came the lords also with like speed, leaving their men in the townes and villages abroad, to be readie upon any sudden warning to come vnto them, if need should so require.

1215
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.

The lords
present their
request to the
king.

Being come into his presence, they required of him that it might please him, first, to appoint the exercise and vse of those ancient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of England in times past ruled their subjects: secondlie, that according to his promise, he would abrogate those newer lawes, which euerie man might with good cause name mere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdlie they required of him the performance of all other things, which he had most faithfullie of late undertaken to obserue. The king, (though somewhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their request, gaue them a verie gentle answer. For perceiving them readie with force to constrain him, if by gentleness they might not prevaille, he thought it should be more safe and easie for him to turne their vnquiet minds with soft remedies than to go about to breake them of their willes by strong hand, which is a thing verie dangerous, especially where both parts are of like force. Therefore he promised them within a few daies, to haue consideration of their request.

The king
promiseth to consider
of their
request.

And to the intent they might giue the more credit to his words, he caused the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Ely, with William Marshall earle of Penbrooke (vnto whom he had given his daughter Elianor in marriage) to undertake for him, and as it were to become his sureties: which willinglie they did. Wherewith the minds of the po-

bilitie being somewhat pacified, returned home to their houses. The king soon after also, to assure himselfe the more effectuallye of the allegiance of his people in time to come, caused euerie man to renew his homage, and to take a new oath to be faithfull to him against all other persons. And to prouide the more suretie for himselfe, on Candlemasse day next ensuing, he took upon him the crosse to go into the holie land, which I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was also thought by other, to the end that he might (under the protection thereof) remaine the more out of danger of such as were his foes. In which point of dissimulation he shewed himselfe patient, obseruing the counsell of the wiseman,

*inlufum corde dolorem
Disimula atq. tace, ne deteriora subinde
Dumma feras.*

Some say that a great part of this variance that chanced betwene king John and his barons, was because the king would without skillfull aduise haue eriled the earle of Chester, and for none other occasion than for that he had oftentimes aduised him to leaue his cruell dealing, and also his accustomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others. Other wryte, that the same dissention rose by reason of the great crueltie, and vnreasonable auarice, which the king vsed towards all the states and degrees of his subjects, as well towards them of the spiritualtie, as of the temporalitie. The prelates therefore of the realme sore re- pinning at his doings, for that they could not patientlie suffer such exaction to be leuiued of their livings (contrarie as they toke it to the libertie of the church) found means through practise, to persuaade both the kings of Scotland and France to aid and support them against him, by linking themselves together with sundrie noblemen of England. But these seeme to be coniectures of such wryters as were euill affected towards the kings cause.

Now therefore to the sequelle of the matter. The king hauing sent awaite the barons with a gentle answer, though he minded nothing lesse than to satisfie them in that they did demand, because it made much against his roiall prerogatiue: and therewith for esaking that the matter would be like to grow at length to be tried by force, he began to dout his owne estate, and therefore prepared an armie, and fortified diuerse castles and places with men, munition, and vittels, into the which he might retire for his safetie in any time of need. The barons which understood the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie also their power, appointing for their generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in counsell, and valiant in warre. Herewith they came vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, presenting vnto him a booke, wherein was contained a note of all the articles of their petitions, & required him to understand the kings mind touching the same. The archbishop coueting to extinguish the sedition (whereof he himselfe had bene no small kindler) which was like to grow, if the nobilitie were not pacified the sooner, talked with the king, and exhorted his grace verie instantlie to satisfie the requests of his barons, and herewith did shew the booke of the articles which they had deliuered vnto him.

The king, when he saw that they demanded (which in effect was a new order in things touching the whole state of the common wealth) swore in a great furie, that he would neuer condescend vnto those petitions. Whereof when the barons had knowledge, they gat them strait vnto armour, making their assemble at Stamford in the Easter weeke, whither they had draiue vnto them almost the whole nobilitie, and gathered an exceeding great armie. For the commons

Math. Paris.
The king
mandateth a
new oath of
allegiance of
his subjects.

The king
hath on him
the crosse.

The contest
betwixt the
king and his
barons.
Fabian.
Caxton.
The earle of
Chester.
Hector Booc.
The kings
counsellors.

The reprimand
of the clergy
against the king.

Polydor.

Robert Fitz
Walter.

The archb.
of Canturburie
moueth the king
to satisfie the
requests of his
barons.

The king re-
fuseth to giue
their petitions.
Matt. Paris.

commons flocked unto them from euerie part, because the king was generallie hated of the moze part of his subiects.

It was conjectured that there were in that armie the number of two thousand knights, beside peomen on horsebacke or demillances (as I may call them) and footemen apparelled in diuerse sorts of armour. The chiefe ringleaders of this power were these, whose names insue: Robert Fitz Walter, Gossace Clesie, Richard Perrie, Robert Ross, Peter de Beuse, Nicholas de Stuteuill, Sacre earle of Winchestre, Robert erle of Clare, Henrie earle of Clare, Richard earle of Bigot, William de Mowbray, William de Cressy, Ralph Fitz Robert, Robert de Mere, Foulke Fitz Warren, Will. Pallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simon de Bime, William Parthall the younger, William Sparduit, Robert de Pontibigonis, John Fitz Robert, John Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, D. Fitz Alane, W. de Hobzug, D. de Wales, G. de Gaunt, spaurice de Gaunt, Robert de Bakesley, Robert de Spounschet, Will. de Lanualley, G. de Spaunde, ule earle of Essex, Thomas de Spuleton, Conan Fitz Helie, and manie other; they had also of counsell with them as chiefe the archbishop of Canturburie.

The king as then was at Drford, who hearing of the assemble which the barons made, and that they were come to Bakesley, on the mondaie next after the octaues of Easter, he sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, in whom he reposed great confidence, and William Parthall earle of Denbroke, to vnderstand what they meant by that their assembling thus together. Whereupon they deliuered to the same messengers a roll containing the ancient liberties, priuiledges and customs of the realme, signifying that if the king would not confirme the same, they would not cease to make him warre, till he should satisfie their requests in that behalfe.

The archbishop and the earle returning to the king, shewed him the whole circumstance of that which the barons demanded, who took great indignation thereat, and cozenfullie said: Why do they not aske to haue the kingdome also? Finallie, he affirmed with an oth, that he would neuer grant any such liberties, whereby he should become a slaue. Whereupon the archbishop and the earle of Denbroke returned to the barons, and declared the kings denial to confirme their articles. When the barons naming their host the armie of God and the holie church, set forward, and first came vnto Northampton, and besieging the towne, when they could not preuaile, because the same was well prouided for defence aforesaid, they departed from thence, and came towards Bedford to besiege the castell there, in which sir William Beauchampe was captaine, who being secretly confederate with them, deliuered the place incontinentlie into their hands.

Whilst they remained here a certeine time to fortifie and furnish the castell with necessarie provision, there came letters to them from London, giuing them to vnderstand, that if they would send a conuenient power of souldiers to defend the citie, the same should be receiued therein at some meet and reasonable time in the night season by the citizens, who would iointly with them in that quarell against the king to the uttermost of their powers. The lords were glad of these newes, to haue the chiefe citie of the realme to take part with them, and therefore they sent foure bands of souldiers streight waies thither, which were brought into the citie in the night season

(according to order aforesaid taken.) But as Matt. Paris saith, they were receiued into the citie by Algate, the 24 of Maie being sundaie, whilst the citizens were at masse. The next day they made open rebellion, took such as they knew fauoured the king, brake into the houses of the Iewes, & spoiled them.

The barons having thus gotten possession of the citie of London, wrote letters vnto all those lords which as yet had not iointed with them in this confederacie, threatening that if they refused to aid them now in this necessitie, they would destroie their castles, manours, parkes, and other possessions, making open warre vpon them as the enemies of God, and rebels to the church. These were the names of those lords which yet had not sworn to mainteine the foresaid liberties, William Parthall earle of Denbroke, Raimulfe earle of Chester, Nicholas earle of Salisbury, William earle Warren, William erle of Albemarle, H. earle of Cornwall, W. de Albemarle, Robert de Weipount, Peter Fitz Herbert, William de Lisle, G. de Lucie, G. de Furnuall, Thomas Basset, H. de Braibroke, J. de Basingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornwall, John Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Beuill, Philip de Albente, John Parthall, and William Beter. All these vpon receipt of the barons letters, or the moze part of them came to London, and iointed themselves with the barons, vntillie renouncing to aid king John.

Also the ples in the eschequer ceased, and the riskes staid from executing their office. For there was none that would paie anie monie to the kings vble, nor anie that did obeie him, in somuch that there remained with him but onelie seven horsemen of all his traine at one time (as some write) though some after he had a great power, which came to him to the castell of Windsoze, where he then late, and meant to haue led the same against the lords with all speed. But hearing now of this new rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpose and durst not depart from Windsoze, being brought in great doubt least all the other citie of the realme would follow their example. Whereupon he thought good to assaie if he might come to some agreement by waie of communication, and incontinentlie sent his ambassadours to the barons, promising them that he would satisfie their requests, if they would come to Windsoze to talke with him.

Hobwell, the lords having no confidence in his promise came with their armie within three miles of Windsoze, and their pitch downe their tents in a meadow betwixt Stanes and Windsoze, whither king John also came the 15 daie of Iune, and shewed such friendlie countenance towards euerie one of them, that they were put in good hope he meant no deceit. Being thus met, they fell in consultation about an agreement to be had. On the kings part (as it were) late the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Conentre, Rochester, and Pandulph the popes Nuncio, with Almerike master of the knights templers: the earles of Denbroke, Salisbury, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Caloway, William Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Basset, Hugh de Beuill, Hubert de Burgh seneschall of Poitou, Robert de Kopley, John Parthall, and Philip de Albente. On the barons part, there were innumerable, for all the nobilitie of England was in a maner assembled there together.

Finallie, when the king measuring his owne strength with the barons, perceived that he was not able to resist them, he consented to subscribe and seale to such articles concerning the liberties demanded, in forme for the most part as is contained in the two charters Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, beginning

Match. Paris.

The barons wrote to other of the nobilitie to ioint with them against the king.

The king left desolate of friends.

Polydor.

The lords encamped betwixt Stanes and windsoze.

J. John cometh to them to talk of some pacification.

Match. Paris.

Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta.

The names of the lords that banded themselves against the king.

Anno Reg. 17.

Match. Paris.

The king sent word to the lords.

The barons gave a plausibie name to their armie. Northampton besieged. They swan the towne but not the castell. March. West. Bedford castell deliuered to the barons.

gaining *Iohannes Deigratia*, &c. And he did not onlie grant vnto them their petitions touching the forsaide liberties, but also to win him further credit, was contented that they should choose out certeine graue and honourable personages, which should haue authoritie and power to see those things performed which he then granted vnto them.

There were twentie five of those that were so elected, namely these. The earles of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, and Hereford: also earle Roger, earle Robert, earle Marshall the younger, Robert Fitz Walter the younger, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Melie, Hugh Bigot, William de Mowbray, the maior of London, Gilbert de la Maie, Robert de Ros, John constable of Chester, Richard de Percie, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geoffrey de Saie, Roger de Mowbray, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Pountichey, and William de Albanie. These five and twentie were sworne to see the liberties granted and confirmed by the king to be in euerie point obserued, but if he went against the same, then they should haue authoritie to compell him to the obseruing of euerie of them.

Moreover, there were other that were sworne to be obedient, and as it were assistant vnto these five and twentie peeres in such things as they should appoint, which were these. The earle of Arundell, the earle Warren by his attorney, Henrie Doltie, Hubert de Burgh, Mattheu Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pinkie, Roger Huscarse, Robert de Melburgh, Henrie de Pont Audoin, Rafe de la Hay, Henrie de Brentfield, Warren Fitz Gerald, Thomas Basset, William de Buckland, William de saint John, Alan Basset, Richard de Kuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jordan de Sackville, Rafe Pulgrane, Richard Sikelward, Robert de Kopley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunstable, Walter Foliote, Foukes de Brent, John Marshall, Philip Daubnie, William de Perce, Rafe de Normandie, William de Percie, William Agoulin, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirenton, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Barnard, and Godfre de Grancombe. It was further ordered, that the chateilains or constables (as I may call them) of the four castles of Portsmouth, Wallingworth, Nottingham, and Scarborough, should be sworne to the five and twentie peeres, to gouerne those castles in such wise as they should haue in commandement from the said five and twentie peeres, or from the greater part of them: and that such should be placed as chateilains in the same, as were thought to be most true and faithfull vnto the barons and the realme. ¶ It was also decreed, that certeine strangers, as Flemings and other, should be banished out of England.

The king hereupon sent his letters patents vnto the shiriffes of all the counties of this realme, commanding them to see the ordinances and liberties which he granted and confirmed, to be diligentlie obserued. And for the more strengthening of this his grant, he had gotten the pope to confirme a like charter granted the yeare before. For the pope (with king John was become his obedient vassall, and the apostolicke kingeaslie granted to graunt both him and his lords herein, and so was the grant of the liberties corroborated & made good with a double confirmation, and so sealed, that it was impossible for them to be separated in funder, the kings grant being annexed to the popes bull.

Immediatlie also upon the confirmation now made by the king, diuerse lords came to him, and required restitution of such possessions, lands, and houses, as he had in his hands, the right whereof (as they alleged) appertained to them: but he excused the matter, and shifed them off, till by inquest taken, it

might appeare what right enerie man had to those things which they then claimed: and furthermore assigned them a date to be holden at Westminster, which was the sixteenth day of Iulie. But per he restored at that time the castell of Rochester vnto the archbishop of Cantuarburie, the barons hauing obtained a great peece of their purpose (as they thought) returned to London with their charter sealed, the date whereof was this: Given by our owne hand, in the meadow called Kuningmede or Rime-mede, betwixt Stanes and Windfore, the fifteenth of Iune, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

Great reioicing was made for this conclusion of peace betwixt the king and his barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, and mollified it, whereby happie dates were come for the realme of England, as though it had bene deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt: but they were much deceiued, for the king hauing condescended to make such grant of liberties, farre contrarie to his mind, was right sorrowfull in his heart, cursed his mother that bare him, the houre that he was borne, and the paps that gaue him sucke, wishing that he had receiued death by violence of sword or knife, in stead of naturall nourishment: he whetted his teeth, he did bite now on one staffe, and now on another as he walked, and oft brake the same in peeces when he had done, and with such disordered behaviour and furious gestures he uttered his grieue, in such sort that the noble men verie well perceiued the inclination of his inward affection concerning these things, before the breaking vp of the counsell, and therefore sore lamented the state of the realme, getting what would follow of his impatiencie and displeasent taking of the matter.

Whereupon they said among themselves, Who be to vs, yea rather to the whole realme that wanteth a sufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that seeketh the subuersion thereof. Now hath our sonerigne lord made vs subiect to Rome, and to the Romish court, so that we must henceforth obtaine our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, least we do feele hereafter some further peece of mischance to light vpon vs suddenlie. We neuer heard of any king that would not gladlie inuade, to withdraw his necke from bondage & captiuitie, but ours of his owne accord voluntarilie submitteth himselfe to become vassall to euerie stranger. And thus the lords lamenting the case, left the king, and returned to London (as before ye haue heard.)

But the king disquieted not a little, for that he was thus diuened to yeld so farre vnto the barons, notwithstanding as much as was possible he kept his purpose secret, deuised by what means he might dis-appoint all that had bene done, and promised on his part, at this assemblie betwixt him and the lords a pacification (as ye haue heard.) Wherefore the next day verie late in the euening, he secretlie departed to Southampton, and so ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he toke aduice with his counsell what remedie he might find to quiet the minds of his lords and barons, and to bring them vnto his purpose. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduise of the greater part, that the king should require the popes aid therein. And so Walter the bishop of Worcester, & John the bishop of Norwich, with one Richard Marsh his chancellor, with all speed were sent as ambassadors from the king vnto pope Innocent, to instruct him of the rebellion of the English Nobilitie, and that he constrained by force had granted them certeine lawes and privileges, hurtfull to his realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne.

Moreover, with that all this was done by the means of the

Rochester
still refers
to the arch
Cantuarburie

Matt. Paris

The kings
impatience
see himselfe
battered by
subuers.

The chate-
lains of four
castles.

The kinge
thus diuened
parteth into
the Ile of
Wight.

The sendeth
ambassadors
to the pope.

Th
inf

Hugh de
Bours.

Mauch. Paris.

thoritic of the pope, the king besought him to make the same void, and to command the barons to obey him being their king, as reason required they should. There were also sent by him other messengers, as Hugh de Bours and others, into diuerse parts beyond the sea, to bring from thence great numbers of men of war and souldiers, appointing them to meet him at Douer, at the feast of saint Michaell next ensuing. He sent likewise unto all his chateleins and constables of castles within the realme, requiring them to prouide themselves of all things necessarie for defense of the holds committed to their charge, if they should chance to be besieged, though it were on the next morrow.

His ambassadours and other messengers being thus dispatched, and hauing but few persons left about him, or in manner none, except such of the bishop of Norwich his seruants as he had borrowed of him, he fell to take pilles as any ships came by suspected not to be his friends, so seeking to win the fauour of the mariners that belonged to the cinke ports, and so lay close in the Ile of Wight and there about the sea-coasts for the space of thre moneths together. In which meane time, manie things were reported of him, some calling him a filther, some a merchant, and some a pirat and rouer. And manie (for that no certeine newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by some other means. But he still looking for some power to come ouer to his aid, kept himselfe out of the way, till the same should be arriued, and dissembled the conceit of his reuenge and hart-grudge, till opportunitie serued him with conuenient securitie to put the same in execution. Wherein he shewed himselfe discret and prouident, and did as in such a case one wiseman doth counsell another, saying,

*Sape etiam uuliter cedit, placidique furentem
Demulcet dictis, & dulcibus allicit hostem
Blanditijs, donec deceptum in retia mittat.*

Polydor.

The ambassa-
dours coming
to the popes
presence de-
clare their
message.

Mauch. Paris.

The lords all this while lay at London, and began to doubt the matter, because they could heare no certeine newes where the king was become: for doubting (as I said) the suertie of his person, he conueied himselfe secretly from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentimes more meanlie than was decent for his estate: and still he longed to heare how his ambassadours sped with the pope, who in the meane time comming unto Rome, and declaring their message at full, took it upon their solempne oath, that the right was on the kings side, and that the fault rested onlie on the lords, touching the whole controuersie betwene them and him, who sought with great rigour and against reason to byle him at their pleasures.

They shewed also a note of certeine articles contained in the charter, which seemed to make most for the kings purpose, and withall declared that the king in open assemblie, where he and the barons met to talke of such matters, had protested that the kingdome of England speciallie appertained (as touching the souerainetie) unto the church of Rome, wherupon he neither could nor ought without knowledge of the pope to ordaine anie thing anew, or change ought within that kingdome in prejudice thereof. Wherefore whereas he put himselfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the apostolike see: the barons yet without regard had to the same appeale, did seise into their possession the citie of London, and getting them to armour, enforced the king to confirme such unreasonable articles, as there appeared for him to consider.

The popes
answer vnto

The pope hauing heard their tale, and considered of the articles, with bending blowes (in witness of

his indignation) made forthwith this short answer: the kings am-
And is it so, that the barons of England do go about balladours.
to expell their king, which hath taken upon him the
crosse, and is remaining vnder the protection of the
apostolike see? And do they meane indeed to tran-
state the dominion that belongeth to the church of
Rome vnto another? By S. Peter we cannot suffer
this iniurie to passe unpunished. Hereupon (credi-
ting the ambassadours words) by the aduice of his
cardinals, he decreed that all those priuiledges, which
the king had granted vnto the lords and barons of
this realme, as enforced thereto by their rebellious
attempt, should be accounted void and of none ef-
fect. Also he wrote vnto the lords, admonishing them
by his letters that they should obey their king, vpon
paine of his curse if they should attempt anie thing
that founded to the contrarie.

At the same time there was in the court of Rome
(as Hector Boetius saith) a cardinall named Gualo
o: Guallo, a verie couetous person, and such a one (as
in that place some are neuer wanting) which for mo-
nie passed not what he did to further anie mans suit,
without regard either to right or wrong, by whose
chiese trauell and means the pope was greatlie in-
duced to fauour king Iohns cause, and to iudge with
him in prejudice of the lords purposes, as before is
expressed.

Hect. Boetius.
Cardinall
Gualo.

But to proceed. The ambassadours being dispatch-
ed, and hauing the popes prescript, and such other his
letters with them as they had obtained of him, re-
turned with all speed into England vnto the king
(who was come a little before vnto Windsor castell)
and there declared vnto him how they sped. King Iohn
being sofull in that they had brought the matter so
well about for his purpose, caused the popes decree
to be declared vnto the barons, commanding them
strictlie to obey the same. The barons taking the
matter grieuouslie to be thus mocked, with great in-
dignation both blamed king Iohns vniust dealing,
and the popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had
pronounced against them, without hearing what
they had of right to alleadge for themselves. Where-
upon out of hand (notwithstanding the popes prohi-
bition and prescript to the contrarie) they determined
to trie their cause by dint of sword, and with all speed
assembled their powers, which for the greater part
they had latelie dismissed and sent home. They fur-
nished the castell of Rochester with a strong garri-
son of men, and placed therein as capitaine one Wil-
liam Albeney, a verie skilfull warriour.

Polydor.
The ambassa-
dours returne
from the pope.The popes
decree is de-
clared to the
lords.The barons
will trie their
quarrel by dint
of sword.

King Iohn, after he understood that the barons
(contemning the popes decree and inhibition) were
more offended and bent against him than before, sent
once againe to the pope, to aduertise him of their dis-
obedience and great contumacie shewed in refusing
to stand to his prescript. This done, he returned to
the Ile of Wight, and sailed from thence to Douer,
where diuerse of those his commissaries which he had
sent to hire soldiers in foreign parts returned to him,

The king sen-
deth effrons
to the pope.The king re-
turneth into
the Ile of
Wight.Mauch. Paris.
Polydor.

bringing with them out of diuerse countries such a
multitude of souldiers and armed men, that the one-
lie sight of them stroke the harts of all the beholders
with great feare and terror. For out of the parties of
Poitou and Gascoigne, there came men of great no-
bilitie, and right worthy warriours, as Haucric de
Haulcon, Geoffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile two bre-
thren, hauing vnder them great numbers of god
souldiers and tall men of warre. Also out of Fla-
bant there came Walter Buc, Gerard de Sotignie,
and on. Godeffall, with thre legions of armed men
and crossebowes. Likewise there came out of Fla-
nders other capitaine, with diuerse bands of souldiers,
which Ferdinando earle of Flanders (latelie retur-
ned out of the French captiuitie) for old friendshipes
sake

The arriual
of foreign sol-
diers to the
kings aid.
Haucric de
Haulcon.Ferdinando
erie of Flan-
ders.

A. ij.

sake

John furnished and sent over to aid him against his enemies, according as he had requested.

And he [John] being
in the presence
of the barons
at the castle.

King John
besieging the
castle of Ro-
chester.

Bernevell.

Rochester ca-
stle is yielded
to the king.

The council
of Barons de-
mands.

Archbishops
those of Exeter
and Lincoln.

Bernevell.

King John then having recovered strength about him, and being advertised that William de Albemarle was entered into the castle of Rochester with a great number of knights, men of arms and other soldiers, he with his whole army and besieged them within, insinuating himself by all waies possible to win the castle as well by battering the walls with engines, as by giving thereto manie assaults: but the garrison within, consisting of nintie and foure knights beside demurancers, and other soldiers, defended the place verie manfully, in hope of rescue from the barons, which late as then at London: but they coming forward one daie towards the castle, when they heard that the king was coming forward in good array of battell to meet them, upon consideration had of their owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footmen, they returned backe againe to the citie, breaking that assured promise which they had made and also confirmed by their solemn othes, which was that if the castle should chance to be besieged, they would not faile but raise the siege.

At length they within for want of vittells were constrained to yield it up unto the king, after it had bene besieged the space of three daies: during which time they had beaten backe their enemies at sundrie assaults, with great slaughter and losse. But the king having now got the possession of that hold, upon grasse conceived for the losse of so manie men, and also because he had liue so long about it yet he could winne it, to his insupportable costs and charges, was determined to have put them all to death that had kept it. But Sauezie de Bauleon advised him otherwise, lest by such crueltie, the barons in any like case should be occasioned to use the same extremitie towards such of his people, as by chance might fall into their hands. Thus the king spared the Nobles and gentlemen, sending William de Albemarle, William de Lancaster, William de Gineford, Thomas de Spoleton, Robert Gifford, Robert de Bobie, Domes de Albemarle, and diuerse other to the castle of Corfe, there to be kept as prisoners. But Robert Gifford, Richard Gifford, and Thomas de Lincoln were sent to Nottingham, and so other were sent to other places. As for all the demurancers or peomen (if I shall so call them) and the archbishops which had laine manie of his men during the siege, as Matthew Paris saith, the king caused them to be hanged, to put other in feare that should so obstinatie resist him.

After the lesse as the booke that belonged to Bernevell abbe saith, there was not any of them hanged, saving one archbishop onely, whom the king had brought up of a child. But howsoever the king dealt with them after they were yielded, true it is, as by the same booke it appeareth, there had bene no siege in those daies more earnestlie enforced, nor more obstinatie defended: for after that all the limmes of the castle had bene reuered and spoiled downe, they kept the maister tower, till halfe thereof was also overthrowne, and after kept the other halfe, till through famine they were constrained to yield, having nothing but horse flesh and water to susteine their liues withall.

Here is to be remembered, that whilst the siege lay thus at Rochester, Hugh de Soues a valiant knight, but full of pride and arrogance, a Frenchman borne, but banished out of his countrie, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and soldiers to come to the aid of king John. But as he was upon the sea with all his people, meaning to land at Dover, by a sudden tempest which

rose at that instant, the said Hugh with all his company was drowned by shipwrecke. Some after the beate of the same Hugh with the carraiges of other innumerable, both of men, women, and children, were found not farre from Perrinow, and all along that coast. There were of them in all fiftie thousand, as saith Matthew Paris, for of all those which he brought with him, there was (as it is said) not one man left alive.

The king, as the same booke, but how true I knowe not, had given by charter unto the said Hugh de Soues, the whole countie of Northfolke, so that he might have expelled the old inhabitants, and to have peopled it with strangers. But whether this was so or not, sure it is that he was verie sorrowfull for the losse of this income and also which thus perished in the seas, though it happened verie well for the subjects of England, that should have bene fore oppressed by such multitude of strangers, which for the most part must needs have liued upon the countrie, to the better breeding of the inhabitants wherefore they should have come.

Here is to be noted, that during the siege of Rochester, as some write, there came out of France to the number nere hand of ten thousand men sent from the French king unto the aid of the barons, at the suit of Saer de Domicie earle of Winchester and other ambassadors that were sent from the barons, during the time of this siege, although it should seeme by Matthew Paris, that the said earle was not sent till after the pope had excommunicated the barons, as after we shall heare. The Frenchmen that came over at this first time landed at Owell, and at other haues there nere adjoining.

About this season, the canons of Poike, because the archbishops see there had remained void a long time, obtaining licence of the king, assembled together about the election of an archbishop. And though the king had once againe earnestlie moved them to preferre Walter Craie bishop of Worcester, yet they refused so to do, and therefore chose Simon de Langton, brother to the archbishop of Cantuarburie, which election was afterward made void by the earnest frauel of the king to the pope, because his brother the said archbishop of Cantuarburie was known to fauour the part of the barons against him, so that the said Walter Craie was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the see of Poike, according to the kings speciall desire in that behalf.

About the same time also, pope Innocent being certified, how the barons of England would not obey his prescript, indged them enemies to the church and gave commandement to Peter the bishop of Winchester, to the abbat of Reading, and to the subdeacon Wandulph, to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them. But they could not at the first execute the popes commandement herein, by reason that the archbishop of Cantuarburie, who fauoured the barons cause, would not permit them. Therefore the same archbishop was interdicted out of the church, and from sauing diuine seruice, and also being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be deprived of his mitre; had not certeine cardinals intreated for him, and obtained his pardon. The archbishop being gone to Rome, as well to excuse himselfe in this matter, as to be present at the generall counsell there holden at that time for he was ready to go take the sea thitherwards when the bishop of Winchester and Wandulph came to him with the popes letters, the said bishop of Winchester and Wandulph proceeded to the pronouncing of the excommunication against the barons, renewing the same excommunication and holiday: albeit the barons, because none of them were excommunicated in the popes letters,

The arch-
bishop of
Cantuarburie
fauoured the
barons part.

Matthew Paris
saith that the
barons were
curst by the
popes com-
mandement.

Walter de
Rochester

John divided his army into two parts.

Poljor. March. Paris.

John goeth northward. March. Paris.

Nottingham. 1216

Beaumont castle summoned to yield. William de Albene. Stodham. Charnelles.

The castle of Beaumont rendered to the king.

Dunnington castle taken and rased.

March. Paris.

John took the castle of Barwick.

Hugh de B. and a Whilp de Hulcotes.

letters made none account of the censure, reputing it as void, and not to concerne them in any manner of point. But now to returne to king Iohn.

After he had wonne the castell of Rochester (as before you haue heard) he hasted to S. Albons, and there diuided his armie into two parts, appointing the one to remaine about London, whilste he himselfe with the other might go into the north to waste and destroe the possessions of certeine lords there, which (as he was informed) went about to raise an armie against him. He made captains of that armie which he left behind him, his brother William earle of Salisburie, Saucerie de Mauleon, Will. Belwer, Walter Bue, and others. He himselfe departed from S. Albons about the 21 day of December, leading his said armie northwards: in which were chiefe captains these that follow, William erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albene, and John Marshall. Also of strangers, Gerard de Sotigam, and Godfayll, with the Flemings, the crossebowes, and others.

The first night he laie at Dunsstable, and from thence passing forwards towards Northampton, he destroyed by the waie all the manours, places and houses, which belonged to the aduersaries, and so kept on his iourne till he came to Nottingham, where he laie in the castell on Chyffmasse day, and in the morning (being S. Stephens day) he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, sending his summons in the morning to the castell of Beaumont, willing them within to yield. This castell appertained to William Albene, who had committed the custodie thereof unto his sonne Nicholas de Albene, priest, to sir William de Stodham, and to sir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keyes of the castell, and surrendered the same unto him, with condition that he should be good to their master the said William Albene, and grant unto them their horses and armour, wherewith they would remaine with him vnder his peace and protection. On the next morrow (being S. Johns day) the king went to the castell, and receiuing the same, deliuered it to the keeping of Geoffrey Buteville, and his brother Wilner.

After this the castell of John Lacie at Dunnington was taken and laid flat to the ground, by commandement of the king, who hauing accomplished his will in those parties, dreyd towards Porshehire, and at his coming thither destroyed the houses, townes and manours of those lords and gentlemen which were against him. It is horrible to heare, and lothsome to rehearse the crueltie which was practised by the souldiers and men of warre in places where they came, who counting no honour or renowne more excellent, nor glorie (as warriours say)

Maior nulla quidem quam bello parata videtur, Horrida Mauroris tractare ferociter arma, Hostilique suam temerare in sanguine dextram, and therefore were wholie bent to spoile and ransacke the houses of the people without pittie or compassion, besides the robberies, spoiles and great outrages vsed by the souldiers generallie against the common people. Few there were in that countrie of great linage or wealth, whom the king for their assembling themselves with the barons either spoiled not, or put not to execution. Thus with his armie (to the great desolation of the countrie) he passed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that realme, took the castell of Barwike, and other places of strength in those parts, meaning to haue wonne more from the Scots, if other urgent businesse had not called him backe againe. This being done, he committed the countrie which lieth betwixt the riuer of These, and the confines of Scotland, to the keeping of Hugh de Baloll and Philip de Hulcotes, assigning to them

such conuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the custodie of the castles in Porshehire he deliuered to Robert de Aepount, to Brian de Lisle, and to Geoffrey de Lucie.

Finallie, when he had so ordered things in the North parts as stood with his pleasure, so that there remained no more but two castles, that is to saie, Mountsorrell, and another in Porshehire that appertained to Robert de Roos in possession of the barons, he returned by the borders of Wales into the south parts: and by all the way as he passed, he shewed great crueltie against his aduersaries, besieging and taking their castles and strong houses, of the which some he caused to be fortified with garrisons of souldiers to his owne vse, and some he rased. The like feats were wrought by the other armie in the parts about London: for William earle of Salisburie, and Foukes de Bient, with the other captains which the king had left behind him there, perceiuing that the citie would not easilie be wonne by anie siege, first furnished the castell of Windsor, Hertford, and Barkhamsted, with such strong garrisons of souldiers as might watch, vpon occasion giuen to assaile those that should either go into the citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the residue of the armie, and passing through the countie of Essex, and Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, they wasted the countie, and made the townes become tributaries to them. As for the houses, manour places, parkes, and other possessions of the barons, they wasted, spoiled and destroyed them, running euen hard to the citie of London and setting fire in the suburbs.

In this meane time, whilste the king went forwards on his iourne northwards, vpon the 18 of December last past, the castell of Hantlap was taken by Foukes de Bient, which appertained unto William Manduit. On the same day also was the castell of Tunbridge taken by the garrison of Rochester, which castell of Tunbridge belonged to the earle of Clare. Moreover, the foresaid Foukes de Bient coming vnto Bedford, won both the towne and castell: for they that had the castell in keeping, after 7 daies respite (which they obtained at the hands of the said Foukes) when rescue came not from the lord William Beauchampe their master, they deliuered it vnto the said Foukes. Vnto whom John gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castles of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge.

The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to hir belonged. Moreover, to William earle of Albemarle the king deliuered the custodie of the castles of Rockingham, Sawey and Biham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the castell of Barkhamsted, and to Walter Godzeuill seruant to Foukes de Bient, he betooke the keeping of the castell of Hertford. Thus what on the one part, and what on the other, the barons lost in maner all their possessions from the south sea vnto the borders of Scotland, the king seizing the same into his hands, and committing them to the keeping of strangers, and such other as he thought more trustie and conuenient. All this while the barons laie at London banquetting and making merrie, without attempting anie exploit praise-worthy. But yet when they heard by certeine aduertisement, what haucke and destruction was made of their houses & possessions abroad, they could not but lament their miseries, and amongst other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they sore blamed the pope, as a cheefe cause of all these

Robert de Aepount, Brian de Lisle, Geoffrey de Lucie.

Mountsorrell betwixt Essex & Lugebrough.

The earle of Salisburie with his armie invaded the countie about London.

The castell of Hantlap. Tunbridge castell.

Bedford take by Foukes de Bient.

Will. Beauchampe.

Castles deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Bient.

Foukes de Bient aduanced by marriage.

Rockingham, Sawey, and Biham.

Barkhamsted Hertford castell.

these castles, for that he maintained and defended the king against them.

The barons
accused by
name.

Indeed about the same time pope Innocent, who before at the instant suit of king Iohn had excommunicated the barons in generall, did now excommunicate them by name, and in particular, as these. First all the citizens of London which were authors of the mischief that had happened by the rebellion of the said barons. Also Robert Fitz Walter, Saer de Quince earle of Winchester, R. his sonne, G. de Mandeville, and W. his brother the earle of Clare, and G. his sonne, H. earle of Hereford, R. de Here, G. de Mesle, J. constable of Chester, W. de Spowbrate, Will. de Albemarle, R. his sonne, J. de Beuse, R. de Cressley, J. his sonne, Ranulfe Fitz Robert, R. earle Bigot, H. his sonne, Robert de Acre, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Spallet, W. de Mountacute, W. Fitz Marshall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Laine, R. de Pontbigons, and Nicholas de Stuteville, with diuerse other.

Rafe Cog.

The armie which king Iohn had left behind him in the south parts, under the leading of the earle of Salisbury and other, laie not idle, but scowring the countries abroad (as partlie per haue heard) came to S. Edmundsburie, and hauing intelligence there, that diuerse knights, ladies and gentlewomen that were there before their coming, had fled out of that towne, and for their more safetie were withdrawne into the Isle of Elie, they followed them, besieged the Ile, and assailed it on eche side, so that although they within had fortified the passages, and appointed men of warre to remaine vpon the gard of the same in places where it was thought most needfull; yet at length they entred vpon them by force, Walter Bueke with his Barabanders being the first that set foot within the Ile towards Herbie. For by reason the waters in the fenes and ditches were hard frozen, so that men might passe by the same into the said Ile, they found means to enter, and spoiled it fro side to side, together with the cathedrall church, carrying from thence at their departure a marvellous great prey of goods and cattell.

The Ile of
Elie spoiled.
Polydor.
Bernerswell.

The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischances all at one time, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to seeke for releafe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it should any thing auaille them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despair they resolued with themselves to seeke for aid at the enemies hands, and there vpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales were sent vnto Lewes the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, neere to king Iohn by his sister Elianor.

The lordes
send to the
French kings
sonne, offering
to him the
crowne.

Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the realme of England, which he neuer loued, promised willingly that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient speed (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certeine number

of armed men, under the leading of the chateleine of saint Emers and the chateleine of Arras, Hugh French
Thacon, Gufface de Semille, Baldwin Barcell, William de Times, Giles de Selun, W. de Beaumont, Giles de Herlie, Bisset de Fertie, and others, the which taking the sea, arriued with one and forty ships in the Thames, and so came to London the twentieth of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse.

The letters
after the
pharmace
Rafe Cog.

10 Therefore the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by a day appointed, with an armie redie to passe ouer with all speed vnto their succours.

The fridaie before Candlemasse day, Saer de Mauleon, and other capitaines of the kings side, laid siege to the castell of Colchester, but hauing intelligence that the barons which laie at London made forward with all speed to come to succour that castell, on the Wednesday after Candlemasse day, being
20 the third of Februarie, they raised their siege, and went backe towards S. Edmundsburie.

Rafe Cog.

In the meane while, the R. being gone (as per haue heard) to the borders of Scotland, a brute was raised that he was dead, and secretlie buried at Reading. But this rumour had not time to worke any great alteration, for after he had dispatched his businesse in the north, as he thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the east parts about the midst of Lent himselfe in person besieged the castell of Colchester, and within a few daies after his comming thither,
30 it was deliuered vnto him by Frenchmen that kept it, with condition that they might depart with all their goods and armour, vnto their fellowes at London, and that the Englishmen there in companie with them in that castell, might likewise depart vpon reasonable reasons.

But although that couenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Englishmen were staied and committed to prison. Where vpon when the French
40 men came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treason for making such composition, whereby those Englishmen that were fellows with them in arms were secluded from so beneficiall conditions as they had made for themselves. They were in danger to haue bene put to death for their euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they should remaine in prison till the comming of Lewes, vnto whose pleasure their cause should be referred.

50 After this the castell of Wingham was toone, which belonged vnto earle Robert de Here. Then the king prepared to besiege London, but the Londoners were of such courage, that they set open their gates, and hearing of the kings approach, made readie to issue forth to giue him battell: whereof the king being aduertised, withdrew backe, but Saer de Mauleon was suddenly set vpon by the Londoners, lost manie of his men, and was sore hurt and wounded himselfe.

60 The king perceiuing that it would not please him to attempt the winning of the citie at that time, drew alongst the coast, fortified his castles, and prepared a great namie, meaning to encounter his enemy Lewes by sea: but through tempest the ships which he had got together from Portsmouth, Dunwich Lin, and other hauens, were disperfed in sunder, and manie of them cast awaie by rage and violence of the outrageous winds.

Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduersaries the Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifying to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring further
more the said pope by his authoritie to cause Lewes
to

King Iohn
once again
sendeth to
the pope.

to staie his iourne, and to succour those rebels in England which he had already excommunicated. This he needed not haue done, had he bene indued with such prudence and prouesse as is requisite to be planted in one that beareth rule, of whom it is said,

*Cui quando Deus rerum permittit habens,
Imperij decus, tunc astra secula sunt,
Tunc floret virtus, terra que Aethra reuist,
Pax viget, & vitium duris cohibetur habentis,*

whereas by meanes of defects in the contrarie, he bare to low a faile, in that he would be so solified as being a king, to suffer vsurped supreamie to be caruer of his kingdome. But let vs see the consequence.

Anno. Reg. 18.
Cardinali
Gualo.
Math. Paris.

The French
kings allega-
tion to the
pope's legat
Gualo.

Math. West.

Math. Paris.

The pope desirous to helpe king John all that he might (because he was now his bassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to dissuade king Philip from taking any enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king John was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephew Arthur the lawfull inheritor, and that now sithens as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not do without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie deprived of all his kingly honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at any time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor any other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogative roiall, to the uttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith he) if the pope do meane to mainteine this error, he shall giue a perillous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to any other potentate, whereby the Nobles should become thrall or subiect to a forren gouernour. These things were done at Lyons in the quindene after Easter.

James the
French kings
some main-
teneth his
pretended ti-
tle to the
croune of
England.

The privilege
of those that
take upon
them the
crosse.

Math. Paris.

Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take upon him this iourne into England, disprouing not onelie the right which king John had to the croune, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the quene of Castile remained onelie aloue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer hereunto, that king John had taken upon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enimies in the holie land, therefore he ought by decree of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in succour vnder protection of the apostolike see. But Lewes replied thereto, that king John had by warre first inuaded his castles and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castle and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the see of the said Lewes.

But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iourne in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his

father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to seeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his sute made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him forth into England, obtaining yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all meanes to preuent the legat, first dispatched forth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to exerce himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie moued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king John, being called by the barons of England to take the croune thereof upon him. This done, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace furnished the monke had gathered and prepared there ready against his coming.

The French
kings sonne
sendeth to
the pope.

He cometh
to Calice.

He taketh
the sea.

He landeth
in Kent.

The lords do
homage vnto
him.

Lewes therefore forthwith imbarcking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iourne, toke the sea, and arrived at a place called Stanchore in the Ile of Lenet, vpon the 21 day of Maye, and shortly after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of thre daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe swore fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had bene their true and naturall prince.

King John about the same time that Lewes thus arrived, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduancement taken, he changed his purpose, because he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whom the most part of his armie consisted, because he knew that they hated the French men no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castle of Dotter, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prouesse & valiance, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence toke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king John was retired out of Kent, passed through the countie without any encounter, and wan all the castles and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Math. Paris.

Rocheſter ca-
ſtell ſonne.

Lewes com-
meth to Lon-
don.

At his coming to Rocheſter, he laid siege to the castle there, and wan it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This done, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet done their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he toke an oath to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Howsoever he vſed them so courteously, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promisses, that they beleued him with all their hearts. But alas! *Cuius vincit opinio verum?*

The rumour of this pretended outward courtelie being once spread through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among whom

Noblemen
reaching fro
m John
to Lewes.

Simon Lag-
ton chancel-
lor to Lewes.

Cardinal
Gualo com-
meth over in-
to England.

The more
part of the
strangers de-
part from the
service of K.
John.

Castles won
by Lewes.

William de
Collingham
a gentleman
of Suffex.

Castles forti-
fied by king
John.

whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king John, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisbury, William Marshall the younger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obtaine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancelour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, intuced thereto, because Lewes had already sent his procurators to Rome before his coming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarrell.

But this auailed them not, neither toke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king John had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decree nothing till he heard further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being aduertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iourne) with all diligence hastened over into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king John, then sojourning at Gloucester, of whome he was most ioufullie receiued, for in him king John reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his coming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fauours and complices, but speciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, boke, and candle, as the manner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Cernase de Hobzug beane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had already appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they toke as void.

At the same time also, all the knights and men of warre of Flanders and other parts beyond the seas, which had serued the king, departed from him, the Scots being onlie excepted: and part of them that thus went from him resorted vnto Lewes, and entered into his wages; but the residue repaired home into their owne countries, so that Lewes being thus increased in power, departed from London, and marching towards Winchester, he won the castles of Wigat, Gilsford, and Farnham. From thence he went to Winchester, where the citie was yielded vnto him, with all the castles and holds thereabout, as Winchester, Doham, and Beaumerc.

¶ Whilest the said Lewes was thus occupied in Suffex, about the subduing of that countrie vnto his obeisance, there was a young gentleman in those parts named William de Collingham, being of a valorous mind, and loathing foreyn subiection, who would in no wise doe fealtie to Lewes, but assembling togither about the number of a thousand archers, kept himselfe within the woods and desert places, whereof that countrie is full, and so during all the time of this warre, shewed himselfe an enimie to the Frenchmen, slaying no small numbers of them, as he toke them at any aduantage. O worthy gentleman of English blood! And so

Grandia que aggreditur fortis discrimina virtus!

In like manner, all the fortresses, townes, and castles in the south parts of the realme were subdued vnto the obeisance of Lewes (the castles of Douer and Winbore onlie excepted.) Within a little while after, Will. de Mandeuille, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a great power of men of warre, did the like vnto the countries of Essex and Suffolke. In which season, king John fortified the castles of Wallingford, Colfe, Watham, Wiltshir, the Ales, and diuerse others with munition and vittells. About which time letters came also

vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had sent to the pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertised, that notwithstanding all that they could doe or say, the pope meant to excommunicate him, and did but onelie staie till he had receiued some aduertisement from his legat Gualo.

The chiefe points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators against king John were these, that by the murder committed in the person of his nephew Arthur, he had bene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the peeres of France, and that being summoned to appeare, he had obstinatelie refused so to doe, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but also the realme of England, which was now due vnto the said Lewes as they alledged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Clauis quene of Spaine. But the pope refelld all such allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & seemed to defend king Johns cause verie pithilie; but namely, in that he was under the protection of him as supreme lord of England: againe, for that he had taken vpon him the crosse (as before yee haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

About the feast of saint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose coming, the tower of London was yielded by to him by appointment, after which the French capitains and gentlemen, thinking themselves assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Aperius nihil est humilium surgit in altum)

they did manie excellent outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the countrie, without pittie or mercie. Moreover they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and toke out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedy soldiers, being wholie giuen to the spoile.

But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Essex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserablie spoiled the townes and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauiish manner. Furthermore, at his coming to Norwich, he found the castell void of defence, and so toke it, without any resistance, and put into it a garison of his soldiers. Also he sent a power to the towne of Lin, which conquered the same, and toke the citizens prisoners, causing them to paie great summes of monie for their ransoms. Moreover, Thomas de Burgh, chafeleine of the castell of Norwich, who vpon the approach of the Frenchmen to the citie, fled out in hope to escape, was taken prisoner, and put vnder safekeeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Burgh capteine of Douer castell.

Now when Lewes had thus finished his enterprises in those parts, he returned to London, and shortly therevpon created Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincoln, appointing him to go thither with all convenient speed, that he might resist the illnes made by them which did hold the castles of Nottingham and Newark, wasting and spoiling the possessions and lands belonging to the barons nere adjoining to the same castles. This Gilbert de Gaunt then, togither with Robert de Kopley, coming into that countrie, toke the citie of Lincoln, and brought all the countrie vnder subiection (the castell onlie excepted.)

After

The points
aduerse with
king John
was charged

The French
men began
to shew them-
selves in
their kind,
Iuuen. sat.

The castell of
Norwich left
for a prey to
Lewes.

Lin.

Thomas de
Burgh taken
prisoner.

Gilbert de
Gaunt made
earle of Lin-
colne.

Lincolne
towne.

Holland in
Lincolnshire
invaded.

Yorkshire
invaded to
Lewes.

After that, they invaded Holland, and spoiling that
countrie, made it also tributarie unto the French.
Likewise, Robert de Roos, Peter de Buis, and Ri-
chard Perce, subdued Poike and all Porkehire,
bringing the same under the obedience of Lewes.
The king of Scots in like sort subdued unto the said
Lewes all the countrie of Northumberland, except
the castles which Hugh de Balioll, and Philip de Hul-
cotes valiantly defended against all the force of the
enemie.

And as these wicked rebels made a prey of their
owne countrie, so the legat Guallo not behind for his
part to get something yett all should be gone, upon a
falconish or wolfish appetite flaced the church, con-
sidering that,

Η δ' ἔρη πᾶραιςεται μινὼν δέ τοι ἄρ' ὄν,
— μελέτη δέ τι ἄρ' ὄν δ' ὄν.

The legat
Guallo gather-
eth preces.
Sequestration
of benefices.

and toke priories of euerie cathedral church & house
of religion within England, that is to say, for euerie
priory fiftie shillings. Moreover, he sequestred all the
benefices of those persons and religious men, that
either aided or counselled Lewes and the barons, in
their attempts and enterprises. All which benefices
he specially converted to his owne vse, and to the vse
of his chaplains.

Lewes tra-
velleth in
vaine to take
Dover.
Rafe Cog.

In the meane time, Lewes was brought into
some god hope thorough meanes of Thomas de
Burgh, whom he toke prisoner (as before you have
heard) to persuade his brother Hubert to yeld up
the castell of Dover, the siege whereof was the next
enterpryse which he attempted. For his father king
Philip, hearing that the same was kept by a garri-
son, to the behoofe of king Iohn, wrote to his sonne,
blaming him that he left behind him so strong a for-
tresse in his enemies hands. But though Lewes in-
forced his whole endeavour to win that castell, yett all
his travell was in vaine. For the said Hubert de
Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, who were chiefe
captains within, did their best to defend it against
him and all his power, so that despairing to win it by
force, he assaied to obtaine his purpose, by threatening
to hange the captains brother before his face, if he
would not yeld the sooner. But when that would not
serue, he sought to win him by large offers of gold
and silver. Howbeit, such was the singular constan-
cie of Hubert, that he would not give anie eare unto
those his flatering motions. When Lewes in a great
furie menaced that he would not once depart from
thence, till he had won the castell, and put all them
within to death, and began to assaile it with more
force than before he had done.

Yeremouth,
Dunwich, &
Gipswich
ransomed.

The barons also, which at this season lay at Lon-
don, making a rode to Cambridge, toke the towne,
and after went forth into Northfolke and Suffolke
(as it were to gather by such scraps as the French
had left) spoiling those countries verie pitifullie, chur-
ches and all. They constrained the townes of Yer-
mouth, Dunwich & Gipswich, to pay to them great
summes of monie by waie of ransoming. And at
length returning by Colchester, they used like prac-
tises there. From thence they returned to London,
and shortly after, under the conduct of the earle of
Bevers (upon a sudden) going to Windsoze, they
laid a strong siege about that castell; in the which
was capitaine Ingelard de Athie, with fiftie valiant
knights, & other men of war of their suit, the which
mantullie stood at defense.

Alexander k.
of Scots doth
homage to R.
Lewes.

In the month of August, Alexander king of
Scotland came through the countrie unto the siege
of Dover, and there did homage unto Lewes, in
right of his tenure holden of the kings of England,
and then returned home, but in his coming by, as
he came by castell Bernard in the countrie of War-
wickshire (which appertained unto Hugh de Ba-

lioll) he lost his brother in law the lord Cusface de
Belesie, who was stricken in the forehead with a quar-
rell, as he rode in companie of the king nere unto
the same castell, to view if it were possible upon a-
nie sbe to win it by assault.

This Cusface
had married
the sister of R.
Alexander.

About the same time, or rather in the yeare last
past as some hold, it fortuneth that the vicount of
Melune a French man, fell sicke at London, and
perceiving that death was at hand, he called unto
him certeine of the English barons, which remained
in the cite, upon safegard thereof, and to them made
this protestation: I lament (saith he) your destruc-
tion and desolation at hand, because ye are ignorant
of the perils hanging over your heads. For this un-
derstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and
barons of France, have secretlie swozne (if it shall
fortune him to conquere this realme of England,
& to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and
confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now
do serue under him, and persecute their owne king)
as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispos-
se all their linage of such inheritances as they
now hold in England. And because (saith he) you shall
not have doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point
of death, do now asseure unto you, and take it on the
perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that
haue swozne to performe this thing: wherefore I ad-
vise you to provide for your owne safeties, and your
realmes which you now destroye, and keepe this thing
secret which I have uttered unto you. After this
speech was uttered he straightwaies died.

Matth. Paris.

The vicount
of Melune
discovereth
the purpose
of Lewes.

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When these words of the lord of Melune were o-
pened unto the barons, they were, and not without
cause, in great doubt of themselves, for they saw
how Lewes had already placed and set Frenchmen
in most of such castles and townes as he had gotten,
the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And a-
gainst it grieved them much to understand, how be-
sides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sun-
day and holie daie openly accursed in euerie church,
so that manie of them inwardly relented, and could
haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn,
if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue
bene received.

The vicount
of Melune
dieth.

The English
nobilitie be-
gunneth to
miske of
the match
which they
had made
with Lewes.

In this yeare, about the 17 of Julie, pope Inno-
cent died, at whose death (being knowen in England)
all they that were enemies to king Iohn greatly re-
joiced, for they were in great hope that his succe-
ssor would haue rather inclined to their part, than
to the kings. But it fell out otherwise, for Honorius
the third that succeeded the same foresaid Innocent,
maintained the same cause in defense of king Iohn,
as earnestlie or rather more than his predecessour
had done, sending with all speed his bulls over into
England to confirme Guallo in his former authoritie
of legat, commanding him with all endeavour to pro-
ceed in his businesse, in maintaining the king a-
gainst Lewes, and the disolall English nobilitie
that aided the said Lewes. But now to our purpose,

The death
of pope In-
nocent.

Honorius the
third chosen
pope.

King Iohn being all this while at Winchester, and
having knowledge how his aduersaries were daily
occupied in most hard enterprises, as in besieging
sundry strong and innincible places, sent forth his
commissioners to assemble men of warre, and to al-
lure unto his service all such, as in hope of prey,
were minded to follow his standard, of the which
there resorted to him no small number. So that ha-
ving gotten together a competent armie for his pur-
pose, he brake forth of Winchester, as it had bene an
hideous tempest of weather, beating downe all
things that stood in his waie, sending forth his peo-
ple on eche side to wast the countreies, to burne by the
townes and villages, to spoile the churches & church-
men. With which successe still increasing his furie,
he

The hamocks
which king
Iohn made in
the possessions
of his aduer-
saries.

Northfolke
and Suffolke.

The siege
raised from
windsoz.

Gilbert de
Gaunt slayd
from the face
of king Iohn.

Lin.
The abbeyes
of Peter-
burgh & Crow-
land spoiled.
Bernewell.

The losse of
the kings
carriages.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.

King Iohn
fallerh sick
of an ague.
Matth. Paris.

Laforde,
Matth. West.
Matth. Paris.

King Iohn
departed this
life.

he turned his wile violence into Cambridgehire, where he did exceeding great hurt. Then entring into the countries of Northfolke and Suffolke, he committed the like rage, wast, and destruction, in the lands and possessions that belonged unto the earle of Arundell, to Roger Bigot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Cressley.

The barons in the meane time that lay at siege before the castle of Windsoze, hearing of that banocke which king Iohn had made in the east parts of the realme, secretly in the night season raised their camps, and leaving their tents behind them, with all speed made towards Cambridge. But king Iohn by faithfull espials, hauing aduertisement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, withdrew him and got to Stamford, yer they might reach to Cambridge, so that missing their purpose, after they had taken some spoiles abroad in the countrie, they returned to London. King Iohn from Stamford, marched toward Lincoln, because he heard that the castell there was besieged.

But those that had besieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that king Iohn was comming towards them, durst not abide him, but fled, and so escaped. The king then turned his iourne towards the marches of Wales, and there did much hurt to those places that belonged to his aduersaries. After this also, and with a verie puissant armie he went eithers eastwards, and passing through the countries, came againe into the counties of Northfolke and Suffolke, wasting and afflicting all that came in his waie, and at length comming to Lincolne, was there iustlicie receiued. Then keeping forth northwards, he spoiled the townes and abbeyes of Peterburgh and Crowland, where a number of the kings enemies were withdrowne into the church, but Sauerie de Hauleon, being sent forth to seeke them, found them in the church the morrow after. So he seized, and drew them out by force, spoiled the house, and getting a great bootie and prey of cattell and other riches, he with his people conueied the same abroad at his departing, after he had ransacked euery corner of the church, and other the houses and places belonging to that abbey.

Thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hastied forward till he came to Wellesstreme sands, where passing the wathes he lost a great part of his armie, with horses and carriages, so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile which had bene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeyes, and other religious houses, should perith, and be lost by such means together with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some haue written, he took such greife for the losse sustained at this passage, that immediately thereupon he fell into an ague, the force and heat wherof, together with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new ster, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter presently made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincoln, but the disease still so ragged and grew vpon him, that he was informed to staie one night at the castell of Laforde, and on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be caried vnto Netwarke, where in the castell through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age sixtie and one, and after he had reigned seauenteene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

¶ There be which haue written, that after he had lost

his armie, he came to the abbeye of Swinhead in Lincolnshire, and there understanding the cheapnesse and plentie of corne, thebed himselfe greatly displeased therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English people, that had so traitorously revolted from him vnto his aduersarie Lewis, wished all miserie to light vpon them, and thereupon said in his anger, that he would cause all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manerdaies should passe. Whereupon a monke that heard him speake such words, being moued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gave the king poison in a cup of ale, wherof he first took the draught, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time.

There are that write, how one of his some seruants did conspire with a conuert of that abbeye, and that they prepared a dish of peares, which they poisoned, three of the whole number excepted, which dish the said conuert presented vnto him. And when the king suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such precious stones as he had about him, cast forth a certaine sweate, as it were betwixt the poison, he compelled the said conuert to fast and eat some of them, who knowing the three peares which were not poisoned, took and eat those three, which when the king had sene, he could no longer abstaine, but fell to, and eating greedilie of the rest, died the same night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of such as bare no god will to the, found shift to escape, and conueied himselfe atwaie from danger of receiuing due punishment for so wicked a deed.

Beside these reports which yee haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of surfeiting in the night, as Rafe Niger; some, of a blowe stricken, as one faith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houeden, And Rafe Coghehall faith, that comming to Lincolne, (where he appointed Sauerie de Hauleon to be captain), and to take order for the fortifying of that towne, he took a surfeit there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laske, and after his laske had left him, at his comming to Laforde in Lindsey, he was let blood: furthermore to increase his other griefes and sorowes for the losse of his carriage, horses and men, in passing ouer the wathes, which troubled him sore; there came vnto him messengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam capitains of Dover castell, aduertising him, that they were not able to resist the forceable assaults and engins of the enemies, if speedie succour came not to them in due time. Whereat his greife of mind being doubled, so as he might seeme euen oppressed with sorow, the same increased his disease so vehementlie, that within a small time it made an end of his life (as before yee haue heard.)

The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came together, and marching forth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompously buried in the cathedrall church before the high altar, not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but because it was thought to be a place of most surtie for the lords and other of his friends there to assemble, and to take order in their businesse now after his deccasse. And because he was somewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croton abbey, a house of monks of the order called *Premostratenses*, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which house was his physician.

¶ How soeuer or where soeuer or when soeuer he died, it is not a matter of such moment that it should impeach

Caxton.

Gisburn & alij

The variable
reports of
fozters, con-
cerning the
death of king
Iohn.

Bernewell.

impair the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a surfeit, or by other means ordained for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And suerlie, he might be thought to haue procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie anguishes & vexations, which nippt his hart: & gnawed his very bowels with manie a fore symptome or passion: all which he might haue withstood if fortune had bene so fauourable, that the totaltie of his subjects had remained towards him inuolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shamefull apostasie withstood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himselfe had not sought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in veritie, to the preservation of the state and the securitie of their soueraigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, that happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperfall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accursed papasie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

Here therefore we see the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sense thought vnpossible) is atchieued, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolued. From diuision and mutinies do issue (as out of the Troiane host) ruines of roialties, and decays of communalities. The sinewes of a realme is supposed of some to be substance and wealth; of other some policie and power; of other some conuenient defenses both by water and land: but a most excellent description of a well fortified countrie is that of Plautus, set downe in most pithie words and graue sentences; no lesse worthy to be written than read and considered. The description is this.

Plaut. in Pers.

*Si incola bene sent morati pulchre munus regni arbitror:
Perfidia & peculatus ex urbe & auaritia seculent,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, sexta obrestatio,
Septimum peritrium, octaua indulgentia,
Non a iniuria, decima quod pessimum aggressu scelus:
Et ac nisi inde aberit, ceu plex murus reb. secundis parū est.*

And therefore no maruell though both courtiers and commoners fell from king Iohn their naturall prince, and took part with the enimie; not onelie to the disgrace of their soueraigne, but euen to his overthrow, and the depopulation of the whole land; sith these maine bulwarks and rampiers were wanting; and the contrarie in most ranke sort and detestable manner extended their virulent forces.

But we will surceasse to aggravate this matter, sith the same is sufficientlie bigged in the verie course of the historie concerning his acts and deeds, continued to the verie day of his death, and the verie time of his burfall, whereof I saie thus much, that whether it was his will to be interred, as is aforesaid, or whether his corpe being at the disposing of the survivors, to elect the place as a conuenient house for a princes bones, I leave it as doubtful, and therefore vnderdetermined, esteeming the lesse to labour therein, because the truth can hardlie by certeinie be winnowed out, but by coniecturall supposals aimed and shot at. Notwithstanding, in my poore iudgement it is verie likelie first in respect of the time which was superstitious and poppish; secondlie by reason of the

custome of funerall rites then commonlie vsed; that he was buried in the said place for order sake, & his bodie (if I may presume so farre by warrant of mine author) wrapped in a monks cowle and so laid in his graue or tome. For the manner was at that time, in such sort to burie their Nobles and great men, who were induced by the imaginations of monks and fond families of freres to beleue, that the said cowle was an amulet or defensitiue to their soules from hell and hellish hags, howe or in what soener sort they died; either in sorrow and repentance for sinne, or in blasphemie, outrage, impatiencie, or desperation.

This forme of funeralls was frequented in Wales, hauing bene first vsed and broched in England, from whence (if we may giue credit to our late Chronographers) as from a poisoned spring it spred it selfe into Wales. For the first abbeie or frierie that is read to haue bene erected there, since the dissolution of the noble house of Bangor, which sauoured not of Romish dregs, was the Twy Chwyn, which was builded in the yeare 1146. Afterwards these vermine swarmed like bees, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lowlie religion, tempered with that not howe manie millions of abominations; hauing vtterlie forgotten the lesson which Ambrosius Telepinus had taught them [who writ in the yeare 540, when the right Christian faith which Ioseph of Arimathea taught the Isle of Aualon] reigned in this land, before the proud and bloodthirstie monke Augustine infected it with the poison of Romish errors in a certeine ode, a part whereof are these few verses insuing,

Humf. Llloyd.
David Powell.

Gwae'r offeriad byd,
Nys angreiffia gwyd,
Acny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail,
Acefyn vigail,
Acnys areilia:
Gwae ny theidw ey dheuaid,
Rhae bleidhie Rhiefeniaid,
Aiffon grewppa.

*Wo be to that preest yborne,
That will not cleanelie weed his corne,
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that shepheard (I saie)
That will not watch his fold alwaie,
As to his office dooth belong:
Wo be to him that dooth not keepe,
From rauening Romish wolues his sheepe,
With staffe and weapon strong.*

Thus in English almost
word for
word.

This (as not impertinent to the purpose) I haue recorded, partlie to shew the palpable blindness of that age wherein king Iohn liued, as also the religion which they reposed in a rotten rag, esteeming it as a Scala coeli or ladder to life; but speciallie inferred to this end, that we may fetch some light from this cleere candle (though the same seeme to be dusky & dim) whereby we may be lead to conceiue in reason and common sense, that the interment of the king was according to the custome then in vse and request, and therefore by all likelihoods he was buried as the peeres and states of the land were wont to be in those daies, after the maner aboue mentioned.

But to let this passe as a cold discourse of a coffin of bones covered with clods of clate; you shall vnderstand that he left behind him posteritie of both sexes. For he had issue by his wife queene Isabella two sonnes, Henrie who succeeded him in the kingdom, and Richard; three daughters, Joane married to Alexander king of Scotland, Isabella coupled in matrimonie with the emperour Frederike the second,

King Iohn's
children.

cond. and Elianor whome William earle of Gloucester had to wife. He had also another daughter (as some haue left in writing) called Elianor.

He was comelie of stature, but of lowke and countenance displeasing and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report uttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Howbeit some giue this witnesse of him (as the author of the booke of Bernewell abbete and other) that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Marius the noble Romane, tasting of fortune both waies: bountifull and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their baslie treasons practised towards him) a great oppressour, so that he trusted more to forreiners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them utterlie forsaken.

¶ Heretofore whosoever shall consider the course of the historie written of this prince, he shall find, that he hath bene little beholden to the writers of that time in which he liued: for scarcelie can they asoide him a good word, except when the trueth inforceth them to come out with it as it were against their willes. The occasion whereof (as some thinke) was, for that he was no great friend to the clergie. And yet vndoubtedly his deede shew he had a zeale to religion, as it was then accounted: for he founded the abbete of Beaulieu in the new forest, as it were in recompense of certeine parish churches, which to enlarge the same forest he caused to be thowne downe and ruined.

He builded the monasterie of Farendon, and the abbete of Hales in Shropshire; he repaired Godstow where his fathers concubine Rosamund late interred; he was no small benefactor to the minster of Litchfield in Staffordshire; to the abbete of Crokesden in the same shire, and to the chapell at Thetford in Norfolk. So that (to say what I thinke) he was not so void of deuotion towards the church, as diuers of his enemies haue reported, who of mere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices; but are plentifull in setting forth the same to the uttermost, and interpret all his doings and sayings to the worst, as may appeare to those that aduisedlie read the works of them that write the order of his life, which may seeme rather an inuictue than a true historie: neuerthelesse, sith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of writers, we must content our selues with this briefe andlie description of his time. Certeinlie it should seeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull subiects to haue assisted him in reuenging such wrongs as were done and offered by the French king and others.

Howeuer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogative of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to

mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constrained to make all the shift he could deuise to reuer monie, and because he pinched their purses, they conceived no small hatred against him, which when he perceived, and wanted peradventure discretion to passe it ouer, he discoursed now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bide his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby misdeed now and then to compass that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.

It is written, that he meant to haue become feudarie (for maintenance sake against his owne dissolall subiects, and other his adueraries) vnto Piramunelme the great king of the Saracens: but for the truth of this report I haue little to saie, and therefore I leaue the credit thereof to the authors. It is reported likewise, that in time when the realme stood interdicted, as he was abroad to hunt one day, it chanced that there was a great stag or hart killed, which when he came to be broken vp, proued to be verie fat and thicke of flesh. Wherewith he was so pleased, that he was led, and yet in all his daies he neuer heard masse. To conclude, it may seeme, that in some respects he was not greatlie superstitious, and yet not void of a religious zeale towards the maintenance of the cleargie, as by his bountifull liberallitie bestowed in building of abbetes and churches (as before we haue hard) it may partlie appeare.

In his daies manie learned men liued, as Gregorie Winefaute, Simon Fraxinus *alias* Ali, Adamus Doensis, Gualter de Constantijs first bishop of Lincoln and after archbishop of Rouen, John de Erford, Colman surnamed Sapient, Richard Canonius, William Peregrine, Alane Lekeburie, Simon Thurnae, who being an excellent philosopher but standing too much in his owne conceit, vpon a sudden did so forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the most ignorant of all other, a punishment (as was thought) appointed him of God, for such blasphemies as he had wickedlie uttered, both against Moses and Christ. Gernastus Dozobernenis, John Hantwill, Rigell Wozeke, Gilbert de Holland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Warms a monke of Peterburgh, Roger Houeden, Hubert Walter, first bishop of Salisbury and after archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Theologus, of whom we haue heard before, Gernastus Liberienensis, Syluester Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote manie treatises, Ioseph Denontus, Walter Spas, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauricinus Porzanius, Walter Porzanius, John de Fozdeham, William Leicester, Joceline Wakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candibus that wrote an historie intituled *Historia Petreburchensis*, John de saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray an historiographer and bishop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Riger, &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britannia centuria tertia*.

Math. Paris.
Polydor.
& alij.

Thus farre king Iohn.



Henric



Henrie the third, the eldest sonne of king Iohn.



Anno Reg. 1.

1216

William Mar-
shall earle of
Penbrooke.

Henrie, the third of that name, the eldest sonne of Iohn, a child of the age of nine yerres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yere of our Lord 1216, in the seventh yere of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yere of the reigne of Philip 10 the second king of France.

Immediatlie after the death of his father king Iohn, William Marshall earle of Penbrooke, general of his fathers armie, brought this yong prince with his brother and sisters into Glocester, and there called a counsell of all such lordes as had taken part with king Iohn. Anon after it was once openlie knowne, that the sonnes and daughters of the late deceased prince were brought into a place of safetie, a great number of the lordes and chiefe barons of the realme hasted thither, I meane not onelie such as had holden with king Iohn, but also diuerse other, which vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes in purpose to aid yong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteine.

Math. Paris.

Whither also came Wallo or Guillo the popes legat (an earnest defender of the kings cause) with Peter bishop of Winchester, & Jocelin bishop of Bath: also Ranulph earle of Chester, William Ferrers earle of Derby, Iohn Marshall, and Philip de Albemarle, with diuerse other lordes and peeres of the realme, and a great number of abbats and priors, who by and by fell to counsell together what waite should be best to take, for the good order of things now in so doubtfull and perillous a time as this. The peeres of the realme being thus assembled, William earle of Penbrooke, bringing the yong king into their presence, and setting him before them, spake these words following.

The earle of Penbrooks short and

*sweet oration as it is borrowed out
of maister Fox.*

Behold right honourable and wel-beloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yong prince for his euill demeanour, and worchile, yet this yong child to whome here you see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his fathers doings. Wherefore, in so much as euerie man is charged onelie with the burden of his owne works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the scripture

teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as y^e see. And now, for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our souereigne king, and successour in this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king & gouernour, let vs remouue from vs this Lewes the French kings sonne, and suppress his people, which are a confusion and shame to our nation: and the yoke of their seruitude let vs cast from off our shoulders.

When the barons had heard this earles words, after some silence and conference had, they allotted of his sayings, and immediatlie with one consent, proclaimed the yong gentleman king of England, whome the bishops of Winchester and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due solemnities at Glocester, vpon the day of the feast of the apostles Simon & Jude, in presence of the legat. Being thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in law, the foresaid William Marshall earle of Penbrooke, who to win the good will of the people towards the yong king, sent forth messengers with letters into all parts of the realme, to signifye the newes of the kings coronation, with an offer also of pardon to all such of the barons side as would turne to his part: and likewise of great rewards to those, which hauing hitherto continued faithful, would so remaine vntill this trouble should be ouerpast. By this means it came to passe, that his frends greatlie reioiced at these newes, and manie of those which till that time had aided the Frenchmen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and reward turned to king Henrie.

It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession which the vicount of P^elune made at the houre of his death, was the principall. The order whereof, in the later end of the life of king Iohn, y^e haue heard. Cruellie how little god will in wardlie Lewes and his Frenchmen bare towards the English nation, it appeared sundrie waies. And first of all, in that they had them in a manner in no regard or estimation at all, but rather sought by all means to spoile and keepe them vnder, not suffering them to beare anie rule, nor putting them in trust with the custodie of such places as they had brought them in possession of. Secondlie, they called them not to counsell, so often as at the first they vsed to doo, neither did they proceed by their directions in their business, as before they were accus-
med.

* See pag.
193. col. 2.

S. J.

The pride of
the French-
men procu-
red them
hated.

med. Thredie, in all manner of their conuersation, neither Lewes nor his Frenchmen vsed them so familiarly, as at their first coming; but as their manner is, shewing more lesse countenances toward them, they greatly increased the indignation of the English lords against them, who might euill abide to be so over-ruled.

To conclude, where great promises were made at their entering into the land, they were slowe enough in performing the same, so as the expectation of the English barons was quite made void: for they perceived daily that they were despised & scoffed at for their disloyalty shewed to their owne naturall prince, hearing now and then mys and talents openly by the Frenchmen, that as they had shewed themselves false and vntrusty to their owne lawfull king, so they would not continue any long time true vnto a stranger. Thus all these things laid together, gaue occasion to the English barons to remember themselves, and to take iust occasion to revolt vnto king Henrie, as before was haue mentioned. But now to the purpose of the historie.

We haue heard how Lewes had spent long time in vaine about the besieging of the castell of Douer, for although he plagued them within verie soze, yet Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Sotigam bare themselves so manfully, and therewith so politicklie, that their aduersaries could not come to vnderstand their distresse & danger within the castell, in so much that despairing to win it in any short time, such before the death of king John was knowne (as some write) Lewes was contented to grant a truce to them that kept this castell, till the feast of Easter next ensuing: but as it appeareth by other this truce was not concluded till after the death of king John was signified to Lewes, who greatly reioicing thereat, supposed now within a short time, to bring the whole realme vnder his subiection: and therefore raising his siege from Douer, in hope to compass enterprises of greater consequence, he came backe vnto the citie of London.

When they within the castell of Douer saw the siege removed, they came forth, and burnt such houses and buildings as the Frenchmen had raised before the same castell, and coming abroad into the countie, got together such buttels and other necessarie provision, as might serue for the furnishing of their fortresse for a long season. After that Lewes was returned vnto London, he remained not long there, but with a great armie marched forth vnto Hertford, where he besieged the castell, which was in the keeping of Walter de Godardule seruant in household vnto Foulke de Barent, who defended the place from the feast of St. Martine, vntill the feast of St. Nicholas, and then deliuered it by composition, that he and his people might depart with all their goods, horse and armour. From thence Lewes went vnto Berkehamsted, and besieged the castell, which was valiantly defended by a Duch capteine named Maheron, who with his people behaued himselfe so manfully, that a great number of Frenchmen and other of them without, were left dead in the ditches. At an iller also made vpon the side, towards the north where the barons lay, they spoiled the carriage and trusse of the said barons, and took therewithall the standard of William Barons. Finally about the 20 day of December, they yet yielded the place vnto Lewes, because they were no longer able to keepe it their liues, goods, horse and armour saved.

Muth Paris.

Lewes having furnished this castell with a sufficient garrison, returned backe towards London, and coming to St. Albons, constrained the abbat to giue vnto him foure score marks of silver, for a fine, in recognisance of doing his homage till the feast

of the purification of our lady next ensuing. Which pope abbat was made to believe, that he ought to take this dealing to be an act of great courtesie, the earle of Winchester being an earnest meane for him that he might so easilie escape. About the same time was a generall truce taken betwixt the king and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the 20 day after Christmasse, for the obtaining of which truce (as some write) the castell of Berkehamsted was surrendered vnto the same Lewes, as before ye haue heard.

After Christmasse, and whilst the truce yet durd, Lewes and the barons assembled at the council which they held at Cambridge, & the lords that took part with the king met likewise at Oxford, and much talke there was, and great traueil imploied to haue concluded some agreement by composition betwixt the parties, but it would not be, nor yet any longer truce (which was also sought for) could be granted: whereupon Lewes besieged the castell of Wybitham, the which together with the castells of Forwich, Colchester, and Oxford, were surrendered vnto him, to haue a truce granted vntill a moneth after Easter next ensuing. And so by this meanes all the east part of the realme came vnto the possession of Lewes. For the Isle of Elie was won by his people a litle before the last truce, whilst he himselfe lay in siege at Berkehamsted, except one fortresse belonging to the same Isle, into the which the souldiers that serued there vnder the king were withdrawen. But yet although Lewes might seeme thus partlie to preuaile, in hauing these castells deliuered into his hands, yet being aduertised that daily there revolted diuerse of the barons of England vnto king Henrie, which before had taken part with him: he stood in great doubt and feare of the rest, and therefore furnished all those castells which he had wonne with conuenient garrisons, and namelie the castell of Hertford, and after went to London, there to vnderstand what further trust he might put in the rest of the English lords and barons: for as diuerse had already forsaken him, as it is said, so the residue were doubtfull what they were best to doe.

For first they considered, that the renouncing of their promised faith vnto Lewes, whome they had sworn to mainteine as king of England, should be a great reproch vnto them: and againe they well saw that to continue in their obedience towards him, should bring the realme in great danger, sith it would be hard for any louing agreement to continue betwixt the French & Englishmen, their natures being so contrarie. Thredie, they saw somewhat in feare of the popes curse, pronounced by his legat, both against Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other side, to revolt vnto king Henrie, though the loue which they did beare to their countie, and the great forwardnesse which they saw in him greatly maned them; yet sith by reason of his young yeares, he was not able either to followe the wars himselfe, or to take counsell what was to be done in publicke gouernement, they iudged it a verie dangerous case. For whereas in wars nothing can be more expectant than to haue one head, by whose appointment all things may be gouerned: so nothing can be more hurtfull than to haue manie rulers, by whose authoritie things shall passe and be ordered.

Wherefore these considerations staied and kept one part of the English lords still in obedience to Lewes, namelie, so: that diuerse of the considerats thought that it did not with their honours so to forsake him, till they might haue some more honorable colour to revolt from their promises: so that the matter should be taken up by some indifferent agreement to be concluded out of hand betwixt them. Hen-

by on

Bernewe,
A truce.

7 2 1 8

Polydot.

The people
the in
the barons
stand.

Muth Paris.

Hertford ca-
stell deliuered
to Lewes.

The castell of
Berkeham-
sted surren-
dered.

S. Albons
distroyed.

upon they resorted in like maner vnto London, and there with Lewes toke counsell what was to be done with their businesse touching the whole state of their cause. ¶ Here ye shall note, that before the concluding of this last truce, Fouks de Bzent the capteine of the castell of Bedford gat together a number of souldiers out of the garrisons of the castells of Wyford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windsor, and comming with them to S. Albons the 22 of February, he spoiled the towne & abbey, in like maner as he had done all the townes and villages by the way as he passed through the countrie, from Bedford vnto S. Albons.

The messengers which Lewes had remaining in the court of Rome, signified vnto him about the same time, that except he departed out of England, the sentence of excommunication, which Gualo or Walo the legat had pronounced against him, should be confirmed by the pope on Maundie thursdaie next ensuing. Whereupon Lewes was the more inclined to yield to the truce before mentioned, that he might in the meane time go ouer into France to his father, who had most earnestlie written and sent in commandement to him, that in any wise he should returne home to talke with him, and so about midlent after the truce was concluded, he prepared himselfe, and sailed ouer into France, and as Polydor saith (but with what authoritie I know not) the king of Scots went also with him.

Marth. Paris.
Poble men
reuoilting fro
Lewes.

After his departure ouer, William earle of Salisbury, William earle of Arundell, William earle Warren, and diuerse other reuolted to king Henrie. Moreover, William Marthall earle of Penbroke so trauelled with his son William Marthall the younger, that he likewise came to take part with the young king: whereby the side of Lewes and his Frenchmen was sore weakened, and their harts no lesse appalled for the sequels of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into England before the truce was expired. The lords that held on the kings part in the absence of Lewes, were not forgetfull to vse opportunitie of time: for beside that they had procured no small number of those that before time held with Lewes to reuolt from him to the kings side, they at one selfe time besieged diuerse castells, and recovered them out of their aduersaries hands, as Marleborough, Farnham, Winchester, Cicester, and certeine other, which they ouerthrew and rased, because they should not be taken and kept againe by the enimie. For ye must vnderstand, that the going ouer of Lewes now at that time, when it stood him most by on to haue bene present here in that troublesome season (which he ought to haue regarded with singular circumspection, and warlike to haue watched, for

Primum est, ubi occasio adiuuet, diffidit)

brought no small hinderance to the whole state of all his businesse, in so much that he was neuer so highlie regarded afterwards among the Englishmen as before.

Marth. Paris.
The earle of
Chester.

The castell of
Dunstable
besieged.
Henrie Mar-
thall.

Saer de
Quince
earle of win-
chester.

About the same time Ranulfe earle of Chester, William earle of Albermarle, William earle Ferrers, Robert de Weipount, Brian de Lisle, William de Cantlow, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Fouks de Bzent, & others assembled their powers, and comming to Dunstable beside Loughborough in Leicestershire, besieged the castell there: the capteine thereof was one Henrie de Warbroke. This Henrie defended the place right manfully, and doubting to be in distress by long siege, sent with all speed to the earle of Winchester, Saer de Quince as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to send some succour to remoue the siege. Whereupon the earle of Winchester, to whom that castell belonged, required Lewes that some conue-

nient powder might be sent, whereby the siege might be remoued. Wherefore upon counsell taken with deliberate aduise, it was ordeined that an armie should be sent thither with all speed, not onlie to raise the siege, but also to subdue that countrie vnto the obedience of Lewes. Wherewith there went out of London 600 knights, and with them about twentie thousand men in armour, grædie (as it seemed) to haue the spoile of other mens goods.

Their chiefe capteins were these: Saer de Quince earle of Winchester, Robert Fitzwater, and others, and they did set forward upon the last of Aprill, which was the mondaie before the Ascension daie, passing through S. Albons, where they lodged the first night, and so to Dunstable, and by the waie such souldiers as were bled to spoile and pillage, pladed their parts, not sparing to rob and ranfacke as well religious houses as other. From Dunstable keeping on their iournie northwards, at length they came to Mountfozell, but the earle of Chester and the other lords, aduertised of their approach, were retired before to Potingham, determining there to abide, till they might vnderstand what waie the enimies would take.

The earle of
Chester rais-
eth his siege.

In the meane time the earle of Winchester and the other barons, finding their enimies departed and the siege raised, determined forthwith to go vnto Lincolne, where Gilbert de Gaunt and other had kept siege a long time before the castell, but yet in vaine. For there was a noble ladie within that castell named Nichola, who demeaned hir selfe so valiantlie in resisting all assaults and enterprises, which the enimies that besieged hir could attempt by anie meanes against hir, that they rather lost than wan honour and estimation at hir hands bailie. Wherefore Robert Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armie, to the end they might get that castell out of hir and other their enimies hands, toke their iournie forward, and passing through the vale of Beaumere, all things there that came to sight fell into the hands of the grædie souldiers. For the French souldiers, which were as it had bene the scum & refuse of their countrie, least nothing vntouched that they might lay hands vpon, not sparing church or churchyard, nor halloved place more than common or prophane. For they were so poore and ragged, that they had scarce anie tatters to couer their priuie parts withall. Finally comming vnto Lincolne, they assaulted the castell with all maner of engins, and assailed by all waies possible whereby they hoped to aduance their purpose.

Bernewell.

The poore
estate of the
French souldiers.

Thus whiles the barons with the Frenchmen were much busied about the siege of Lincolne castell, William Marthall earle of Penbroke, by the aduise of the legat Gualo or Walo, and of Peter bishop of Winchester, and other of the counsell with king Henrie, caused summons to be given to all capteins and chateleins on the kings part, to be at Dewarke vpon mondaie in Whitsuneweke, with such powder as they might make, from thence to march to Lincolne, there to raise the siege, and deliuer the countrie from imminent oppression. Whereupon there assembled at the daie and place prefixed, a great puissance of people desirous to fight for the defense of their countrie against the Frenchmen and other aduersaries, rebels to the pope, and excommunicated persons, so that when the muster was taken, there was numbered 400 knights, 250 crossebowes, besides demilances and horsemen in great numbers, which for need might haue supplid and serued in stead of men of armes, being verie well furnished for the purpose, and armed at all points.

Summons
to raise an ar-
mie for the
king.

The chiefe capteins of this companie were these: William Marthall earle of Penbroke, and his son

The capteins
of the kings
armie.

S. H.

William

William Marshall the younger, Peter bishop of Winchester, a man right skillfull in feats of warre, Ranulph earle of Chester, William earle of Salisbury, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, besides barons, as William de Albemarle late released out of captiuitie, John Marshall, William de Cantlow, and William his sonne, Foukes de Bzent, Thomas Bassett, Robert de Clerpount, Brian de Lisse, Geoffrey de Lucie, Philip de Albemarle, with manie other chateleins and constables of sundrie castles.

The legat accursed Lewes & his complices.

The legat being there present also on the fridaie in the Whitfunwake aforesaid, reuested in a white albe, accompanied with the cleargie, accursed in solemne wise Lewes the French kings sonne, with all his saviours and complices, & especiallie those which held siege before the castell of Lincolne, with all the citie: and the more to encourage all those that should passe forth in this armie, to raise the siege, he granted to them free remission of all their sins, whereof they were trulle confessed, and by authoritie which he had from almightie God, and the apostolike see, he promised to them the guerdon of euerlasting saluation. Here with when the armie had receiued absolution, and the legats blessing, euerie man marched forth in his order and place appointed, and coming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, they lodged there all night.

In the morning they passed forth towards Lincolne, under the conduct of the said earle of Pembroke as generall of the whole armie, who being come thither, compassed about the citie with his armie. And to cause the enimie the sooner to leaue the siege of the castell, he assaulted the gates of the citie, insuring his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceiuing all the danger to be about the gates, withdrew a little from the assailing of the castell, and resorting to the walles of the citie, did their best with shooting and casting of stones and other things, to diuine their aduersaries from the gates.

Foukes de Bzent.

Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Foukes de Bzent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backside, and a great number of souldiers with him, and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce battell with the citizens within the citie: which when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noise and cry raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, doing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Foukes de Bzent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, under the leading of Hauerie de Spauleon, a Poitouin (of whom you haue heard in the life of king John) brake open the gates and entered the citie. When the fight was soze increased and maintained for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English lords that were with them, being soze laid at on ech side, began to retire towards the gates, and finalie to turne their backs and so fled awaie: but being beset round about with the kings horsemen, they were straightwaies either slaine or taken for the most part of them.

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

The earle of Berchaine.

Poble me taken prisoners.

Gilbert de Gaunt by the gift of Lewes.

Amongst other that were there slaine, the earle of Berch a Frenchman was one, who being gotten into a churchyard manfullie defended himselfe till his horse was killed under him, and laddie himselfe was also beaten downe and slaine. There were taken of Englishmen, Saer de Quincie erle of Winchester, and Humphrey de Bohun earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne by the gift of Lewes, Richard de Montichet, William de Spowbaie, William de Beauchampe, William de Span-

duit, Oliuer de Harecourt, Roger de Cressie, William de Coleuill, William de Ros, William de Kopeley, Ralfe Chantuit, and diuerse other: so that of knights there were taken to the number of foure hundred, beside such multitude of demilances, and other horsemen and footmen, as could not well be numbered. Moreover, all the prouision, trulle, and baggage laden in carts, clothfacks, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the citie was spoiled, rifled and sacked.

This enterpryse and discomfiture at Lincolne, which was in derision called Lewes his faire, chanced the 14 kalends of June, being saturday in the Whitfunwake. Manie honest matrons of the towne were poisoned, as they were got into boates to auoid the danger of their persons, wanting skill how to guide the same boates. The earle of Penbroke the same daie before he receiued any repast, rode backe in post to the king, whom he had left at Stow, and there declared the sofull netwes of his god sped, in vanquishing of the enimies. On the next morrow, netwes came to the king, that they which had kept the castell of Mountsozell were fled out of the same, and had left it void. Whereupon immediatlie he sent in commandement vnto the shiriffe of Spotinghamshire, that going thither in his owne person, he should ruinat the said castell, & make it plaine with the ground.

Lewes his faire.

The R. com mandeth the shiriff of Spowbaie to be executed.

The Frenchmen which escaped with life from the slaughter of Lincolne, as the Marshall of France, the chateleine of Arras, with others, made towards London with all possible sped, in hope to escape so well as they might: but manie of them, and namelie the footmen were slaine by the countrie people where they passed, and that in great numbers: for the husbandmen fell vpon them with clubs and swords, not sparing those whom they got at aduantage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) getting to London, presented vnto Lewes the sofull report of their misadventure, and were of him not moaned, but blamed and soze rebuked, for that they had fled, and shamefullie left the residue of their companies to be distressed, taken, and slaine by the aduersaries, where if they had manfullie stood to it, they might happily haue saved their fellowes, and obtained victorie.

The Chronicle of Dunstable theweth in deed that Simon de Deschre and Henrie Baulzoc, perceiuing that Foukes de Bzent was entered into the citie, and that they were now assailed both afront, and on the backes, they withdrew, and getting together 80 French knights or men of armes (if we shall so call them) departed out of the citie, and fleeing through the countrie by Lin and saint Edmundsburie, at length got through to London. Whos sooner they were welcomed of Lewes, certaine it is, that the lords that took part with king Henrie, were put in no small hope by the atchining of this so great a victorie, to bring within a short time all the realme to the obedience of king Henrie: and hereupon marching forth into the countrie, put the people in such feare, that they submitted themselves vnto the gouernment of king Henrie in all places where soeuer they came.

Chr. Dunst.

On the other part, Lewes who all this season remained at London, being soze dismayed for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betrayed and deliuered into his enimies hands. Wherefore he went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortifying the citie, sent messengers into France, to requite his father to send him more aid. His father soze to heare of his sons distress, and loth that he should take the soile, caused his daughter the wiue of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might

Lewes last with to his brother for aid.

might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of his husband. For the French king himselfe would not seeme to aid his sonne, because he was communicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commission thereto, gat together three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the monke had provided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon.

In the meane time the earle of Penbroke approached towards London, purposing to assault the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting passe no occasion that might further his proceedings, night and day studieng how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to set the same at libertie: so that what was to be deuised, he did deuise, and what was to be done, that he did, not following any occasion or opportunitie that might be offered. The English barons also calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their most need, sought now by all means possible, some waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the said Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themselves, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courtesie bountifullie shewed in a case of extremitie, which because it was obtained in a wished time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had bene the lesse welcome, as one saith,

*Gratia que tarda est ingrata est, gratia namq;
Quam fieri properat gratia grata magis.*

Whereupon they caused daile new articles of agreement to be presented in writing vnto the said Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while these things were a doing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that took part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement, that a new supplie of men was ready to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albennie and John Sparshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the coming of the aduersaries, that they might keepe them from landing, who on saint Bartholomewes day set forth to Caleis, in purpose to arrive in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuer to London. Hubert Herbert de Burgh capteine of the castell of Douer, together with the said Philip de Albennie and John Sparshall, with other such power as they could get together of the cinque ports, hauing not yet about the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discomring of the French fleet, which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed, made forth to the sea. And first coasting a litle from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finally with their maine force to assault the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their crossbowes and archers at the first joining, made great slaughter of their enemies, and so grappling together, in the end the Englishmen bare themselves so manfully, that they vanquished the whole French fleet, and obtained a famous victorie.

Eustace the monke was found amongst the capteins, who although he offered great summes of gold for his ransom, so that he might haue had his life saued, and also to serue king Henrie, yet the English capteins would none of that: but Richard the bastard sonne of king John, took him, and cut off his head, and sent it vnto king Henrie his brother, as a witnesse of this their achieved victorie. This Eustace was a Fleming boyne, and sometime a monke, but renouncing his coule to receiue such heritage as fell to him by the death of his brethren, deceasing without issue, he became a notable pirat, and had done in his daies much mischief to the Englishmen,

and therefore was now rewarded according to his demerits. For

*Raro antecedentem scelerum
Deseruit pede panna clauda.*

*Hor. lib. 3. car.
od. 2.*

The spoile and prey of the French ships was verie rich, so that the Englishmen being laden with riches and honour, vpon their safe returne home were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. But Lewes, after he understood of this mischance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despair of all other succour to come vnto him at any time hereafter: wherefore he inclined the sooner vnto peace, so that at length he took such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued further more a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, together with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris doe also agree) affirmeth that he receiued fiftene thousand marks. Whereafter, the popes legat absolved Lewes and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the waite against the popes commandement.

Then Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicated swore vpon the holie euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thenceforth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Whereafter, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him late, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

On the other part, king Henrie took his oath together with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was moued betwixt the late king John and his barons. Whereafter, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paying any ransom: yea and those which had covenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and diuerse of the spiritualtie with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernour of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and covenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as appertained, and there took leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaele.

King Henrie by this meanes being put in full possession of the realme, according to the prescript of that article contained in those conditions of the peace lastelie specified, pardoned all those that had aided his aduersarie Lewes during the wars, except certeine of the spiritualtie, which were put to such fines, that they were compelled to laie all that they had to pledge, to leaue such summes of monie, as they might with the same obtaine the kings fauour againe: and before that, to sue to Rome for their entire absolution

At

A rich Spoile.

In accord betwixt R. Henrie & Lewes.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds.

March. Paris.

The prelates are fined.

Anno Reg. 2.
What che-
uance the
legat made.

at the popes otone hands. Amongst other, Hugh bi-
shop of Lincolne returning into England, was
compelled to paie a thousand marks to the popes vse
for recourcie of his bishopricke, & an hundred marks
also to the legat of god and latysfull monie. Such che-
uance made the legat amongst them of the church, as
well persons secular as regular, that he got together
twelve thousand marks towards his charges, where-
by it appeared, that he lost no time in England. But
to proceed.

Fouks de
Went.

The realme now being quiet and in all outward fe-
licitie, a number of unruly persons, such as delight-
ing in idlenesse, knew not how to lue in time of
peace, assembled themselves together and appointing
Fouks de Went, who was a man of great stomack
and more rashnesse, to be their capteine and ringle-
der began to make warre against the king, and to
spoil the townes and countries about them, so that
their euill doings might haue caused no small perill
to haue ensued by some great ciuill sedition, if the
earle of Penbroke had not in time prevented their
attempts. For he assembling the kings power, ha-
sted towards the rebels, and what by his owne au-
thoritie, and by the reuerend regard of some bishops
in his companie; more than by using any force of
armes, he staid the matter for that time, so that no
further mischefe followed of this mutinie.

Marth. Paris.

Besides the foresaid Fouks de Went, there were
other of the Nobilitie also which practised the like dis-
order, as William earle of Albemarle, Robert de
Cleipoint, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Balloll, Philip
de Sparre, and Robert de Gangi, the which Robert
withheld the castell of Petwarke that belonged to
the bishop of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it, till
the king with William Sparthall erle of Penbroke
had laine at siege before it an eight daies, in the end
of which terme by mediation of friends the matter
was taken vp, and the bishop recovered his castell,
paieing to the said Robert de Gangi an hundred
pounds sterling for the viuals which he left within
the same castell.

The castell of
Petwarke re-
turned to the
bishop of Lin-
colne.

Marth. Paris.
The earle of
Chester goeth
into the holie
land.

Some after this, Ranulph earle of Chester was
sent into the holie land by king Henrie, with a good
lie companie of souldiers and men of warre, to aid
the christians there against the infidels, which at the
same time had besieged the cite of Damietta in Ae-
gypt, in which enterprize the valiancie of the same
earle after his comming thither, was to his great
praise most apparant. There went with him in that
tourne Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester,
William de Albanie earle of Arundell, besides di-
uerse barons, as the lord Robert Fitz Walter, John
constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and
liuer Fitzroie sonne to the king of England, and di-
uerse other.

Sonne to R.
John belike.

Anno Reg. 3.
1219

The deceasse
of the earle of
Penbroke.

He is buried
in the temple
church.

Ranulph
made bishop
of Norwich.

The bishop of
Winchester
gouernour to
the king.

Quene Ma-
dell married
to the earle
of Sparth.

The next yeare, which was after the birth of our
lord 1219, William Sparthall the foresaid earle of
Penbroke died, gouernour both of the realme and
also of the kings person, a man of such worthinesse
both in stoutnesse of stomack and martiall know-
lege, as England had few then liuing that might be
compared with him. He was buried in the new tem-
ple church at London upon the Ascension day. The
same yeare also Wallo or Guallo the legat return-
ed to Rome, and Ranulph, who (as before is expre-
sed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent
to king John, was also made bishop of Norwich.

Moreover, the gouernement of king Henrie af-
ter the death of William Sparthall the elder, earle of
Penbroke, was committed vnto Peter bishop of
Winchester: for the yong king was almost desti-
tute of any of his kindred that were worthie to haue
the rule of him: so much as his mother quene Is-
abell was lately married to Hugh Blume the earle

of Sparth in France, vnto whome she was promised
before king John took her to wife, as in the life of
the same king John is mentioned.

The bishop of Winchester being now in the pos-
session of the kings person, doubting least he had ta-
ken a greater charge vpon him than he might well
answer, caused diuerse sage and honourable perso-
nages to be admitted of the kings counsell, to assist
him in the administration of the common-wealth
and good gouernance of the realme. Which being
done, a parlement was holden at London, wherein
a subside was granted to the king of two shillings
to be gathered and lenied of euerie ploughland with-
in his dominions, towards the relieuing of the great
charges which he had sustained by the warres against
the foresaid Letwes.

About the same time also he began the building
of the new worke of the church at Westminster. In
which meane time the cite of Damietta afore menti-
oned, was twone by the christian princes, and Ra-
nulph earle of Chester returned home, leauing the
earle of Arundell with a great number of souldiers
behind him there in aid of the christians against the
Saracens, which dailie attempted the recourcie of
the same. Moreover, in the yeare ensuing, which was
of our lord 1220, and vpon the seauententh day of
Maie being Whitsunday, the king was effronles so-
lemnelie crowned at Westminster, to the end it
might be said, that now after the ertinguisment of
all seditious factions, he was crowned by the gene-
rall consent of all the estates and subiects of his
realme.

The same yeare also was the bodie of Thomas
archbishop of Cantuarburie translated, and Hugh bi-
shop of Lincolne canonized for a saint. In like man-
ner in the vigile of Peter and Paule, the king find-
ing the castels of Rokingham and Saunreie at that
present unpurueied of viuals, took the same into
his hands against the will of William of Albemarle
which before held the same. This yeare also was a
proclamation made in London, and throughout all
the realme, that all strangers should auoid the land
before the feast of saint Michael then next following
except those that came with merchandise. Further,
more Ranulph earle of Chester, after he was come
from the holie land, began to build the castels of
Chartleie and Bexston, and afterward he also builded
the abbeie of Dieu Rencrese, commonlie called
Delacresse of the white order. Toward his charges
sustained about the building of which castels and ab-
beie, he took toll throughout all his lordships of all
such persons as passed by the same with any cattell,
chaffre or merchandise.

This yeare deceased Henrie de Boun earle of
Hereford, and Saer de Quincie earle of Winche-
ster in their tourne which they made into the holie
land. Also the same yeare the priests or canons that
inhabited within the kings castell of old Salisburie,
remoued with the bishops se into new Salisburie,
which by the king was made a cite. The bishop Ri-
chard procured this remouing, through the kings
helpe, who was verie willing therevnto, as it seemed
by his charters largelie granted in that behalfe. Af-
ter this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Oren-
ford, at that time William de Fitz earle of Albe-
marle meaning to trouble the kings peace, and to
set things in a new broile, departed from the court in
the night season, without leave or licence, and hastid
with all speed vnto the castell of Bisham, where he as-
sembled a sort of youthfull persons, giuen to lewd de-
meanor, and wearie of quietnesse (as to whome theft
and robberies were verie pleasant) by whose helpe
he spoiled diuers townes and villages about him, as
Tenham and Deping, with others.

There

The new
church of
Westm. begun
Anno. Reg. 4.
Marth. Paris.
The earle of
Chester returneth home.
Polydor.

The new
church of
Westm. begun

Anno. Reg. 4.
Marth. Paris.
The earle of
Chester returneth home.
Polydor.

1220

The king crowned the second time.

Marth. Paris.

Marth. Paris.

Ran. Higd.
A proclamation
on to auoid
strangers.

The castles
of Chartleie &
Bexston built
Ran. Higd.

Anno Reg. 5.
1221

Salisbury

Marth. Paris.

The earle of
Albemarle

The castell
of Bisham

There were of counsell with him also (as was thought) Fouls de Bient, Philip de Marc, Peter de Mauldon, Engellard de Athis, and manie other, who priuile sent men to his aid, and furthered him in his tumultuous affaires, that they might partitipat with him the sweetnesse of the spoile, which is the marke whereat euery one thoteth that is

iners & inopi qui uisere luxuriose

Fult quamuis nequeat, non respondente crimena,

Proinde animam vendit pretio, seseque periculis

Obijcit, ut raptis alienis victor ouduque

Ad proprios referat pradam & spolia ampla penates.

In the meane time the countrie people withdrew to the churches, and gat their goods into the churchyards. Moreover, the peeres of the realme assembled themselves in counsell at Westminster where the king was present, whither the earle of Albermarle was summoned to come, who faining as though he had meant to haue gone thitherward directly, turned suddenly his waie to the castell of Fordinghey, and toke it vpon the sudden, furnishing it also with a garrison of souldiers, to be kept hereafter to his owne vse. That castell was in the keeping of the earle of Chester, who at that instant had but few souldiers there in garrison, wherby it was the sooner surprised. When these newes were brought to the king, he raised a power and came with all speed to the castell of Wyham, vpon the wednesdaie next after the feast of Candelmasse, and then compassing the same about with a strong siege, he constrained them within by force of such engins as they used in those daies, that finally on the eight daie of Februarie they came forth, and submitted themselves and all that they had vnto the kings pleasure. Who caused them to be safely kept, till he might take further aduicement what should be done with them.

In the meane while also came the earle of Albermarle, who by the helpe & means of the archbishop of Doke, and the legat Pandulph, purchased peace at the kings hands, the rather indeed because he had faithfully serued both the king and his father king John in their wars, before that time. All those men of armes & souldiers also, which had submitted themselves and remained as prisoners, were pardoned. Which ouer-great clemencie caused other brutish persons to attempt the like offense of rebellion shortly after. At the very selfe same time the Welshmen began to furre, and vnder their prince and leader Leolin they entered vpon the English marches, and with great crueltie spoiled and robbed the same, wherevpon it was determined by the counsell, that the king (as he was comming toward the castell of Wyham) should diuide his armie, and so he did, leauing one part thereof against the Welshmen: wher vpon Leolin, after he understood that the kings power came toward him, as one not able to resist the same, cast off his armour, and submitted himselfe to his mercie.

There be which write, that where prince Leolin had besieged the castell of Buert belonging to Reginald de Bente, the same Reginald besought the king to helpe to remoue that siege. The king contented with his request, came with a puissant armie into those parts, and therewith the siege was raised, for the Welshmen (according to their accustomed manner) fled. The king then entring further into the countrie, came to the place where Mountgomerie now standeth, and perceiving the site of the same to be well so fortified, he caused a castell to be builded there, to restrain the Welshmen from their accustomed trade of harrieng the countrie. And so after he had forsaied those quarters, and taken order for the full accomplishment of that castell, he returned, the Nobles granting to him of euerie knights

for two markes of silver.

Things being thus in quiet, the king (who by daily experience of matters grew to more knowledge from time to time) began now of himselfe to order his affaires for his owne behalfe, namelie touching the estate of his kingdome: and because he was minded to assaie the recourie of those places which his father had lost in France, he ordeined Sauerie de Mauldon to be his lieutenant in Guien, whereof a great part as yet remained in his hands, and moreover sent ambassadours vnto the French king, requiring of him restitution of those places which he had taken from his father.

These oratours being come into France, and admitted to the kings presence, receiued answer, that nothing ought to be restored, which by law of armes was rightlie conquered: and other redresse at that time would none be granted. But a maruell it was to consider here at home, in how short a space the state of the English common-wealth was changed, and from a troubled source reduced to a flourishing and prosperous degre: chiefelie by the diligent heed and carefull prouision of the king himselfe. So much auaileth it to haue him that ruleth, to attend that which belongeth to his office.

After this, to the intent that while he might be occupied in warres abroad, he should not be troubled with ciuill discord at home, he deuised to soine in affinity with the Scots, giuing his sister Ione in marriage vnto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other side married the sister of the same Alexander called Margaret. These marriages were solemnized at Doke on the morrow after the feast of S. John Baptist, in the presence of a great number of the Nobles both of England and Scotland. A counsell also was holden by the archbishop of Canturburie at Orford for reformation of the state ecclesiasticall and the religion of monks. In which counsell two naughty felowes were presented before him, that of late had bene apprehended, either of them naming himselfe Christ, and preached manie things against such abuses as the cleargie in those daies used. Moreover, to proue their error to haue a shew of truth, they shewed certeine tokens and signes of wounds in their bodies, hands and feet, like vnto our sauour Iesus that was nailed on the crosse. In the end being well apposed, they were found to be but false dissemblers, wherefore by doome of that counsell they were iudged to be nailed vnto a crosse of wood, and so those to whom the execution was assigned, had them forth to a place called Arboherie, where they nailed them to a crosse, and there left them till they were dead. The one of them was an Hermaphrodite, that is to say, both man and woman. Also there were two women condemned, of whom the one had taken vpon hir to be that blessed virgine Marie, and the other fained hir selfe to be Marie Magdalene.

Ralph Coghshall sheweth this matter otherwise, and saith, that there were two men and two women brought before the archbishop at this counsell, of the which one of the men being a deacon, was accused to be an apostata, & for the loue of a woman that was a Jew, he had circumcised himselfe: & being herof conuicted & disgraced, he was committed to the secular power, & so burnt by the seruants of Fouls de Bient. The other being a young man, was accused of contemning the sacraments of the church, & that he suffered himselfe to be crucified, hauing the prints of the five wounds appearing in his bodie, and counterfeiting himselfe to be Christ, reioiced to haue the two women giue out and spread the rumour abroad, that he was Christ in deed, one of the which women being verie aged, was also accused of witcherie, ha-

Polydor.

Is. Henrie requirereth restitution of his right of the French king.

The French kings answer

Matt. Westm. March. Paris. Marriages concluded.

Anno Reg. 6. I 2 2 2

A counsell of synod at Orford.

Two dissembling persons apprehended. Matt. Westm.

They are crucified.

Two women counterfeiting themselves to be the one our lady, the other Marie Magdalene, Ralph Cog.

The castell of Fordinghey.

The castell of Wyham purchased.

March. Paris. Did seruice remembered.

The Welshmen begin to furre.

Polydor.

March. Paris.

Reginald de Bente.

Mountgomerie castle built.

Charge paid.

uing with his sorerie and witchcraft brought that young man into such wicked folie and madness. They two being herof commard, were closed by betwixt two wallers, where they remained till they died, the other woman being sister to the young man, was pardoned and let go, because she had revealed the wickedly practise of the other.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.
Math. West.

A ball-sweeter
some late.

A riot com-
menced betwixt
citizens of
Wellington.

Robert Scire
mayor of Lon-
don.

Constantine,
a citizen of
London, who
caused the ci-
tizens to re-
venge their
cause by force
of rebellion.
Math. Paris.

The lord
chefe in-
stee taketh in
quision of
the riot.

Constantine
apprehended.

He is executed

This yeare also was the building of the steeple be-
longing to the church of S. Paule in London first
shew. And this yeare also upon saint James day the
citizens of London kept a plaie of defense and we-
stling at the hospitall of saint James, against other
their neighbours of the suburbs, and the quarters
next adjoining. In the end wherof it so fortuned,
that the Londoners had the upper hand: and amongst
other that were put to the soile, the steward of the ab-
bat of Westminster with his folkes went alwaie
with the two: to their great grefe. Whereupon the
same steward devised an other game of wrestling
to be holden at Westminster on Lammas day next
following, and that whosoever could get the upper
hand there, should haue a ram for the price, which the
steward had prepared.

At the day appointed, there was a great assem-
bly, and the steward had got together out of all parts
the best wrestlers that might be heard of, so that
there was hard hold betwixt them and the London-
ers. But finally, the steward upon desire of re-
venge, procured them to fall together by the eares
without any iust cause, so that the Londoners were
beaten and wounded, and constrained to flee backe
to the cite in great disorder. The citizens soe offen-
ded to see their people so mistreated, rose in tumult, and
rang the common bell to gather the more companie
to them. Robert Scire maior of the cite would haue
pacified the matter, persuading them to let the mat-
ter passe, till by orderlie plaint they might get re-
dresse, as law and iustice should assigne. But a cer-
taine stout man of the cite named Constantine Fitz
Arnulfe, of godd authoritie amongst them, souised
the multitude not to barken into peace, but to seeke
revenge out of hand (wherein he shewed himselfe so
farre from true manhood, that he beloued himselfe
rather to haue had a womans heart,

—quod vindicta
Non miris gaudet quam femina)

still prosecuting the strife with tooth and naile, and
blowing the coles of contention as it were with full
bellows, that the houses belonging to the abbat of
Westminster, and namelic the house of his steward
might be ouerthrowne and beaten downe flat with
the ground.

This lewd counsell was some receiued and exe-
cuted by the outrageous people, & Constantine him-
selfe being cheefe leader of them, cried with a loud
voice, Spout top mount top, God be our aid and our
soueraigne Lefwes. This outrageous part comming
to the notice of Hubert de Burgh lord chefe iustice,
he gat together a power of armed men, and came to
the cite with the same, and taking inquisition of the
chefe offenders, found Constantine as constant in
affirming the deed to be his, as he had before con-
stantlie put it in practise, whereupon he was appe-
hended and two other citizens with him. On the next
day in the morning Foulke de Barent was appointed
to haue them to execution: and so by the Thames he
quietlie led them to the place where they should suf-
fer. Now when Constantine had the halter about his
necke, he offered fiftene thousand marks of siluer to
haue bene pardoned, but it would not be. There was
hanged with him his nephew named also Constantine,
and one Geoffrey, who made the proclamation
devised by the said Constantine. The cry also which
Constantine used to the setting forward of his un-

lawfull enterprise in the name of Lefwes most of all
offended the kings friends, as the lord chefe iustice
and others, who not satisfied with the death of the three
before remembred persons, but also entering the cite
againe with their bands of armed men, apprehended
diuerse of those whome they took to be culpable, not
onely putting manie of them into prison, but also
punishing other of them, as some with losse of a foot,
some of an hand, and other of their eye-sight. The king
furthermore to reuenge this matter, deposed all the
magistrats of the cite, and ordeined new in their
roues. Which caused great hartburring against di-
uerse of the Nobilitie, but cheselic the lord Hubert
and Foulke de Barent, on whome in time they hoped
to haue reuenge.

As this boile boied the cite of London, so in this
yeare there chanced great tempest of thunder, light-
ning and raine, whereby much hurt was done in di-
uerse parts of the realme, and at sundrie times, as by
throwing downe of steeples, churches, and other bul-
dings, with the rotting of trees, as well in woods
as orchards, herie strange to consider, cheselic on the
eight day of Februarie at Crantham in Lincoln-
shire, where there chanced (beside the thunder) such a
stinke and filthie fauour to follow in the church, that
the people fled out, so that they were not able to a-
bide it. Likewise in the day of the exaltation of the
crosse, a generall thunder happened throughout the
realme, and thereupon followed a continuall season of
foule weather and wet, till Candelinmas next after,
which caused a dearth of corne, so as wheat was sold
at twelue shillings the quarter. Likewise on the day
of saint Andrew an other terrible tempest of thunder
happened throughe the realme, throwing downe and
shaking buildings in manie places, in so much that
at Willerdeson in Northwiltshire, in a knights
house, the ladie thereof and six other persons were de-
stroyed by the same. And a turbarie thereby compas-
sed about with water and marrelle was so dried up,
that neither grasse nor mire remained, after which
 ensued an earthquake. Moreover on the euen of saint
Lucie, a mightie wind raged, which did much hurt in
sundrie places of the realme. Furthermore, about
this time there appeared in England a wonderfull
comet or blasing starre. The sea also rose with higher
tides and spings than it had bene accustomed to do.
All which wonders were afterward iudged to be
token and signifie the losse which the christians suffer-
ed the same yeare in Egypt, when they were con-
strained to surrender the cite of Damietta into the
Saracens hands, which latelie before (as yet haue
heard) they had wonne with long and chargeable siege.
After the yielding up of Damietta, William de Al-
benie earle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe earle of
Chester left behind him in the holie land) with manie
souldiers and men of warre (when he returned from
thence) came now homewards towards England,
and died by the waie.

About the same time John the sonne of David
earle of Anguith in Scotland, sisters some unto Ra-
nulfe earle of Chester, married the daughter of Leo-
lin prince of Wales, as it were to procure a firall
accord betwene the said Leolin and Ranulfe. After
which marriage, king Henrie held his Christmaste
at Wrenford, and shortly after the twelfside came to
London: where assembling a counsell of his barons,
he was earnestlie required by the bishop of Cantur-
burie and other peres, to confirme the liberties, fran-
chises, and free customes of the realme, for which the
warres in his fathers time had bene moued: which
to denie (as the archbishop seemed to alledge, & shoul-
d haue bene ashamed so to open his mouth, to the dis-
advantage of his souereigne, but that it is likelie he
forgot the old poise, namelic that,

Great tempest

A general
thunder.

Great dearth
of corne.

In other
parts of thundr

Polydor.

A comet or
blasing star.

The losse of
the cite of
Damietta.

William de Al-
benie earle of
Arundell: who
parted thence

Anno Reg. 3.
John de Al-
benie earle of
Arundell: who
parted thence

I 222.
A counsell of
London.

Note the
dunelle of the
bishop, to haue
new constan-
tine.

Imago rex est animata Dei.

he might not with ante reason, sith he had couenanted (and all the baronage with him) to see the same obserued, by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the same Lewes departed the realme.

Hereupon William Brelwer one of the kings counsell, hearing the archbishop so earnest in these matters, told him, that sith these liberties were procured & extorted rather by force than otherwise, of the king being vnder age, they were not to be obserued. Wherevnto the archbishop replied, that if he loved the king, he would be loth to seeke to trouble the quiet state of the realme. The king perceiuing the archbishop to be chafed, & taking the tale himselfe, made a courteous answer, and further aduise had in the matter, sent forth writs to the shiriffe of euerie countie, commanding them by inquirie of a sufficient iurie impanelled, to make certifficat within the quindene of Ester, what were the liberties in times past of his grandfather A. Henrie, died within the realme of England.

The same yeare, whiles William Sparshall earle of Penbroke was busie in Ireland in war against Hugh Lacie, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as some haue intituled him, toke by force two castles that belonged to the same earle: whereof when he was aduertised, with all speed he returned out of Ireland, raised an armie, and recovered the said castles, putting to death all such as he found in the same, to requite Leolin with the like damage as he had thewed him befoze in his absence. This done he entered into the land of Leolin, waisting and spoiling the same, whereof when the said Leolin was informed, he assembled an host of Welshmen, and comming into the field gaue battell, but the victorie rested on the earle of Penbrokes side: so that there were taken and slaine in this bickering to the number of 9000 Welshmen. There was in this yeare a conspiracie also begun by the earle of Chester, and other Noble men, against Hubert de Burgh lord chiefe iustice of England, by whose counsell (as it was thought) the king was moze strict towards the nobilitie and other his subiects, in staing his grant to confirme the charter of liberties, than otherwise he would haue bene, if the same Hubert and other had not aduised him to the contrarie.

In this season also John de Bzen king of Jerusalem, and the lord great master of the knights hospitallers came into England, where they were honorablie received of king Henrie, and liberally rewarded. The cause of their comming was to requite aid of the king for the recouerie of the holie land out of the possession of the Saracens. In like maner about the same time Leolin prince of Northwales, with certeine English lords, as Hugh Lacie and others, by an hatred which they bare towards king Henrie for his fathers sake, supposing that so euill a stocke as they toke him to be, could not bring forth antie good branch, fought by open warres to bring William Sparshall earle of Penbroke and other barons that were faithfull friends to the king vnto their purpose: but the whole countrie rising against them, they were disappointed to their owne confusion, and so they could neuer bring that to passe which they so earnestly intended.

In this yeare Philip the French king departed this life, and after him succeeded Lewes his sonne, vnto whom king Henrie sent in ambassage the archbishop of Canturburie with three other bishops, to require, that (according to his oth made and receiued at his returne out of England) he would restore and deliuer vp to him the dukedome of Normandie, with other such lands and possessions as his father in

times past had taken from king John, and still did wrongfullie withhold. A. Lewes answered herevnto, that he held Normandie & the other lands by good right and iust title, as he could well proue and iustifie, if king Henrie would come to the parlement in France to heare it. And as touching the oth which he had swozne in England, he affirmed that the same was first broken by king Henrie, both in that his men which had bene taken at Lincolne were put to greuous ransoms, and also for that their liberties for which the warre first began, were not obserued, but denied to the English subiects, contrarie to that which was concluded at the agreement betwixt them at the same time made.

Moreouer, king Henrie sent other ambassadours to Rome, who purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was adiudged to be of age sufficient to receiue the gouernement of the kingdome of England into his owne hands, thereby to order and dispose all things at his pleasure, & by the aduise of such counsellours as he should elect and chuse to be about him. Whereupon after the said ambassadours were returned, all those earles, barons and nobles, which held ante castles, honors, manors or places apertaining to the king, were commanded to deliuer and resigne the same to his vse, which caused much trouble, as after shall appeare. For diuerse Noble men, whose hartes were filled with couetousnesse, would not obeye the popes order herein, but sore repined; yet not so much against the king as against the lord Hubert de Burgh, by whose counsell the king was most led and ruled. And therefore they did put him in all the blame, as one that should set the king against them, and staie him from suffering them to inioy those liberties, which they from time to time so much laboured to haue had to them granted and confirmed.

Upon this occasion therefore, they sued to the king for the restitution of the ancient lawes according to his promise, who to pacifie them for the time, gaue them a gentle answer, assuring them, that he would performe all that he had promised, so lone as opportunity would permit and suffer him so to do. Wherebeit, afterwards by the aduise of certeine old counsellours, which had bene of the priuie counsell with king John his father, he found a shift to disappoint them of their demands, by requirring them on the other side, to restore vnto him those things which they had in times past receiued of his ancestors. Furthermore, because he would the moze easilie obtaine his purpose, and make the residue afraid to followe a suit so displeasing and irksome, he thought best to begin with the chiefe authors and first procurers of the said petitions, and to take from them whatsoeuer they held belonging to his crowne.

Hereupon therefore assembling a great power about him, he demanded of Ranulph earle of Chester the restitution of certeine lordships which ancientlie appertained to the crowne of the realme, which earle not being as then able to resist, readily obeyed the kings pleasure, and resigned them all. By this entrance of the king into the execution of his purpose, diuerse of the rest of the barons were brought into such feare, that they were contented also to do the like, so that by this meanes the lords being cut off and weakened in power, increased as then from molesting the king antie further with the demand of other lands or liberties.

The archbishop of Canturburie also threatened them with the dact of excommunication, if they went about to disquiet the realme with antie ciuill commotions, though no man was moze desirous to haue that matter go forward than he, as appeared by his diligent trauell therein (hoping as now in those processe of time, and that by courteous meanes, to persuade

The answer
of William
Brelwer to
the archbi-
shops de-
mand.

Thab accus-
eth Henrie.

In inquisi-
tion.

Manh. Paris.

The earle of
Penbroke re-
couereth his
castles taken
by the prince
of wales.

The prince of
wales dis-
comfited.

A conspiracie
against the
lord chiefe
iustice.

Manh. Paris.
The king of
Jerusalem
commeth into
England.

The death of
the French
king.
Ambassadors
sent into
France.

Anno Reg. 8.

Polydor.
The king gi-
ueth a gentle
answer to his
lords.

I 2 2 4

The king de-
manded res-
titution of par-
tels of inheri-
tance belong-
ing to the
crowne.

persuade the king to his purpose) but the king drove him off with sure words, and minded nothing lesse than to alter anie one of the lawes which he knew to be profitable to himselfe and his successors after him. Whereupon diuerse mistaking his dealing herein, withdrew themselves secretly, some into one place, and some into another, to the intent they might avoid the daile light of such abuses, as they for the most part could not well abide to beate.

Disceord betwixt Saucerie de Haukeon and the earle of Salisbury.

Whilist king Henrie thus politikelie prouided for his affaires at home, Saucerie de Haukeon made prouision in Guen to withstand such perils and dangers as he saw most likelie to insue by the practices of the Frenchmen. But as he was most busilie occupied about the puruiance of such things as should be verie necessarie for his doings, there sprang a great disention betwixt him and William the earle of Salisbury, who was sent ouer into that countrie with commission to surueie the state thereof, and by colour of the same commission, toke vpon him to order all things at his owne pleasure. Whereas the foresaid Saucerie de Haukeon (being a man of high parentage in those parts where he was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothing standing with his honour, that another man should order things at his will and commandement within the countrie, where of he himselfe had the chiefe charge, as the kings lieutenant; and therefore determined not to suffer it anie longer.

Saucerie de Haukeon revolteth to the French king.

March. Paris. Marc. Westm. Foukes de Bient an emie to rest and quietnesse.

Hereupon verelie arose the contention betwixt them, which the English souldiers that were there, did greatlie increase, fauouring the earle as the kings vnckle, and contemning the lieutenant as a stranger borne, by meanes whereof the foresaid Saucerie doubting least if he should fight with his enemies, and through such disceord as was now amongst them, be put to the worse, the fault should be laid wholie on his necke: he secretly departed and fled to Lewes the French king, who was latelie come to the crowne of France by the death of his father king Philip, as you before haue heard: wherein he dealt wisely in respect of safetie. For

Quid potuit iustitiam esse fuga?

About the same time Foukes de Bient, being a man of an vnquiet mind, readie to mischief and loth to liue in peace (as some saie) conspired against the king of England, and aduertised the king of France that if he would boldlie begin the warres against king Henrie in France, he would not faile but raise warre against him here in the midst of his realme of England, hauing diuerse noble men in readinesse, that would willingly take his part. But how soeuer it fell out, certaine it is that this Foukes hauing fortified his castell of Bedford, attempted manie enterprises greatlie to the prejudice of the kings peace, as well in robbing and spoiling the countrie about him, as otherwise.

March. Paris. Henrie B. broke taken by Foukes de Bient, and unpunished.

And now fearing to be punished therefore by order of law, he shewed his malice against such as had the execution of the same lawes chieflie in their hands. Hereupon he toke prisoner Henrie B. broke, one of the kings iudices of his bench, and led him to his castell of Bedford, and there shut him vp close as his lawfull prisoner. Indeed the said Henrie de B. broke, with Martine de Patrishull, Thomas de Spinton, and other of the kings iudices were come to keepe their circuit at Dunstable. Where, upon information giuen and presented before them, Foukes de Bient was condemned to the king in great summes of monie. Therewithall this Foukes toke such indignation and displeasure, that he commanded his men of warre which lay in the castell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunstable, and thence to apprehend the said iudices, and to bring them vnto Bed-

ford, where (as he said) he meant to commen further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpose, fled quicklie out of the towne, seeking to escape euerie man which waite he might best deuise. Whobebet, the souldiers vsed such diligence, that Henrie de B. broke fell into their hands, & so was brought captiue to Bedford as their maister had commanded them.

The king aduertised hereof by the gréuous complaints of his subiects, was as then at Southampton (where he had assembled his parlement) and thereupon hauing gathered speedilie a power, with all expedition he hasted towards Bedford. At his coming thither, he besieged the castell on eche side, and at length after two moneths, though not without much adoe, he toke it, and hanged them all which were taken within, being in number 80 or about: and amongst other William de Bient, the brother of the said Foukes was one. There were but thre that escaped with life, who were pardoned, vpon condition they should passe into the holic land, there to serue among the Templers. The siege began on the Ascension euent, and continued till the 15 daie of August, being the feast daie of the assumption of our ladie.

Bedford castle besieged.

Foukes himselfe, whilst the siege continued, lay aloofe in Cheshire, and on the borders of Wales, as one watching to do some mischief: but after the castell was towe, he got him to Couentric, and there was per long apprehended, and brought to the king, of whom he obtained pardon of life, but yet by the whole consent of the nobles and pères of the realme, he was exiled the land for euermore, and then went to Rome, where he knew to purchase his pardon easilie inough for mony, of what crime soeuer he should be iudged culpable. His wife, because she neuer consented to his doings, nor yet willingly to the marriage had betwixt hir and him, was acquitted of all blame, and so likewise was his sonne Thomas.

He was in the borders of Wales, where the earle of Cheshire was lord.

Whobebet at length the foresaid Foukes, hauing obtained his purpose at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Pallew an Englishman, who was his solicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare ensuing, was poisoned and died by the waie, making so an end of his inconstant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of discretion was neuer bent to quietnes. Which may be reported of him, not to his honour or remembrance (for alas what fame is gotten by giuing occasions of euill) but to his euermore shame and infamie, for the same shall neuer die, but remaine in perpetuall memorie, as one saith right well,

The end of Foukes de Bient.

Hominum immortalis est infamia,

Etiā tunc vniū cum effretu mortuū.

Plac. in Poet.

But now to leaue these things, and returne to the doings in France where we left. We shall vnderstand, that after Saucerie de Haukeon was revolted to the French king, the said king with all speed determined to make warre vpon king Henrie, and to win from him certaine townes and fortresses within the countrie of Poidou.

The French writers affirme, that king Lewes recovered out of the Englishmens hands the townes of Rior, St. Johns d'Angell, & Rochell, before Saucerie de Haukeon revolted from the French part. In deed, the chronicle of Dunstable saith, that after the truce toke end, this yeare the French king raised an armie, and toke Rior, and after they of St. John d'Angell submitted themselves vnto him. From thence he went to Rochell, within the which at that present was the said Saucerie de Haukeon with seuentie knights, and Richard Craie, with Geoffrey Beull, who had in their retinue fiftie knights. These with the forces of the towne sallied forth, & encountering with the French armie, due manie of their aduersaries,

Dunstable.

uerlaries, and loſt ſome of their owne people. Yet after this, the French king beſieged the towne, and in the end won it, whileſt the king of England being occupied about the beſieging of Bedford caſtell, neglected to ſend them within Rochell neceſſarie ſuccours.

But Polydor Virgil writeth, that now after that Sauerie de Mauleon was become the French king his man, the Doſcouins ſent vnto king Henrie, ſignifying, that they were readie to reuolt from the French kings ſubiection, and yeld themſelues vnto him, if he would ſend vnto them a power of men to defend their countie from the French men.

Now king Henrie hauing receiued theſe letters, intertained them that brought this meſſage verie courteouſlie, and promiſing them to ſend ouer aid with all expedition, he cauſed his nante to be made readie for that voyage. In the meane time, the French king ſent forth an armie vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, who then toke Poſt and Rochell, placing in the ſame ſundry garrifons of ſouldiers, but cheſe he fortified Rochell, which had bene long in the Engliſhmens hands, and alwaies ſerued them to verie good purpoſe, for the handſome landing of their people, when any occaſion required.

The French king therefore hauing got it, fortified it, and meant to keepe it, to the intent the Engliſhmen ſhould not haue hereafter in time of warre, ſo neceſſarie a place for their arrivall in thoſe coaſts.

King Henrie holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Weſtminſter, called his high court of parlement there the ſame time, and demanded a releſe of monie, toward the maintenance of his warres in France, and had granted to him the fifteenth penie in value of all the moveable goods to be found within the realme, as well belonging to the ſpiritualtie as temporallie, but vnder condition that he ſhould conſirme vnto his ſubiecs their often demanded liberties. The king vpon deſire to haue the monie, was contented to condeſcend vnto their requeſts, and ſo the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled Magna Charta, & the other Charta de Forreſta. Thus at this parlement were made and confirmed theſe good lawes and landable ordinances, which haue bene from time to time by the kings and princes of this realme confirmed, ſo that a great part of the law now in uſe dependeth of the ſame. The ſame charters alſo were directed and ſent forth into euerie countie within the realme to be proclaimed.

It was moreover decreed, that at a certeine daie after Eaſter, there ſhould be an inquiſition taken by the inqueſt of a ſubſtantiall iurie, for the ſeuring of forreſts, the new from the old, ſo as all thoſe grounds which had bene made forreſts, ſince the daies of king Henrie the grandfather of this Henrie the third, ſhould be diſforeſted. And therevpon after Eaſter, Hugh de Reuill, and Brian de Lille, were ſent forth as commiſſioners, to take that inquiſition. By force thereof, manie woods were aſſerred and improued to arable land by the owners, and ſo not onely men, but alſo dogs, which for ſafegard of the game were accuſtomed to loſe their clawes, had good cauſe to reioiſe for theſe confirmed liberties.

In the meane time, and about the feaſt of the purification, king Henrie (hauing ſuff occaſion to purſue the warre, for recouerie of thoſe towneſ taken, as beſore you haue heard by the Frenchmen) ſent ouer his brother Richard, whom he had made earle of Cornewall and Poitou, with a mightie nante of ſhips vnto Calceigne. This earle, hauing in his company the earle of Salisburie, Philip de Albene, and others, with prosperous wind and weather arrived at Burdeaw with foure hundred ſailles, and there landing his men, went ſtraight vnto the towne of

ſaint Spachaire, ſituated vpon the banke of Saron, where, vpon his firſt comming, he gat the caſtell, and ſacked the towne, and then paſſing further, wan diuerſe other towneſ, as Longuille, Bergerat, and other, and after went with great diligence to beſiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Rioll. The French king aduerted of the earls arrivall, and of theſe his atchieued enterpriſes, ſent forth by and by the earle of Champaigne with a mightie armie into Guien to aid his people there.

The earle of Cornewall vnderſtanding of the coming of that French armie, toke a part of his hoſt, and therewithall went to meet his enimies, and lying in ambuſh for them by the way, had them at a good aduantage, and ſlew great numbers of them. After this, the earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and campe, without attempting any other exploit, the earle of Cornewall thought it ſufficient, if he might keepe the Calceignes in obedience, which had alreadie practiſed a rebellion, by ſending letters and meſſengers for the ſame intent vnto the French king, and therefore breaking by his ſiege beſore the Rioll, he ſtaied a while from exploiting any further enterpriſe. About the ſame time, the earle of Salisburie returning homewards out of Calceigne, was ſo toſſed and turmoiled on the ſeas by tempeſts of weather, that he fell ſicke thereof, and within a few daies after his arrivall died.

This yeare alſo, there came forth a decree from the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and his ſuffragans, that the concubines of preſts and clearkes within orders (for ſo were their wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) ſhould be denied of chriſtian buriall, except they repented whileſt they were alive in perfect health, or elſe ſhewed manifeſt tokens of repentance at the time of their deaths. The ſame decree alſo prohibited them from the receiuing of the paſt at maſſe time, & alſo of holic bread after maſſe, ſo long as the preſts kept them in their houſes, or vſed their companie publihelie out of their houſes. Moreover, that they ſhould not be purified when they ſhould be deliuered of child, as other good women were, unleſſe they found ſufficient ſueritie to the archdeacon, or his officiall, to make ſatisfaction at the next chapter or court to be holden, after they ſhould be purified. And the preſts ſhould be ſuſpended, which did not preſent all ſuch their concubines as were reſiſtant within their pariſhes. Alſo, all ſuch women as were conuict to haue dealt carnallie with a preſt, were appointed by the ſame decree to doe open penance. Where the queſtion may be aſked, whether this decree was extended to preſts wiues or no? Wherevnto anſwer may be made, that as a quadrangle in geometrie compriſeth in it a triangle, and a quaternion in arithmetike containeth a ternion; ſo in lo- gike a vniuerſall propoſition comprehendeth a particular. But it is ſaid here, that all ſuch women as had carnall knowledge with a preſt, were to be puniſhed, therefore ſome, and conſequentlie all preſts wiues. But yet this ſeemeth not to be the meaning of that decree, for preſts were allowed no wiues, naie Sericius the pope iudged that all ſuch of the cleargie as had wiues could not pleaſe God, becauſe they were *in carne*, which words he and the reſidue of that litter reſtrained to marriage, admitting in no caſe that churchmen ſhould inuade the rights of matrimo- nie. Wherein they offer God great iniurie, in ſeeking to limit that large inſtitution of wedlocke, wherein all eſtates are interreſſed; and they ſeeme likewiſe to violate nature, and to compell hir within certeine precincts, wherein they offer intollerable iniurie to all mankind, conſidering that

ad uenerem compellimur exercendam

Non modo nos, verum omne animal, terræq. marique

Natura

Towneſ won by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Harth, ſaith March. Paris.

The Frenchmen taken at aduantage.

The earle of Cornewall raiſeth his ſiege from the Rioll.

The death of the earle of Salisburie. March. Paris.

Preſts concubines forbidden chriſtian buriall.

Barth. Sworn.

March. Paris.

Anno Reg. 9.

2 parliament.

1225

3 ſixteenth granted to the king.

Magna Charta

and Charta

de Forreſta

confirmed.

Forreſts.

March. Paris.

Forreſts.

March. Paris.

Forreſts.

Forreſts.

*Nature imperio: facias peiora necesse est,
Si non ferimus forberis amore barathri.*

This yere, or (as some saie) in the next, the king granted to the citizens of London free warren, that is to saie, libertie to hunt within a certeine circuit about London, & that all wiers in the Thames should be plucked up and destroyed. Also in this tenth yere of his reigne, king Henrie granted to the citizens of London, that they might haue and vse a common seale. About the tyme of the making of which ordinances, whio the cardinal of S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano came as legat from pope Honorius into England to king Henrie, presenting him with letters from the pope. The tenour wherof when the king had well considered, he declared to the legat, that without the whole assent of the estates of his realme, he could do little in that which the pope as then required.

Hereupon therefore he caused a parlement to be summoned at Westmynster, there to be holden in the octaves of the Epiphanie: this legat also moued the king in the behalfe of Fouks de Bzent, that he might be restored to his possessions, and inioyn his wife as before tyme he had done: but the king declared that for his manifest treason committed he was iustlie exiled, and not onlie by his, but by the sentence of the nobles and other estates of the whole realme: which answer when the legat had heard, he left off to sollicit the king for Fouks, and from thenceforth talked no more of that matter. Shortly after by waie of prorie, the said legat gathered a dutie which he claimed of the spiritualtie, that was of euerie conuientuall church within the realme two markes of silver.

In this yere the king held his Christmasse at Winchester, and after comming to Sparlebridge, chanced there to fall sicke, so that he laie in despaire of life for certeine daies together. In the meane time also came the daie appointed for the parlement to begin at Westmynster, where the legat and other of the spiritualtie and temporaltie being assembled, the said whio shewed the popes letters, and according to the tenour and purport of the same, was earnestlie in hand to haue the priests to grant the yereleie payment of a certeine pension or tribute to the pope, towards the maintenance of his estate, which they generally denied. When he saw that this bait would not take, he onlie demanded a tenth part of all their spirituall linings for maintenance of the wars against the Saracens, which was easilie granted, as more reasonable than the first.

Where by diuerse credible wyters of god credit, it should appeare, that the pope demanded to haue assigned vnto him out of euerie cathed; all church two prebends, one out of the portion belonging to the bishop, & another out of the portion belonging to the deane and chapter: and likewise of the abbeyes, where there were severall portions, that is to saie, so much of the conuent as belonged to the finding of one monke, and as much also of euerie abbats lining as should counteruaile the same. The cardinal used tollie persuasions to induce the prelates to assent to this grant, alledging that the church of Rome was run in great sander for taking of monie in dispatch of suiters causes, which arose by meanes there was no maintenance of living sufficient for the churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall children to relieue the necessitie of their louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other god and well disposed persons were shortly extended, they should want necessarie maintenance for the sustentation of their lines, which should be altogether an vnseemlie thing for the dignitie of the Romane church.

The clergie resorting together to take aduise what answer they should make, at length vpon their resolute determination, John the archdeacon of Bedford was appointed to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the cardinal, declared boldly vnto him, that the demand which he had proponed, touched the king especiallie, and generallie all the nobilitie of the realme, which were patrons of anie churches. He added furthermore, how the archbishops and bishops, and manie other of the prelates of England (sithe the king by reason of his sicknesse could not be there) were also absent, so that they which were there present, being but as it were the inferior part of the house, neither might nor ought to make anie resolute answer as then in this matter. Immediately herewith also came the lord John Sparthall, and other messengers from the king vnto all the prelates that held anie baronies of the king, straightlie commanding them, that they should in no wise bind and indanger his laie sae vnto the church of Rome, whereby he might be depriued of his due and accustomed seruices, and so euerie man hereupon departed and went home.

This yere, the ples of the crowne were pleaded in the tower of London. And on the fiftenth daie of March in this tenth yere of his reigne, the king granted by his charter insealed, that the citizens of London should passe toll free through all England, and if anie of them were constrained in anie cite, borough or towne within the realme, to paie toll, that then the thiriffes of London might attach anie man of the said cite, borough or towne, where such toll was eracted, being found within the liberties of London, and him reteine with his goods and cattels, till the citizens that paid such toll were satisfied, by restitution of the same, with all costs and charges sustained in the suit. Howbeit, about the same tyme, the king constrained the Londoners to giue vnto him the summe of five thousand markes as a fine, for that they had aided and succoured his aduersarie Lewes against him, and lent to the said Lewes at his departure out of the realme a like summe. But it may rather be thought they gaue vnto the king the said five thousand markes for his fauour shewed in granting vnto them the aboue mentioned freedoms and liberties. At the same tyme, he had also twelue hundred pounds of the burgessees of Southampton, besides the fifteenth, which not onlie they, but also the Londoners, and all other generally through the realme, paid accordinglie as it was granted.

In Februarie, the king called a parlement at Bedford, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the assemblee, that he was now of lawfull age to gouerne of himselfe, without anie to haue rule over him, and so whereas before he was gouerned first by the earle of Denbroke lord protectour, whilest he liued, & after by the bishop of Winchester and others, he now remoued them from him by the counsell of the lord chiefe iustice, taking the regiment wholie to himselfe, & to such as should please him from thenceforth to appoint. Also in the same parlement, he did cancell and disanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the same had bene used through the realme for the space of two yeres, pretending them to be of no value, sith they were sealed and signed whilest he was vnder age. This deed of the king was graueouslie taken, and all the blame put in the lord chiefe iustice. Herewith all such also as claimed anie manner charters of liberties, were appointed to remoue the same (a practise onlie to get monie) and to get them confirmed with the kings new seale, the old being made void and pronounced of none effect.

In this yere died the French king Lewes the eighth, and his son Lewes the ninth succeeded him.

The answer
of John the
archdeacon
of Bedford

Fabian,

A grant to
the citizens
of London.

March. Parly.

Anno Reg.

1227

A parlement
at Bedford.

The king &
lawfull age.

March. Parly.

Polydor.

The charters
cancelled.

The death
of Lewes the
French king

The earle of
Warwic com-
meth ouer to
the king and
offereth him
his seruice.

Polydor.

Math. Paris.
Ambassadors
sent into
France.

Polydor.

The earle of
Cornwall re-
turneth home.
Math. Paris.

The earle of
Cornwall.

He departed
from the court
secretly.

He cometh
himselfe with
the earles of
Chester and
Penbroke
and others.

They met
at Stamford
with an armie

a child of twelue yeares of age, by reason of whose in-
fancie diuerse partes of the realme began to with-
draw their obedience from him, as Theobald earle of
Champaigne, Hugh earle of Warth, and Peter duke
of Britaine. Whereof, the earle of Champaigne was
easilie rebued againe to his former obedience, by the
high wisdom and policie of the queene mother,
who had the gouernement of hir sonne the yong
king and his realme committed vnto hir. But the
earle of Warth constant in his purpose, came ouer
to king Henrie, whose mother he had married, and
declared vnto him, that now was the time for him to
reouer those places, which king Philip had vniustlie
taken from his father king John: and to bring the
same to passe, he offered himselfe and all that he
could make, in the furthering of this voyage. The
king being thus pricked forward with the earle of Warth
his words, determined without delaie to take in
hand the warre.

¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that king
Henrie sent ouer certaine persons, as the archbishop
of Poike, the bishop of Careleill, and the Lord Phi-
lip Dablenie, to vnderstand the minds of the Flo-
mans, the Britains and Poitouins. And for that
those that were sent, brought word againe that the
said people were not greatlie minded to forsake the
French gouernment, he succceeded from attempting
any exploit at that time. Other write, that gathering
a great summe of monie of his subjects, towards
the maintenance of his charges, he prepared a nauie
of ships, and sailed ouer with the said earle of Warth
into Britaine, and there waisted the confines of the
French dominions, and that when the French king
was readie with an armie to succour his subjects, he
suddenlie retired to his ships, and returned into
England, without achieving anie enterprise wor-
thie of remembrance, so that whether he went him-
selfe or sent, it forceth not: for certeine it is that he
profited nothing at that season, either by sending mes-
sengers to procure him friendship, or by going ouer
himselfe to make an entrie to the warres.

When the French affaires were thus at a state,
within a few moneths after, Richard earle of Corne-
wall returned forth of Gascoigne into England, and
shortlie after, because he heard and was crediblie in-
formed, that a certeine manour place which Wale-
rane the Duchman, capitaine of Berkmsted castell
held, by the gift and assignement of king John, ap-
pertained to his earldome of Cornwell, he seized
the castell into his hands. So that Walerane being
thus dispossessed, exhibited his bill of complaint to the
king, who incontinentlie sent to the earle, comman-
ding him to make restitution, which he bitterlie refu-
sed to do. But forthwith, comming to the king, and
without reteining any aduocate, he declared his
right which he offered to auerre in open presence, & in
any of the kings courts, before what soeuer peres of
the realme should be there assembled.

This addition [the peres of the realme] nothing
pleased the king and his counsell, namelye the lord
chefe iustice, by whose aduice the king meant to haue
apprehended the earle the same night, after he was
withdrawne to his lodging. But the earle warned
thereof, secretlie departed, accompanied onelie with
one man, and neuer drewe vnto out of his horses
mouth, untill he came to Reading (whither his ser-
uants resorted to him) and from thence he rode
straight to Warlebyrge, where he found his deare
friend William earle of Warthall, to whom he did im-
part the danger likelie to haue befallen him. Then
they drewe to the erle of Chester, & taking order with
him for the raising of an armie, there met shortlie af-
ter at Stamford the persons whose names hereafter
insue; Ranulfe earle of Chester, William Warthall

earle of Penbroke, Richard earle of Cornwell the
kings brother, Gilbert earle of Gloucester, William
earle Warren, Henrie earle of Hereford, William
earle Ferrers, William earle of Warwike, and di-
uerse barons, lords and knights, hauing there with
them a great puissance of warlike personages.

The king hauing vnderstanding as well of their
demeanor, as also what they required by their letters
and messengers to him daile sent, thought good for
a time to pacifie their furie, and thereupon appointed
a day at Northampton, where he would meet, and
minister such iustice vnto them, as should be thought
reasonable, and to stand with their good willes and
contentation. Whereupon, the parties comming to
Northampton at the day assigned, he granted to the
earle his brother (at the instant desire of the lords) all
his mothers dowrie, with all those lands which be-
longed to the earle of Britaine within England, and
withall, those lands also that appertained to the earle
of Bullongne deceased. Thus the matter being pact-
fied, euerie man departed to his home, whereas if the
king had bene forward (as he was mild and patient,
knowing that

non solis viribus equum

Credere, sapienti potior prudentia dextra

warres had immediatlie bene raised betwixt them,
namelie, because manie of the lords bare a secret
grudge towards the king, for that he had reuoked
certeine liberties which in the beginning of his reigne
he had granted to be holden, though now to take a-
waite the enuie which might be conceiued towards
him for his doing, he alledged, that he did not in-
fringe any thing that he had then granted, but such
things as his gouernours had suffered to passe whi-
lest he was vnder age, and not ruler of himselfe: he
caused them therefore to redeme manie of the same
priuileges, whereby he gained great finance for the
setting to of his new seale (as before we haue heard
declared.)

Moreover, in this yeate there were sent certeine
persons from pope Gregorie the ninth (that succeeded
Honorius) into all the parts of Europe, to moue by
preaching the christian people to make a iourne into
the holie land against the Saracens. Such a multi-
tude by means hereof did assemble together from all
parts, and that within a short time, as the like had si-
dome times bene heard of. It is said, that amongst
them there should be to the number of fortie thou-
sand Englishmen, of whom Peter bishop of Wilt-
chester, and William bishop of Excester were the
chefe. Captains also of that great multitude of cro-
sed souldiers that went forth of sundrie countries
were these, Theobald earle of Champaigne, and Phi-
lip de Albennie, through whose negligence the sequels
of this noble enterprise came but to small effect. But
to proceed.

About this time the king minding the benefit of
the commonwealth, caused the weights and mea-
sures generallie within the land to be reformed after
one standard. Furthermore, he created Hubert de
Burgh earle of Kent, the which Hubert how much
praise so euer he got at the beginning for his valian-
cie shewed in the defending of Dover castell, and in
vanquishing the French fleet that was comming to
the succour of Aewes by battell on the sea, it is cer-
taine, that now he purchased himselfe double as much
hatred and euill will, because that being of secret
counsell with the king, and thereby after a long seque-
stred from the lords, he was knowne to dissuade the
said prince from restoring of the ancient lawes and
customs vnto the people, which the barons oft re-
quired: whereby it came to passe, that the more he
grew in fauour with the prince, the further he came
into the enuie of the nobilitie, and hatred of the pro-
ple,

A day appoint-
ed to meet at
Northampton,
for a treatie of
pacification.

The kings
grant to his
brother.

Val. Flac. lib. 4.

The pope ex-
horteth the
christians to
make a iour-
ne against
the Saracens

Math. Paris
sixtie thousand.

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 12.

1228

Math. Paris.
Weights and
measures.

Polydor.
Hubert de
Burgh crea-
ted earle of
Kent.

ple, which is a common reward to such as in respect of their master do little regard the profit of others, as the proverbe saith,

Plus qui honoretur hostis tum multiplicatur.

Stephan archbishop of Canturburie departed this life.

Richard Wetherstede elected in his place. Math. Paris. Walter Melham.

Furthermore, upon the ninth of Julie Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie died, after he had governed that see the terme of 21 yeares, after whome succeeded Richard Wetherstede deane of Paules, who was the thre and fortith archbishop of that see. The monks of Canturburie had first elected one of their owne convent, named Walter de Helme: thain: which election was made by the same monks the thir dale of August next insuing the death of their said archbishop Stephan, but the king would not consent that he should have the place for diverse causes, which he obiected: as first, for that he knew him to be such a man as should be unprofitable, both to him and to his kingdom. Secondlie, because his father was a heretic, and thereof being convicted, suffered death upon the gallows. Thirde, for that he himselfe had stood against king John in time of the interdictiō.

A new trouble about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie.

Fabian.

Polydor. The earle of March sought to induce the Normans & Poitouins to favour the king of England. The Normans wrote to the king of England.

Math. Paris.

The Welsh besiege the castle of Mountgomerie.

On the other side, the bishops asstragans to the church of Canturburie obiected also against him, that he had used the familiar companie of a nunne, and begot of hir certeine children. Wherupon they alleged, that no election without their consent, could be good, nor ought to take place. But the monke making his appeale, stood in it, and taking with him certeine of his fellow monks of Canturburie, went to Rome, and there made supplication to the pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified and confirmed. Whereof the king and the other bishops being advertised, did put their objections in writing under their seales, & sent the same to Rome to be exhibited to the pope by the bishops of Weshchester and Rochester, and John the archdeacon of Bedford, who used such means, that his election was judged void, & then the said Richard Wetherstede was out of hand elected & confirmed. In that yeare also, a grant was made to the citizens of London, that they should have and use a common seale.

In this means while, Hugh the earle of March so laboured with the Normans and Poitouins in the behalfe of the king of England, that they began to incline to his purpose: whereupon he sent his letters by secret meanes unto king Henrie, signifying to him, that if it would please him to come over with an armie to make warre against the French king, they would be ready to turne unto his side, and receive him as their soueraigne. King Henrie taking aduise what to answer and do herein, with his welbeloued counsellour Hubert of Burgh, thought it not good to attempt any thing rashlie in this matter, because the dealings of the Normans were neuer without some fraud: but yet to satisfie the request of his friends, he promised to come over shortly unto them, if in the meane time he might perceiue that they remained stedfast in their purpose, giuing them furthermore manie great and hartie thanks for their good meaning and singular kindnesse towards him.

Now things beyond the sea standing in this order, it happened in the moneth of August, that the soldiers which late in garrison within the castle of Mountgomerie, took in hand to stocke up a wood not farre from the said castle, through which lay an high waie, where oftentimes manie felonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welsh. As the soldiers were busie at worke in stocking up the wood, there came upon them an ambushment of Welshmen, which not onlie drave them awaie from their worke, but also took and slew diuerse of them, constraining the residue to flee into the castle, which immediatlie the Welshmen inuironed also about

with a strong siege, thinking to find the defendants unprovided.

They with in advertised Hugh de Burgh, the lord chiefe iustice (to whome the castle belonged by the kings late gift) of the exploit and enterprize attempted by their enemies, with all possible hast: whereupon the king at request of the said Hubert lent a power, and came to raise the siege. But the Welshmen hearing of the kings approach, fled awaie like sheepe, so that comming to the castle, he found no resistance: howbeit, for so much as he saw the foresaid wood to be troublesome and an annoyance to the said castle, he willed it to be destroyed. True it is, that the same wood was verie thicke and rough, and further it contained also five leagues or sixtene miles in length: yet by such diligence as was used, the same was waisted, stocked up, and quicklie rid out of the waie by fire and other means, so that the countrie was made plaine a great waie about.

After this, the king departed forth into the Welsh confines, and comming to an abbete of the white monks called Cride, caused it to be burnt, because it serued as a refuge for his enemies. Then by the aduise of the lord chiefe iustice Hubert de Burgh, he set in hand to build a castle there, because the place seemed verie fit for fortification. But after the king with his armie had laine there thre months, through lacke of vittells (the Welshmen still cutting the Englishmen off as they went abroad to fetch in forrage and other provision) he was constrained to fall to a greement with Leolin their prince, and receiving of the said prince the summe of thre thousand marks, he was contented that so much of the castle as was already builded, should be raced and made flat againe with the ground, before his departure from thence. Whereupon, manie men took occasion to tell at the lord chiefe iustice and his doings about this castle, who at the beginning named it Huberts folle.

Amongst other also that were taken prisoners by the Welshmen, whilst the king thus vainele spent his time about the building of that fort, William de Breuse a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Leolin prince of Wales, was by him cruelle put to death (as after shall appeare) for the which act, and other such iniuries received at the same Leolins hands, king Henrie at length grievously punished him. ¶ For the most part of this summer season, great thunders happened in England: the element also seemed as though it had burned with continuall flames: steeles, churches, and other hie buildings were stricken with lightning, and the harvest was sore hindered by continuall raine. Also in the middelt of the day there came a wonderful darkenesse upon the earth, that the brightnesse of the aire seemed to be covered and taken awaie.

In the thirtieth yeare of this king, Stephan the popes chapleine and his Nuncio came over unto king Henrie, requiring to haue towards the maintenance of the popes warres against the emperor Frederike, a tenth part of all the mouerable goods within the realmes & countreies of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of spirituall persons as temporal. Whereupon, a parlement or assemblie of the lords was called at Westminster, on the second sundae after Easter, which was the 29 of Aprill. At which parlement, when the popes buls were read, and the matter therein contained plainlie opened and examined, to the end it might appeare upon what necessarie causes the pope was constrained to pursue the said wars, and to aske reliefe of faithful christian people, being members of the holie church: the king, because he had by his procurators at Rome aforehand promised & bound himselfe to such payment of tenths, sate still, and answered not to the contrarie

The king with an armie commeth to the succour of them which the castle.

The abbete Cride burnt.

The king to giueth to build a castle.

He is ready to agree with the Welshmen.

The lord William de Breuse taken prisoner.

Math. Paris. Strange sights in the aie.

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 1229.

3 parliament or a council held.

(whereas

The temporal
lord refuse to
aid the pope
with monie.

(whereas the hope of a great number was reposed in him, that by his deniall the popes request shuld haue bene frustrat) so that when by his silence he was ad-
iudged to consent, yet the temporal lordes & laie men utterly denied to agree vnto such paiment, not wil-
ling in any wise to bind their baronies and tempo-
rall possessions vnto the church of Rome.

Stephan de
Segraue.
The tenths
of the spiritu-
allie granted
to the pope.

Howbeit, the bishops, abbats, priors, and other ec-
clesiasticall persons, after they had shewed them-
selues to rest doubtfull (not without great grudging
and murmuring in the meane time, for the space of
three or foure daies togither) at length, for feare of ex-
communication, consented to be contributozie, but
in such sort, as they had escaped for a farre moze rea-
sonable summe, if Stephan Segraue one of the
kings counsell had not by compact (as was thought)
made with the Nuncio, wrought so in the matter,
that the tenths were finally granted, to the great
impouerishment and inestimable damage of the
church and realme of England. After this, the Nun-
cio shewed the procuratozie letters, whereby he was
authorized to gather those tenths, and that not after
a common manner, but by a verie straight and hard
valuation.

And for the moze sure waie of proceeding herein,
he had letters of authoritie from the pope, to excom-
municate all such as should withstand him or his de-
puties in proceeding with those affaires. He shewed
himselfe mozeouer verie extream in collecting of
this monie, and namelie towards the prelates of the
church, inasmuch that appointing him a certeine day
in the which vnder paine of excommunication they
should make paiment, diuers for want of readie mo-
nie, were compelled to make shift with the chalices,
and other vessels and ornaments belonging to their
churches, and other were glad to take by monie by
on interest, and for that shift there were come ouer
with the Nuncio diuerse wicked blurers vnder the
name of merchants, which when they saw those that
stood in need like to be excommunicate for want of
readie monie, they would offer themselves to lend
vnto any that would borrow, after the rate of one no-
ble for the loan of twentie by the moneth, so bring-
ing the needie into their snares, to their irrecovera-
ble losses and vndoing. Whereby the land was filled
with bitter cursings (though in secret) by those that
withed such vnrasonable exactors neuer to see god
end of the vse of that monie.

Math. Paris.

From that day forward there wanted not in
England certeine blurers called Caurini, which
sought nothing else but the wealth of such persons
as they might get into their snares, namelie those
whome the church of Rome both ber and put to trou-
ble with hir exactions and paiments. The earle of
Chester onlie stood manfullie against the paiment
of those tenths, inasmuch that he would not suffer
his lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold
he permit the religious men and preests that held of
his fee to pay the same, although the rest of England,
Wales, Ireland, and Scotland were compelled to be
contributozie thereto, hauing onlie this comfort,
that not they alone, but also other forren regions
were vnto to do the like. Thus did the locusts of
Rome from time to time sucke the sweetnesse of the
land, and all to mainteine the pompe and pride of the
same, wherein what other practises did they vse, than
as one truelle testifieth.

*Cuncti luxuria atq; gula furtiſq; dolisq;
Certum incumbunt, &c.*

King Henrie
prepareth to
paste ouer into
France.

But to let this passe: king Henrie purposing to saile
ouer into Britaine and inuade France, came to
Portsmouth about Michaelmasse, with such an armie
assembled out of England, Wales, Ireland, and
Scotland, as the like for number of people had not

bene knowne to haue passed ouer with any of his
ancestors: howbeit when he shuld come to the verie
point of imbarcking his people, with vittels, armor,
and other prouision, there were not ships sufficient to
passe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when
the king saw this default, he was sore offended, but
chafelie with Hubert the earle of Kent, lord chiefe
iustice, inasmuch that he openlie called him old trait-
or, and laid to his charge how he had thus bled the
matter of purpose, onlie to pleasure the queene of
France, of whome (as he said) he had receiued five
thousand marks to hinder his proceedings. In this
heat if the earle of Chester and other had not bene
at hand, he had suerlie slaine the chiefe iustice euen
there with his owne sword, who was glad to auoid
his presence, till his angrie mood was somewhat ouer-
passed.

In the meane time there arrived Henrie earle of
Britaine on the ninth of October, which shuld haue
conducted the king into his countrie. But sith win-
ter was come vpon them, he aduised him to stay till
the next spring, and so he did. When euerie man was
licenced to depart home, and the earle of Kent recon-
ciled againe into fauour. The earle of Britaine in like
maner did homage to the king for Britaine, and the
king restored him to all his rights in England, and
further giuing him five thousand marks to defend
his countrie against the enmities, sent him home a-
gaine in most courteous and louing maner. In this
yeere of our Lord 1230 king Henrie held his Christ-
masse at Poike, togither with the king of Scots,
whome he had desired to come thither at that time,
that they might make merrie: and so for the space of
three daies togither, there was great banketting
and sport betwene them. On the fourth day they
toke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with
rich gifts returning towards his countrie, and the
king of England towards London.

Upon the five and twentieth day of Januarie also,
while the bishop of London was at high masse with-
in the church of S. Paule in London, a sudden dark-
nesse ouershadowed the quire, and therewith such a
tempest of thunder and lightning, that the people
there assembled thought verelie the church and stee-
ple had come downe vpon their heads. There came
mozeouer such a filthy fauour and stinke withall,
that partlie for feare, and partlie for that they might
not abide the fauour, they voided the church, falling
on heapes one vpon another, as they sought to get
out of the same. The vicars and canons for toke their
deskes, so that the bishop remained there onlie with
one deacon that serued him at masse. Afterward,
when the aire began to cleare vp, the people returned
into the church, and the bishop went forward and fi-
nished the masse.

In the meane time the king leuied a great summe
of monie of the prelates of his land towards his iour-
nie into France: he had also a great relese of the
citizens of London. And the Jewes were constrain-
ed to giue to him the third part of all their mouea-
ble goods. In the moneth of Aprill, Leolin prince
of Wales caused William de Beuse, whom he had
taken prisoner long before (as aboue is mentioned)
to be hanged on a paire of gallowes, for that he was
taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wiife
of the said prince. And on the last day of Aprill, the king
with a puissant armie toke the sea at Portsmouth,
and landed at saint Palos in Britaine on the third
day of May, where he was right iustlie receiued of
Henrie earle of that countrie. After he was thus ar-
riued in Britaine, he entered into the French domi-
nions, with the said earle, and the earle of March his
father in law, doing much hurt within the same.
His armie dailye increasing by the great numbers

The earle of
Kent fallen in
to the kings
displeasure.

Henrie earle
of Britaine.
The kings
iournee de-
ferred.

Anno. Reg. 14.
1230
Math. Paris.
The king of
Scots kept
Christmasse
with the king
of England
at Poike.

Math. Paris.
A strange
tempest at
London.
See John
Srow, pag.
261. of his
large collectiō
printed 1580.

Math. Paris.

The king ge-
thereth monie
towards his
iournee into
France.

Math. Paris.
The Lord
W. de Beuse
hanged.

The king set-
teth ouer into
France.

were beaten downe on all parts, and utterlie banquished, with losse of 20 thousand men (as it was credibly reported.) The king of Connagh was also taken and committed to prison.

In the meane time king Henrie hauing spent a great deale of treasure in his iourne made into France, there was granted vnto him a sixteenth of the temporaltie, with a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie, towards the furnishing out of a new powder of men to be sent into Spaine against the Saracens, which made fore warres vpon the christians in that countrie, whereupon king Henrie being required of the K. of Aragon to aid him with some number of souldiers, he sent a great power thither with all speed, and so likewise did the French king. By means whereof the Spaniards, being joined with Englishmen and Frenchmen, obtained a noble victorie, in banquishing those their enemies. Thus saith Polydor. But other write that the king on the seauen and twentieth of Iannuarie, holding a parlement at Westminster (where the Nobles both spirituall and temporall were assembled) demanded escheuage of all those that held any baronies of him, that is to saie, forren knights six, fortye shillings, or thre marks.

Moreover, the archbishop of Canturburie (as they say) stood against the king in this demand, maintaining that the cleargie ought not to be subiect vnto the iudgement of laie men, sith this escheuage was granted in the parts beyond the seas without their consent. Whereupon the matter as touching the bishops was deferred till the quindene of Easter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the spiritualtie consented to the kings will. ¶ About this time also there chanced to rise a great strife and contention betwixt Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert the earle of Kent, who as garbrian to the young erle of Gloucester had got into his hands the castell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certeine other possessions which belonged to the archbishops see, and therefore did the archbishop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he sustained.

Now when he perceived no hope likelie to come for any redresse at the kings hands, he took an other way: and first by his pontificall authoritie, accursed all those that withheld the same possessions, and all their maintainers (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the pope, he went to prosecute his appeale at Rome; whither the king and the earle sent also their procurators, and made the pope their arbitrator to iudge of the matter. In the end pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole proceesse of the controuersie, iudged the right to remaine with the archbishop, who hauing then obtained his desire, hastened toward England: but as he was returning homeward, he died by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the popes iudgement took no place: for whilst the see was void, there was none that would follow the suit: and such was the end of this controuersie for this time.

After the decesse of this archbishop Richard, the monks elected Ralfe Penill bishop of Chichester the kings chancellor, an upright man, and of iust dealing in all his doings. In whome also it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfepeece to the monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iourne to Rome, which they should take vpon them from thence to fetch his confirmation, according to the manner, least he should burthen his conscience with the crime of simonie which he greatlie abhorred, although some imputed this to proceed rather of a cloaked spice of couetousnesse. Which practise of his marked greatlie to the confounding of the indirect means now vsed to aspire vnto promotions, for the

obteinement whereof no remedie is forborne; no, though the same be repugnant to reason, and utterlie against conscience and honestie. But this is the temptation of auarice and ambition, which poison the minds of men in such sort, that rather than they will want their wished aduancement, they will vse these meanes that may further them most, namely, friendship, monie, and mightie mens countenance; which one noteth verie well in a distichon of neat deulfe, saieing,

Artu, honestatis recti, praecepta, decem, vim,

Conculcat, superant, spernunt, fauor, ara, potentes,

But to the purpose from whence we are digressed: When the monks came to the popes presence, vpon inquirie made, and chafelie by report of Simon Langton, who (as some thinke) gaped for the dignitie, he vnderstand that the said Ralfe Penill should be a man vnlearned, a courtier, haustie and hoist of iuggs, and that which most displeased the pope, it was to be feared, that if he should be preferred to that roine, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England from the thraldome of the pope, and the court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by king John it had latelie bene brought) that (as he should alledge) it might serue God and holie church in the old accustomed libertie.

To bring this to passe (hauing the king thereto greatlie inclined, and all the realme readie to assist him in the same) he would not sticke to put his life in ieopardie, namely vpon confidence of the right and appeales of Stephen the late archbishop of Canturburie, made in soleinne wise, before the altar of S. Paule in the cathedrall church of London, when king John resigning his crowne into the hands of, the legat, made that writing obligatorie most execrable to the whole world.

When the pope had heard this tale told, he streit disanulled the election and request of the confirmation of the said Ralfe Penill, granting libertie to the monks to chuse some other which might proue a wholesome shepheard for the soule of man, profitable to the church of England; and a faithfull sonne to the see of Rome, and so the monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had sped. After this, the monks elected the prior of their house named John to be their archbishop, who going to Rome for his confirmation, was perswaded in the end to renounce his election: so that at length one Edmund that was treasurer of the college of Salisburie, was elected, confirmed, and consecrated, a man of great zeale, being the fourth & sixtith archbishop that had governed that see.

This yeare the kings brother the earle of Cornewall married the countesse of Gloucester, widow to the late earle Gilbert, and sister to William Marshall earle of Denbroke, the which erle of Denbroke shortly after the same marriage departed this life, and was buried on the sixteenth day of Aprill, in the new temple at London, nere vnto his father. Moreover, Leolin prince of Wales about this season enterprising to invade the English confines, burned and wasted the countrie in most cruell wise. Whereof the king being aduertised, hastened south by great iournies, with purpose to reuenge such iniuries. But the enemies hearing of his coming (according to the custome of their countrie) withdrew into the mountains, bogs, and marishes. Wherefore the king (seeing that he could not haue them at his pleasure, and least he should be thought to spend time in vaine) came backe, and left behind him a small trope of souldiers to resist their attempts, if they should happen to rise by any more.

The Welshmen hauing intelligence that the king was returned home, brake forth againe as before in

1331

A fifth
and tenth
granted to
the king.
Polydor.
Englishmen
sent to Spain
against the
Saracens.

Math. Paris.
Polydor.

Escheuage
demanded.

The archb.
of Canturburie
standeth
against the
king in
defense of
his cleargie.

Controuersie
betwixt the
archb. and
the earle of Kent.

Math. Paris.

Ralfe Penill
chosen archb.
of Canturburie.

Simon Lang-
tons report of
the condition
of Ralfe
Penill.

See before
in pag. 177.
178.
The pope
maketh void the
election.

The earle of
Cornewall
marrieth the
countesse of
Gloucester.

The earle of
Denbroke
departed this
life.
Polydor.
Leolin prince
of Wales in-
uaded the
English bo-
ders.

The welsh
men put to
flight.

The king go-
eth against the
welshmen.
Mauch. Paris.

The English
men distressed.

Spawds ca-
stell repaired.

Mauch. Paris.

Henrie earle
of Britaine,
and the earle
of Chester
distresse the
French kings
cariages.

A truce ta-
ken.

Anno Reg. 16.
1 2 3 2
Mauch. Paris.

An hundred-
thre & presum-
ptuous attempt

to the English marshes, and not onelie toke prizes
and booties, but went about to despoile with fire and
sword all that stood in their way. Whobett in their re-
turne, and as they ranged abroad somewhat unadui-
seble, they were intrapped by the foultiers which the
king had left there for the defense of the countrie, and
put to flight nere the castell of Mountgomerie, with
great slaughter & losse of their people. But Leolin no-
thing dissuaded therewith, assembled a greater power
than he had before, and began forthwith to rob and
spoil within the English marshes with paganish
crueltie. Which thing when it came to the under-
standing of the king, he was verie sore displeased,
that to meane a man as Leolin was, should put him
to so much trouble, therefore he raised a farre greater
armie than he had done at anie time before, and with
the same came to the cite of Hereford.

In the meane time Leolin comming nere unto
the said castell of Mountgomerie, by the praecise of a
traitorous monke, trained forth the English souldi-
ers which late in garrison there, and counterfeiting
to flee, till he had laid them by in bogs and mires
with their horses, so as they could not helpe them-
selves, he fell upon them, and so slew and toke a great
number of them even as he could haue wished. The
king advertised hereof, hastned the faster forward, and
comming into those parts, as he passed by an abbete
of the Cisterciens order of which house the monke was
that had betrayed the Englishmen of Mountgome-
rie, he burned a grange that belonged to the same
abbete, and further spoiling the same abbete it selfe,
he had set it on a light fire also, if the abbat therof had
not redeemed it with the summe of thre hundred
marks of silver. After this, he caused Spawds cas-
tell to be repaired and fortified, which the Welshmen
in times past had overthrowne, and when the worke
was finished, he left there a strong garrison of souldi-
ers to keepe backe the Welshmen from making
their accustomed incursions.

Whilest the king was thus occupied in Wales,
there was some busines in France, for in the moneth
of June, the French king with an armie came to in-
uade the countrie of Britaine, but earle Henrie with
the earle of Chester and the other English captains
found means to take and despoile all the cariages
and wagons which came with vittels and other provi-
sion to serue the French armie. When the French
men perceived they could not haue their purpose, by
mediation of the archbishop of Reims, and the earle
of Bolognie on the French part, and by consent of
the earles of Britaine and Chester on the English
part, a peace was concluded, or rather a truce to in-
dure for thre yeares betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France. This agreement was made the
first daie of Iulie, and then the earles of Britaine
and Chester, with Richard Sparshall, came ouer into
England, and rode to the king, whom they found at
Spawds castell, where he remained till the worke
was finished, and then in the moneth of October re-
turned into England.

In this meane time no small grudge arose among
the people, by reason that their churches were occu-
pied by incumbents that were strangers, promoted
by the popes and their legats, who neither instructed
the people, nor could well speake anie moze English
than that which serued for the collection of their tithes,
in so much that for the insolencie of such incumbents
as well the noble men and those of good reputation,
as other of the meaner sort, by an vndiscreet presump-
tion attempted a disorderlie redresse, confederating
themselves together, and taking vpon them to write
and direct their letters vnto bishops and chapters,
commanding them by waie of inhibition, not to
suerne to interrupt those that should seise vpon the

beneficed strangers, or vpon their reuenues.

They also toke vpon them to write vnto such re-
ligious men and others, which were farmers vnto a-
nie of those strangers, forbidding them to stand ac-
countable vnto the said strangers, but to retaine the
rents and profits in their hands to answer the same
vnto such as they should appoint for the receipt ther-
of. The superscription of their letters was this. *Te-
li episcopo, & tali capitulo, universis eorum, qui magis vo-
lunt mori quam a Romanis confundi, salutem.* That is to
say, To such a bishop and chapter, all those which had
rather die than be confounded by the Romans,
send greeting. In the seale therewith the said letters
were sealed, were two swords ingrauen.

This matter went so farre forth, that there were
sundry persons armed and disguised like mummers,
which enterprised not onelie to take diuerse of those
strangers that were beneficed men, but also came to
their barnes, thysed by their graine, and either
made sale therof, or gaue it away for God his sake,
showing counterfeited letters vnder the kings
seale, which they had procured for their warrant, as
they did pretend. At length the pope vpon complaint
made vnto him of such violent doings, wrote to king
Henrie, blaming him not a little for suffering such
disorders to be committed within his realme, com-
manding him vpon paine of excommunication to
cause a diligent inquirie to be had of the offendours,
and to see them tharpe punished, to the example of
others.

Whereupon he sent letters to the bishop of Win-
chester, and to the abbat of saint Edmundsburie,
to make the like inquisition, and to accorde all those that
should be found culpable within the south parts of
England, as he did to the archbishop of Yorke, to the
bishop of Durham, and to an Italian named John a
canon of Yorke, to doe the like in the north parts, so
that the offendours should remaine accursed, till they
came to Rome, there to fetch their absolution. Here-
upon therefore a generall inquisition was taken, as
well by the king as by the bishops, and manie found
guiltie, some in fact, and some in consent: amongst
which number there were both bishops and chapeins
to the king, with archdeacons and deanes, knights,
and manie of the laitie.

There were some christies and bailiffes also, which
by the kings commandement were arrested and put
in prison, and diuerse of all sorts did keepe themselves
out of the waie, and would not as yet be found. In
like maner, Hubert earle of Bent, lord chiefe iustice,
was accused to be chiefe transgressor in this mat-
ter, as he that had giuen forth the kings letters pa-
tents to those disguised and masking thythers, who
had taken vpon them so to sequester other mens
goods, whereto they had no right. There came also
to the king one sir Robert de Twing, a knight of the
north parts (which named himselfe William Wel-
thefse, and had led about a companie of the foresaid
maskers) professing that he had done it vpon iust
cause to be reuenged vpon the Romans, which went
about by sentence of the pope, and manifest fraud to
spoil him of the parsonage of a certeine church which
he held, and therefore he said he had rather stand accu-
sed without iust cause for a time, than to lose his bene-
fice without due iudgement. Whobett the king and
the other commissioners counseled him in the end to
go to Rome to purchase his absolution, although he was
fallen in danger of excommunication, and there to
sue for his pardon in the popes consistorie. And to in-
courage him the better so to doe, the king wrote also
in his fauour to the pope, testifying the right which he
claimed to the church, wherby at length he obtained
his suit (as after ye shall heare.)

The king called a parlement at Westminster,
wherein

The super-
scription of
their letters.

Washing
thythers.

The popes re-
plameth to
the king, in bla-
ming him.
The pope re-
mandeth the
offendours to
be accursed.

Inquisition
taken.

The earle of
Bent put in
blame.

Sir Robert
de Twing.

Polydore
& perken
wherein

A subsidie
granted,
and denied.

The bishop of
Winchester
counsel given
to the king.

wherein declaring that charges he had bene at divers waies, he required to have a subsidie granted him, for the relese of his want, which was flatly denied, the Nobles and other estates excusing the poverty amongst all degrees of men, by manie evident reasons. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester being a verie eloquent and faire-spoken man, openly counsell'd the king to favour his people, whom he had already made poore and bare with continuall tributes and exactions. And if it were so that he stood in such need as was alledged, that then he should take into his hands againe such possessions and things, which during the time of his yong yeeres he had bestowed upon his servants, without any good advised consideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and discretion, and againe to take from certeine covetous persons, who now were become houseleeches and caterpillers in the commonwealth, all such offices as they held, and had verie much abused, causing them to preld by their accounts, and to vse them after the manner of sponges, so that where he had in times past made them full of moisture, he might now wring them drie, following herein the example of Aepasian. And by this means it was not to be doubted but he should have inough of his owne, with out doing iniurie to any man.

The king fol-
loweth the
bishop of win-
chesters coun-
sell.

Marth. Paris.
Kanalfe Bish-
op, Peter
de Rualles.

The earle of
Kent discharged
of his office
of cheefe
iustice.
Marth. Paris.

The earle of
Kent taketh
sanctuarie.

The citizens
of London
their good de-
votion to-
wards the
earle of Kent.

The king gaue verie good eare to the bishops words, and following his counsell, caused his receivers, treasurers, and other such as had medled with any of his receipts to come to a reckoning. And understanding by the auditors appointed to take their accounts, that the most part of them had received much more and by other means than they had entered into their reckoning, he compelled them to restore it out of hand with interest. Also he caused the magistrats to be called to a reckoning, and manie of them being convicted of fraud, were condemned to make restitution. And among other Kanalfe Britton treasurer of his chamber was put beside his office, and fined at a thousand marks, in whose place was set Peter de Rualles, or after some copies de Rualles, a Boldouin, nephew or rather sonne to the bishop of Winchester, by whose aduice the king took a more strait account of his officers, and often removed such as he iudged guiltie.

At the same time also, Hubert earle of Kent was deposed from the office of high iustice, and Stephan Segraue appointed in his rowe. The said Hubert (because he refused to answer a certeine dutie which was demanded of him to the kings vse) ran so farre into his displeasure, that he durst not abide his sight, but for safegard of himselfe got him to the abbeye of Sperton, and there took sanctuarie. The king hearing of this his demeanour, was so highlye offended withall, that he sent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetch him to his presence. The Londoners, which in no wise loved him, because of the death of their citizen Constantine, were verie ready to accomplish this commandement, inasmuch that where the maiour overnight late declared to them the effect of the kings commission, there were twentie thousand of them in armour gotten forward earlie in the morning towards Sperton, in full hope now to be reuenged of him, for the small good-will that he had borne unto their citie heretofore.

But the king being informed by the earle of Chester and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armour, and in so great a number, should commit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to some such inconvenience as would not easilie be staied, he sent to them a countermand to returne backe to the citie againe, which they did, though soe in their hearts that they might not go through with their desired enterpryse. Furthermore (see here

the mutabilitie of fortune and his inconstancie, whereof complaint hath bene made by our forefathers time out of mind, saying,

Pasibus ambiguus fortuna volubilis errat,

Et manet in nullo certa tenax loco;

Sed modo lata manet, vultus modo sumit acerbo,

Et tantum constans in levitate sua est.)

now that the earle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of those whom he had before bene beneficiall unto, that shewed themselves as friends and louers unto him, but all forsooke & were ready to take the worst of him, the archbishop of Dublin excepted, who yet obtined of the king respite for him to make answer unto such things as should lawfullie be objected against him, both for the debt which should be due to the king, and also upon points of treason, which were now laid to his charge. Wherein we may see that hath bene the course of the world in former ages touching friends, who in the spring of a mans felicitie like swallows will flie about him; but when the winter of aduersitie nipeth, like snailles they keepe within their shels: whereunto the poet verie well alluding, saith,

—diffugiunt cado

Cum face siccatis amici,

Ferre ingem pariter dolosi.

After this, as the said Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, where his wife as then remained, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Essex, within a chappell there (as saith Fabian.) But (as Matthew Paris saith) sir Robert de Crane-combe, with three hundred armed men was sent to apprehend him by the kings commandement, and so he was taken in a village belonging to the bishop of Norwich in Essex, and by the kings commandement cast into prison, but yet afterwards he was reconciled to the kings fauour, when he had lien foure moneths in prison, and thirtene moneths banished the court.

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the crosse, at Lambeth, in the assemblee of the states there, a subsidie was granted to the R. of the fourth part of euerie mans goods towards the discharge of his debts which he owght to the earle of Britaine. Also in the beginning of the thiententh yeare of his reigne, Kanalfe earle of Chester and Lincoln departed this life the six and twentieth day of October, whose bodie was buried at Chester, and his bowels at Wallingford where he died. This earle Kanalfe was thrice married, first to Constance daughter and heire to Conan earle of Britaine and Richmond, and so in right of hir was intituled earle of those two places: which Constance had bene first married unto Geoffrey the third sonne of king Henrie the second, by whom she had issue Arthur (as before ye haue heard.) But by earle Kanalfe she had no issue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwards married unto Guy vicount de Towars. Then after earle Kanalfe was so diuorced from the said Constance, he married a ladie named Clemence, and after hir deceasse, he married the third time the ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Essex, constable of England.

Howbeit he neuer had issue by any of those his wiues, so that John Scot his nephew by his sister Matild succeeded him in the earldome of Chester, and William Walbenie earle of Arundell, nephew to him by his sister Mabel, had the manour of Warroba, and other lands that belonged to the said Kanalfe, of the yerelie value of five hundred pounds. Robert Quin, cle, he that married his sister Hauise, had the earle, dome of Lincoln, and so of a baron became an earle who had issue by his wife, Margerie countesse of Lincoln, that was married to Edmund Aacie earle of

Ouid lib 2. de
trist. 5.

Hor. lib. car. 1.
od. 35.

Marth. Paris.

A subsidie
granted in a
parlement
holden at
Lambeth.
Anno Reg. 17.

Marth. Paris.
Kanalfe earle
of Chester de-
parteth this
life.

Erle Kanalfe
thrice married.

This Cle-
mence was
daughter to
erle Ferrers.

The partition
of his lands.

of Lincoln. William earle Ferrers and of Warble, that had married Agnes, sister to the said Ranulfe, had the castell and manour of Chartley, together with other lands for his pourpart.

Here is also to be remembred, that the afore mentioned earle Ranulfe (or Randulfe whether ye list to call him) atchived manie high enterprises in his time, as partlie in this booke ye haue already heard: he held fore warres against the Welshmen, till at length an agreement was concluded betwixt him and Leolin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an old record, that vpon a time as this earle passed into Wales with an armie, his chance was to be ouerset by the Welshmen, so that he was obliged to retire into a castell, wherein the Welshmen did bessege him. And as it fortunied at that time, Roger Lacie the constable of Chester was not then with him, but left behind at Chester to see the citie kept in order (for as it should seeme, their solempne plaies which commonlie are vsed at Whitluntide were then in hand, or else their faire which is kept at Spidsummer.)

This Roger Lacie is surnamed Helie.

Therefore the earle sent a messenger in all possible hast vnto his constable, praiering him with speed to come to his succour in that extreame point of necessitie. Lacie made no delaie, but assembling all the foreiners, plaiers, musicians, and others which he could find within that citie fit to weare armes, went forth with them, and in most speedie manner marched toward the castell, where the Welshmen kept the earle besieged, who now perceiuing such a multitude of men comming towards them, incontinentlie left the siege and fled awaie. The earle then being thus deliuered out of that present danger, came forth of the castell, returned with his constable vnto Chester, and in recompense of that seruice, gaue vnto his said constable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the foreiners, plaiers, musicians, and other strangers resorting to Chester at the time, when such publicke plaies (or else faire) should be kept & holden.

John Lacie the sonne of the said Roger married Alice the daughter of Gilbert de Aquila, and after his deceasse, he married the ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincie earle of Lincoln, of whom he begat Edmund Lacie constable of Chester, which Edmund after the deceasse of his father, married Alice the daughter of the marquesse of Saluces in Italie, which ladie was surnamed the quene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacie earle of Lincoln, which Henrie married the ladie Margaret, daughter to William Long espere earle of Salisbury, by whom he had two sons, Edmund and John, and two daughters, Alice and Joan, which Alice Thomas earle of Lancaster married, who claimed and had the same rights and priuiledges which ancientlie belonged to the said Roger Lacie, and other the constables of Chester, concerning the fines of foreiners and others. This haue I the more willingly declared, that it may appeare in what estimation and credit the Lacies constables of Chester by inheritance liued in their time, of whose high valiancie, and likewise of other of that familie, highlie commended for their noble chualrie in martiall enterprises ye may read in sundrie histories at large.

But now to retorne and speake of other doings, which chanced about the time in which the said Ranulfe earle of Chester departed this life. The king in the meane while seized into his hands a great portion of the treasure which Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent had committed to the keeping of the templers. But whereas there were that travelled to haue had him put to death, the king in respect of the seruice which he had done to him and to his predecessours king Richard and king John, granted him life, with those

lands which he had either by purchase, or by gift of king John, but neuertheless he caused him to be kept in strait prison at the castell of the Isles, under the custodie of foure knights belonging to the earles of Cornewall, Warren, Penbroke, and Ferrers, which foure earles were become suerties for him.

This yeare also about the same time, to wit, the morow after S. Martins daie, chanced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the space of 15 daies together, to the great terrour and feare of the people, and namelie of the Londoners, which haue that kind of weather so familiar to them, that if the re be arie abroad in the land, they haue their part thereof. Howouer on the 23 of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempest of thunder, and after followed a marvellous wet summer with manie floods. Also on the 8 daie of April, in the parts about Hereford and Worcester, there appeared foure sunnes in the element, beside the naturall sunne, of red colour, and a great circle of chrysaline colour, the which compassed with his largenesse as it had bene the whole circuit almost of the whole realme of England, from the sides whereof went forth certeine halfe circles, in whose sections appeared the said foure sunnes. The naturall sunne was at the same time in the east part of the firmament, for it was about the first houre of the daie, or betwixt six and seven in the morning, the aire being the same time verie bright and cleare. The bishop of Hereford, and sir John Spynmouth knight, and manie others beheld this wonderfull sight, and testified the same to be most true. And after this there followed the same yeare in those parts cruell warre, slaughter, terrible bloodshed, & a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Ireland. About the same time, to wit, in June, in the south parts of England nere to the sea coast, two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, flaying into the depth of the sea, & so they were seene no more.

Howouer in this yeare great variance and strife rose betwixt the king and his barons, for the king took great displeasure against all other his officers, & so much the more mistrusted them, for that he found himselfe deceived in the earle of Kent, to whom he had committed a further credit than to anie other, and had made him high iustice of England, onelie for the god will that he alwaies bare to him. Therefore perceiuing this, he was doubtfull whom he should trust, discharging the most part of those Englishmen that bare any office about him, and in their romes placed strangers, as Poitounians and Britains, of the which there came ouer vnto him manie knights and other, to the number of 2000, which he placed in garrisons within castles of diuerse places of the land, and committed the order of all things for the most part to the bishop of Winchester, and to his nephew or sonne Peter de Rivaues.

Herewith he offended so much the minds of his nobles, that Richard Marshall erle of Penbroke (chief of that familie, & boldest to speake, now that Ranulfe of Chester was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of other, took vpon him openlie to reproue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and dangerous to the state of the realme. Herevnto the bishop of Winchester (whose counsell as it seemed he followed) made answer, that the king had done nothing in that behalfe vnadvisedlie, but vpon god and deepe consideration: for sith he might perceiue how the English nobilitie had first pursued his father with malicious hatred & open war, and now that he found diuerse of them whom he had brought by and aduanced to high honours, vnfaithfull in the administration of their offices, he did not without iust cause re-

The earle of Ferrers in prison within the castell of Isles.

March. Per. A great thunder.

15

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Four sunnes beside the accustomed one.

March. Per.

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ceine into his fauour strangers, and preferre them befoze those of his owne nation, which were not so faithfull in his seruice and obedience as they.

This answer of the bishop so picked and wounded the minds of the English Nobilitie, that manie of them (amongst whome the said earle of Penbroke was the chiefe) began an open rebellion, some of them resorting to one place, and some to an other, to gather people for their purpose. The names of such barons as stirred upon this occasion were these; Richard Sparthall earle of Penbroke afore named, Gilbert Basset and his bzethren, men of great honoz and right hardie capteins: also Richard Sward a warlike personage, trained vp in feats of armes from his youth, with Walter Cliffozd a worthy knight, and manie others. The king hauing knowledge of their doings proclaimed them all traitozs, confiscated their goods, and sent for a great power of men out of Flanders to serue him in his warres.

Whilste king Henrie thus provided himselfe of an armie, the lords with their capteine Richard Sparthall joined themselves to Leolin prince of Wales, & doubting the coming of the king, spoiled all the marches next adioining to England, leauing no bitels nor cattell any where about in those parts wher by the kings armie might haue relaeve, and further made all things readie for their owne defense so well as they could deuise. The earle of Kent about the same time, by helpe of two peomen that attended upon him, escaped out of the castell of Wex, and toke sanctuary in the next church: but when those that had the charge of him and the castell in keeping, missest him, and heard where he was, they fetcht both him, and the two peomen that holpe him to make the escape out of the church, and bringing them backe to the castell, imprisoned the earle.

And though the bishop of Salisburie came thither and threatened to accuse them, if they would not deliuer the earle, and restore him to sanctuary againe: they made answer, that they had rather the earle should hang for himselfe, than they for him. And so because they would not deliuer him, the bishop did excommunicate them, and after riding to the court, and taking with him the bishop of London, and other bishops, persuaded so much by complaint exhibited to the k., that the earle was restored to the church againe the eighteenth day of October: but so, as the shiriffe of the shire had commandement to compasse the church about with men, to watch that no relaeve came vnto him, whereby he might be constrained through familiarity to submit himselfe. Notwithstanding, shortly after there came a power of armed men, and fetcht the said earle from thence (setting him on horsebacke in faire complet armour) and so conueied him into Wales, where he joined with other of the kings enemies, the thirtieth day of October.

Within a few daies after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vittels was constrained to retire backe to the marches, betwixt Worcestershire & Salopshire, where staying certene daies together in those parts, his souldiers strayed abroad in the countrey vnadvisedlie, and keeping no watch nor ward about their campe, were surprised in the night by their enemies, and slaine on euerie side. The slaughter had bene greater, but that the residue which laie in campe, brake forth about midnight, and in a plume together fled into a castell which was nere at hand, called Grosse-mound, in the which the king himselfe was lodged. There were slaine aboue five hundred men, and all the trusse and baggage of the campe lost. Yet Matthew Paris saith there were but two knights slaine, which cast awaie themselves by their owne wilfulnesse, that would

needs stand to it and make resistance, where the residue being spoiled of all that they had with them, got awaie by flight, as the bishops of Winchester and Chichester, the lord chiefe iustice Stephan Segraue, Peter de Rivaules treasurer, Hugh Bigot earle of Posfolke, William earle of Salisburie, William lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbenie the younger, who were witnesses of this losse amongst the residue.

Hereof it came to passe, that manie of the kings armie (speciallie those which had lost their horses, armour, monie, and other furniture, with their vittels) returned into their countrey, to their great confusion. For the Welshmen and other outlaues, hauing spoiled the campe, returned with the carriages and sumpters which they had taken, into places of safe refuge. The king hauing received this losse, and oftentimes tried fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in those parts, by reason of the streits and disadvantage of the places, thought god to reserue the reuenge of his received injuries untill a more conuenient time, and thereupon returned to Glocester, and furnished diuers castles and fortresses in the borders of Wales, with garrisons of souldiers, namely Poitouins and other strangers to defend the same against William Sparthall, and the other his complices, who upon occasions daillie sought to suppress and distresse the said strangers.

And beside other encounters, in the which manie of those Poitouins and other strangers were slaine and oppressed by the said William Sparthall and his adherents, it chanced that vpon saint Katherins day, the said William Sparthall comming nere to the castell of Spornmouth to view the same, was in danger to haue remained prisoner in the enemies hands, through an issue made by sir Baldwine de Guines, capteine of that castell, with his Poitouins and Flemings. But by such rescue as came to his aid, he was deliuered out of their hands, and the Poitouins and other of the garrison discomfited. At this skirmish sir Baldwine himselfe being sore wounded, was borne out of the field into the castell, losing fiftene knights of his part, and a great sort of other which were taken prisoners, besides no small number that were slaine in the place.

The same yeare chanced a great dearth, by reason that the growth of all things was much hindered with the extreme cold weather. Also there happened about the beginning of Nouember great thunder and lightning, and therewith folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitants of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabouts. After this, came a great dearth amongst the people, being commonlie a neere companion to great famine and dearth.

Richard Sparthall erle of Penbroke in this meane time ceased not to waste the marches of England next adioining to Wales, and daillie diuerse of the English Nobilitie repaired to him, so that the king was sore troubled in his mind. It chanced at the same time, that one John of Spornmouth a right valiant capteine, who led the kings armie, received a great overthrow at the hands of Richard Sparthall. For whereas the foresaid John, hauing assembled a mightie host, made great hast towards his enemies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to assaile them somewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the summer season is the most silent time of all the night, it chanced farre otherwise than he looked it should haue done. For the earle of Penbroke, hauing knowledge by his spies of his aduersaries intent, laie himselfe with his people within a wood in ambush by the way, where the said John should passe, and

The lordes
of southwales
into wales.
March. Paris.
Polydor.

The king
claimed them
traitors.

Strangers
sent for.

March. Paris.
The earle of
Kent escaped
and toke
sanctuary.

He is fetcht
out.

He is restored
to sanctuary.

Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of
Kent rescued
and conueied
into wales.

Polydor.
The king
entred into
wales with
an armie.

Polydor.

The king
returneth out
of wales.

The earle of
Penbroke in
danger.

He is rescued.
The Poitou-
ins discom-
fited.

Dearth.

Tempests.

An earth-
quake.

A dearth.

March. Paris.

John Monmouth receiveth an execution.

1237
Polydor.

and setting upon him as he approached, put his people in such feare by the sudden encounter, that they knew not what captaine or ensigne they might follow, and so immediatlie fell to running awaie. The slaughter was great on euerie side, both of Poitouins and others. Diuerse of them fleeing also into the next woods, were receiued by such as were laid there to cut them off, and so slaine or taken out of hand. Howbeit their chiefe captaine the forenamed John of Monmouth escaped, with a few other in his company. This ouerthrow chanced the morrow after Christmasse daie.

March. Paris.

The next daie Richard Sparhall hauing thus got the victorie, destroyed certeine houses and lordships there in the marches which belonged to the said John of Monmouth. About the same time also, Richard Sward with other outlatwes destroyed the possessions belonging to the earle of Cornewall beside Wye-hull, and burned a place there called Segraue, where Stephan de Segraue the lord chiefe iustice was borne, and likewise a village belonging to the bishop of Winchester, not farre from Segraue aforesaid. This was the maner of those outlatwes, that they hurt no person, but onelie those counsellors about the king by whom they were eriled, and therefore bearing stomach against them, they did not onlie execute but also execute this reuenge, which till they had obtained, they were no lesse ill appaid, than well pleased when the same was past, for

*non nisi vindicta dolorem.*A part of the towne of Shrewsburie burnt.
Polydor.

Immediatlie within the octaues of the Epiphanie, the earle Sparhall and Leolin prince of Wales was slain and robbed all the marches betwixt Wales and Shrewsburie, a part of which towne they also burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet sojourning at Gloucester, was soze troubled in his mind, and calling together his counsell, asked aduise what waie he might best take to redresse such iniuries. After sundrie opinions amongst them declared, they agreed all in one sentence, that it should be most expedient to appease the minds of the rebels with gentle offers, to grant them pardon of their offenses, wisely to winne them to tractableness, and not roughly afflicting them to exasperate their fiercenesse, with

sepe acris pastor prudentis dextra.

Also to banish from his court diuerse that bare great rule, and namelie Peter the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne or nephew Peter de Riuales, by the counsell of which two persons all things had bene changed in the kings house. Moreover, to put from him such strangers as bare offices, and to reuoke Englishmen againe to the same.

March. Paris.

The king allowing this aduise to be good, followed it accordingly, and first of all discharging the bishop of Winchester of all publike administration of things, he commanded him to repaire home to his diocese, and to see to the gouernement thereof, as to his dutie appertained. He also banished from his presence Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, Robert Passelew, and diuerse others of his chiefe counsellors, by whose means he had procured the euill will of his nobilitie. Then receiued he againe his old servants & officers, & finally sent the archb. of Canturburie, the bishops of Chester & Rochester unto the barons in Wales, to offer them peace & pardon of all iniuries past, if they would returne to his obedience. Thus in the end there was a truce taken betwixt the king and the rebels, to begin at Candlemasse, and to indure untill Easter next ensuing, in which meane time, Richard the earle of Penbroke, hearing that Sparth Fitz Gerald, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh and others wasted his lands and possessions in Ireland, according to such commission as they had receiued of late from king Henrie and his counsell)

March. Paris.

The earle of Penbroke passed over into Ireland.

passed ouer thither, and there encountering with his enemies, was soze wounded and taken prisoner, having entered the battell verie rashlie, and with a small companie of his people about him, onlie by the traitorous perswasion of Geoffrey Sparth, who with other fled at the first hunt, and left him in maner alone, to stand to all the danger. Those that thus took him, brought him into his owne castell, the which the lord chiefe iustice Sparth Fitz Gerald had latelye wone. This encounter, in which Richard Sparthall was thus taken, chanced on a saturdaye, being the first of Aprill; and on the 16 of the same moneth, by reason of the wound which he had receiued, he departed this life.

The death of the earle of Penbroke.

The king also that the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne (or kinsman as some haue called him) Peter de Riuales had procured the king to send commission vnder his seale unto the foresaid noble men in Ireland, that if the said Richard Sparthall earle of Penbroke chanced to come thither, they should do their best to take him, and in reward of their paines, they should inioy all his lands and possessions which he held in that countrie. But after his death, and when the king had remoued those his counsellors from him, he confessed he had put his seale to a writing, but that he understood what were the contents thereof he vtterlie denied. Finally, this was the end of the worthy earle of Penbroke Richard Sparthall, a man worthy to be highlie renowned for his approued valiance. His death suerlie was greatlie bewailed of king Henrie, openlie protesting that he had lost the worthiest captaine that then liued.

After this, the lords that had remained in Wales, by safe conduct came to the king, and through the diligent trauell of the archbishop of Canturburie, he receiued them into fauour. Amongst them were these men of name, Gilbert Sparthall the brother of the foresaid Richard Sparthall, Hubert earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Sward, besides diuerse others. Unto Gilbert Sparthall he deliuered his brothers inheritance, and upon Whitsondaie made him knight, giuing vnto him the rod of the office of Sparthall of his court, according to the maner, to vse and exercise as his ancessors had done before him. And herewith the earle of Kent Gilbert Basset and Richard Sward were receiued againe into the court, and admitted to be of the kings priuite counsell.

Officers led to accounts.

Some after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, & Robert Passelew were called to accounts, that it might appeare how the kings treasure was spent, and how they had vsed themselves with the kings seale. The two last remembred kept themselves out of the waie, and could not be found. Stephan Segraue shewing himselfe in secret within the abbey of Leicester, and Robert Passelew feigning himselfe sicke, kept within the new temple at London. Peter de Riuales also, with his father the bishop of Winchester, took sanctuary at Winchester, for they were afraid lest their bodies should not be in safetie if they came abroad, because they understood that their manours and grange places were spoiled and burnt by those that bare them displeasure. Howbeit at length, vnder the protection of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to their answer, & were soze charged for their vniust dealing, traitorous practise, and great falshood vsed in time of their bearing office, and (as it appeareth by writers) they could not sozlie cleare themselves in those matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reason of their protection they were restored to the places from whence they came, or else otherwise shifted off the matter for the time, so that we read not of any great bodilie punishment which they should receiue as then. In the end they were pardoned & reconciled to the

The truce ended, withmen sent over to the aid of the earle of Britaine.

The earle of Britaine submitted himselfe to the French king. Anno Reg. 19.

1 2 3 5 Polydor. Fabian. * See the like in pag. 16, col. 2.

Math. Paris.

The emperor Frederike married the king of England's sister.

A great and sumptuous feast.

the kings fauor, upon payment of such fines as were assessed upon them.

This yeare, because the truce ended betwixt the kings of England and France, king Henrie sent over to aid the earle of Britaine, thre score knights, and two thousand Welshmen, the which when the French king came with his armie to enter and invade Britaine, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittels, armor, and other provision, ouerthrowing also no small number of the Frenchmen, and taking from them their hostles, they returned backe in safetie, without any great damage receiued. notwithstanding this, the French king, enforcing againe his power, waxed too strong for the earle of Britaine, so that he was constrained to take a truce to endure till the feast of all saints, that he might in the meane time vnderstand if the king of England would come ouer with some puissant armie to his aid or no: but because it was perceined in the end that the said earle of Britaine sought nothing else but how to get monie out of king Henries coffers, and to do him no pleasure for it, because he was in manner at an other agreement already with the king of France, king Henrie refused to satisfie his requests at such time as he came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more monie. Where with also the said earle being offended, got him backe into his owne countrie, and shortly after apparantlie submitted himselfe to the French king, which (as the report went) he had done before in secret.

These things being thus brought to passe, and all troubles quieted, the king as then being at London, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a complaint exhibited against the Jewes of Norwich, which had stolen a yong child, being not past a twelue moneths old, and secretlie kept him an whole yeare together, to the end that he might (when Easter came) crucifie him in despite of our sauour Iesus Christ, and the christian religion. The matter as it happened fell out well for the lad: for within a few daies before that those curst murderers purposed to haue shed this innocents blood, they were accused, conuicted and punished, whereby he escaped their cruell hands. About the same tyme, to wit the seauenth of Februarie died Hugh de Wels bishop of Lincoln, a great enimie to monks and religious men. Robert Grosset was then preferred to his see, a man of great learning, and trained vp in scholes euen from his infancie.

The same yeare, the emperor Frederike the second, married the ladie Isabell the kings sister. This Isabell was a most beautifull ladie, of comelie personage, and of age about one and twentie years. She was affianced by procuracie, about the seauen and twentieth of Februarie. And after Easter, the archbishop of Cullen, and the duke of Louane came over from the emperor, to haue the conuenance of hir vnto the emperors presence. There was such a feast holden, so sumptuous seruice, so rich furniture, and so all banquetting kept the day before hir departure from London towards the sea side, that more could not be imagined. The same feast was kept at Westminster on the fift day of May, and the day following the did set forward, and by easie iournies came to Sandwich, the king bringing hir thither with thre thousand hostles. Finally, she took the sea the eleuenth of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And so with prosperous wind and weather she arrived at Antwerpe, and from thence passed forward, till she came to hir husband the emperor, by whom she was receiued with great ioy and comfort at Worms, where the marriage was consummate upon a Sunday, being the two and twentieth day of

Julie, or (as Matthew Westminster saith) the seauen and twentieth of May, being Whitsunday.

This yeare the bishop of London pronounced the sentence of excommunication against certaine blurers called Caorsins. But because, the same blurers shadowed themselves vnder the pretext of the popes merchants (as they named themselves) they preuailed so much by the fauour of the court of Rome, that the said bishop being sicke and feeble, was cited peremptorie in the parts beyond the seas, before iudges chosen forth by the same blurers, to make answer for such high intaric as he had here done to the popes factors. The bishop willing by the example of them, rather to couer his fathers shame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietlie put by the matter: and with commendable patience receiued the proffered wrong, hauing learned this lesson, that

Gaudet patientia durus,

and to pacifie the trouble, suffered their wickednesse, commending in the meane while the cause vnto his patron S. Paule. And when he preached of the force of faith, he uttered this saying: If an angell preach contrarie doctrine to vs in these things, let him be accused.

In the twentieth yeare of king Henries reigne, in the Advent time, the noble baron the lord Robert Fitz Water departed this life, and so likewise did a noble yong man descended of most noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie. On the fourteenth day of Januarie ensuing, the king married the ladie Elianor, daughter to the earle of Poynce named Matmon. This marriage was solemnized at Canturburie, and in the octaues of S. Hilarie next ensuing being Sunday, she was crowned queene of England at Westminster. At the solemnitie of this feast and coronation of the queene, all the high peeres of the realme, both spirituall and tempozall, were present there to exercise their offices as to them appertained.

The citizens of London were there in great array, bearing afore hir in solemn wise, thre hundred and thre score cups of gold and siluer, in token that they ought to wait vpon hir cup. The archbishop of Canturburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the bishop of London assisting him as his deacon. The earle of Chester bare the sword of saint Edward before the king, in token that he was earle of the palace, and had authoritie to correct the king, if he should see him to swaue from the limits of iustice, his constable of Chester attended vpon him, and removed where the presse was thicke, with his rod of warder. The earle of Penbroke high Marshall bare the rod before the king, and made roime before him, both in the church and in the hall, placing euerie man, and ordering the seruice at the table. The wardens of the cinque ports bare a canopie over the king, supported with foure speeres.

The earle of Leicester held the balon when they washed. The earle of Warren, in the place of the earle of Arundell, because he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. Sir Michaele Bellet was Butler by office. The earle of Hereford exercised the roime of high Marshall in the kings house. The lord William de Beauchampe was almoner. The chiefe iustice of the foze rests on the right hand of the king removed the dishes on the table, though at the first he was staied by some allegation made to the contrarie. The citizens of London serued out wine to euerie one in great plentie. The citizens of Winchester had ouersight of the kitchen and larderie. And so euerie person (according to his dutie) exercised his roime: and because no trouble should arise, manie things were reformed. The chancelor and all other ordinarie officers

Math. Paris. Blurers called Caorsins, of whom see more in pag. 211, col. 1.

The bishop of London his doctrine.

Anno Reg. 20.

1 2 3 6

King Henrie married the ladie Elianor daughter to the earle of Poynce.

The earle of Chester.

The constable of Chester. The earle of Penbroke.

The wardens of the cinque ports.

The earle of Leicester. Erie Warren.

The earle of Hereford. Lord William Beauchampe. The citizens of London. The citizens of Winchester.

A parliament
at London.
Polydor.

Strange
lights.
Math. Paris.

ficers kept their place. The feast was plentiful, so that nothing wanted that could be wished. Moreover, in Tutill fields roiall iokes were holden by the space of eight daies together. And some after the king called a parliament at London, where manie things were enacted for the good government of the realme, and therewith the king demanded a subsidie.

¶ About the same time wonderfull strange sights were seene. In the north parts of England, not farre from the abbie of Rosh or Ruspie, there appeared coming forth of the earth companies of armed men on horsebacke, with speare, shield, sword, and banners displayed, in sundrie formes and shapes, rising in order of battell, and incountering together: and this sight was seene sundrie daies ech after other. Sometime they seemed to iourne as it had bene in battell, and fought sore; and sometime they appeared to iust and breake haues, as it had bene at some triumphant iests of torneie. The people of the countrie beheld them a farre off, with great wonder: for the thing shewed so liuelie, that now and then they might see them come with their emptie hollies sore wounded and hurt: and then men likewise mangled and bleeding, that pitie it was to see them. And that which seemed more strange and to be most inauelued at, the prints of their feet appeared in the ground, and the grasse troden downe in places where they had bene seene. The like sight was also seene more apparentlie in Ireland, and in the parts thereabout.

Great raine.
Math. Paris.

Math. West.

A great
thunder.

A drie sum-
mer.

Gilbert Nor-
man founder
of Apton
abbie.

Anno Reg. 21.

High tides.
Math. Paris.

Wilsch peo-
ple perishing
by rage of
waters.

Immediatlie followed, or rather preceded passing great tempests of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and caused monstrous floods: for this raine continued all the space of the moneths of Ianuarie, Februarie, and a great part of March; and for eight daies it rained (as some write) in maner without ceassing: and vpon the tenth of Februarie, immediatlie after the change of the mone, the Thames rose with such an high tide, that boats might haue bene rowed vp and downe in Westminster hall. In the winter before, on the twentieth of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the first of daie in December, which was the first of that moneth, there was a counterfet sunne seene beside the true sunne. Moreover, as in the spring preceding there happened sore and exceeding great raines, so in the summer following there chanced a great drought, continuing by the space of foure moneths or more.

This yeare was a parliament holden at Apton, a towne in Surrie, distant from London 7 miles, where was an abbie of regular canons founded by one Gilbert a lord of Normandie, that came into the realme with William conquerour. At this parliament, diuerse good & profitable lawes were made and established, which yet remaine in use, bearing the name of the place where they were first ordeined.

¶ In the beginning of the 21 yeare of king Henries reign, on the morrow after the feast of S. Martine, and certeine daies after, the sea burst out with such high tides and tempests of wind, that the marish countries nere to the same were drownded vp and ouerflown: and beside great herds and flocks of cattell that perished, there was no small number of men lost and drownded. The sea rose continuallie in flowing the space of two daies and one night, without ebbing, by reason of the mightie violence of contrarie winds. At Wilsch also, and in villages thereabouts, the people were drownded in great numbers, so that in one village there were buried an hundred corpses in one daie. Also the daie before Christmas eue, there chanced a great wind, with thunder and raine, in such extreame wise, that manie buildings were shaken and ouerthrowen.

In a parliament holden at Westminster about the octaues of the Epiphanie, the king required a subsidie

of his subiects, which request was not well taken, but yet at length, vpon promise that he would be good lord vnto them, and not seke to infringe and diminish the graunts which he had made by pretence of want of the popes confirmation (as it was thought he meant to do) they agreed to giue him the thirtieth part of all mouable goods, as well of the spiritualtie as the temporalitie, to termynge yet to euerie man his reable cosage; with horse and armour, to be employed for the profit of the common wealth. In consideration of this graunt, the king being of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernance, of his free and more good will, at the request, and by counsaill of the lords of his realme, etliches graunted and confirmed the liberties and customes contained in the two charters, the one called Magna charta, and the other Charta de foresta, with this addition following added in the end.

The confirmation of the charters, under the kings acknowledgement and subscription of witnesles.

Nunc autem concessimus, & hac presentia charta confirmauimus omnibus predictis de regno nostro, omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines contentas in chartis nostris, quas eis fidelibus nostris fieri fecimus cum in minor essemus aetate, scilicet in: Magna charta nostra, quam in charta de Foresta. Et volumus pro nobis, & heredibus nostris, quod prefati fideles nostri, & successores, & heredes eorum habeant, & teneant in perpetuum omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines predictas, non obstante quod predicta charta confecta fuerint cum minoris essemus aetatis, ut predictum est, hijs testibus, Edmundo Cant. archiepiscopo, & omnibus alijs in Magna charta nominatis. Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Cisteriensis episcopi, cancellarij nostri 28 die Ianuarij, Anno Regni nostri 21.

Beside the confirmation of these charters, the king further to win the fauour of his people, was contented to remoue and sequester from him diuerse of his souncellours that were thought not to be well minded towards the aduancement of the common wealth, and in their places to admit the earle of Warren, William de Ferrers, and John Fitz Geoffrey, who were sworne to giue to the king faithfull counsell, and in no wise to go out of the right waie for any respect that might otherwise moue them. ¶ About the first daie of March, there began sore raine and tempestuous weather, whereof insued great floods, as before in the beginning of the yeare passed, had chanced, though not doing so much hurt as before.

John Scot also earle of Chester and Huntington died at Weren hall the seventh daie of June, without issue, and was buried at Chester. He was poisoned by the diuelish practise of his wife daughter to Aedlin prince of Wales (as Matt. Paris saith.) He had foure sisters, of whom the first named Margaret was married to Allen of Gallowate, by whom she had issue a daughter named Deuogoll; which Deuogoll was married to John Balioll, by whom she had issue John Balioll that was afterward king of Scotland. The second named Isabell, was married to Robert le Breus. The third named Mathe, died without issue. And the fourth called Alda, was married to Henrie Hastings. But because the land pertaining to the earldome of Chester, should not go amongst rocks and distances, hauing such roiall prerogatiues

A subsidie.

Math. Paris.

John Scot
earle of Che-
ster departed
this life.

Ran. Hig-
his sisters.

gatiues belonging thereto, the king seized them into his owne hands, and in recompense assigned other lands to the forsaide sisters, as it had bene by way of exchange.

Now fifth the earles of Chester (I meane those of the line of Hugh Lupus) take end in this John Scot; I haue thought it not impertinent for the honoꝝ of so noble a linage, to set downe the descent of the same earles, beginning at the foresaid Hugh the first that gouerned after the conquest, as I haue seen the same collected out of ancient records, according to their true succession in seauen descents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous
and most honourable earles of
Chester.

Hugh Lou or Lupus, first earle of Chester after the conquest, nephew to William Conquerour by his sister Margaret, wife to Richard Count of Auranthes, married a noble ladie named Armetruda, by whom he had issue Richard that succeeded him in the earldome, Robert abbat of saint Edmundsburie, and Oruell. He departed this life about the yeere of our Lord 1102, when he had bene earle about 40 yeeres.

2 Richard Lupus eldest son to Hugh Lupus, and second earle of Chester, married Maude the daughter of Stephan erle of Blois, Charters and Champaigne, and sister to R. Stephan. This Richard with his brother Oruell was drowned in the seas, in the yeere of our Lord 1120, as before hath bene shewed, after he had bene earle about nintene yeeres.

3 Ranulfe or Randulfe the first of that name called Bohun, and otherwise Westheins, the sonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, succeeded Richard, as cousin and heire to him in the earldome of Chester, and was the third earle in number after the conquest. He married Maude the daughter of Aubrie de Were earle of Giney and Orenford, by whome he had issue Ranulfe surnamed Seruous the fourth earle of Chester. He died about the yeere of our Lord 1130, after he had continued earle eight yeeres.

4 Ranulfe or Randulfe Bohun, the second of that name, and fourth erle in number after the conquest, surnamed Seruous, succeeded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert erle of Glocester, base sonne to king Henrie the first by whome he had issue Hugh Keuelocke, the fift earle of Chester. He deceased about the yeere of our Lord 1153, when he had bene earle 29 yeeres.

5 Hugh Bohun otherwise Keuelocke, the sonne of the said Ranulfe, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest, and second of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucie lord cheefe iustice of England, by whom he had issue Ranulfe the third of that name, and foure daughters. Maude married to Dauid that was earle of Angus and Huntington and

lord of Galloway, Mabel married to William Dalbegnie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derby, and Hauisa joined in marriage with Robert Quincie, a baron of great honour. This Hugh died about the yeere 1181, when he had bene earle eight and twentie yeeres.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwise called Blundeuille, the sonne of Hugh Keuelocke, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest. He was also earle of Lincoln, as next couline and heire to William Romare earle of Lincoln. He had thre wiues (as before ye haue heard) but yet died without issue, about the yeere of our Lord 1232, after he had bene earle 51 yeeres.

7 John Scot, the sonne of Dauid earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the seventh earle of Chester after the conquest. He died without issue (as before ye haue heard) by reason whereof, the erldome came into the kings hands in the yeere 1237. Thus much may suffice (with that which is said before) touching the descent of the earles of Chester. And now to proceed.

The same yeare that John Scot died, cardinall **Cardinall** Dtho (by some writers named Dthobon) about the feast of S. Peter and Paule came into England from pope Gregorie. He was receiued with all honour and solempne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the king meeting him at the sea side. His comming was not signified afore to the nobles of the realme, which caused them to mislike the matter, and to grudge against the king, seeing that he did all things contrarie to order, breaking law, faith, and promise in all things. He hath coupled himselfe (said they) in marriage with a stranger, without consent of his frends and naturall subiects, and now he bringeth in a legat secretlie, who will take vpon him to make an alteration in the whole state of the realme.

But this legat shewed himselfe a verie sober and discret person, not so couetous as his predecessors, in so much that he refused diuerse gifts which were offered vnto him, though some he receiued, and indeed commanded the other to be referued for him. He also distributed liberallie the vacant rents vnto such as he brought with him, as well persons worthie as unworthie, and pacified such controuersies as were spring betwixt the nobles and peeres of the realme, so that he made them frends. ¶ An ad memorabile to be kept in record, that the instrument and seruant of so bad a maister as he serued, namely the pope, should be the procurer of so good a worke: considering that from the see of Rome full tides and violent streames of seditions haue flowed, and verie sildome any occasion or means made to plant peace among men, which is the daughter of loue, and the worthiest thing that is, as one saith verie well in these words:

Gignit amor pacem, pax est dignissima rerum.

The bishop of Winchester, the earle of Kent, Gilbert Waller, Stephen Silward & others were by him accorded, who had borne secret grudge ech to other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forth, and shewed it selfe in perilsous tosse at a tomie holden at Wile in the beginning of Lent, where the Southerne men stroue against the Northerne men, and in the end the Southerne men prevailed, and

W. J.

toke

The lords grudge at the king for receiuing the cardinall without their knowlege.

The legat praised for his sober behaviour.

Tourne at Wile.

Earle Wigot.

Anno Reg. 22.
The legat
holdeth a syn-
nod at Lon-
don.

1238
The legat
cometh to
Oxford.

A fraie be-
twixt the le-
gats men, and
the scholars
of Oxford.

A cokys
alunes.

The legats
cokys alunes.

The legat
complaineth
to the king.
The earle
waren sent to
apprehend the
offenders.

The legat
cursteth.

The regents
of the Univer-
sitye absolved.
Polydor.

March. Paris.
The emperor
of Constanti-
nople cometh
into Eng-
land.

take diuerse of their aduersaries, so that it seemed not to be a triumphant iustice, but rather a sharpe challenge and incounter betwixt enemies. But amongst all others, earle Wigot bare himselfe verie stoutlie.

After that the legat had thus agreed the noblemen, he assembled a synod at London, the morrow after the octauus of S. Martin, wherein manie ordinances were newlie constituted for the state of the cleargie, but not altogether verie acceptable to diuerse young preests and scholars (as some write) in somuch that the legat afterwards comming to Oxford, and lodging in the abbie of Osney, it chanced as certeine scholars pressed to the gates thinking to come in and do their dutie (as they take the matter) unto the legat, the porter kept them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart words, whereupon they rushed in upon him, & so began a fraie betwixt them and the legats men, who would haue beaten them backe.

It fortuned in this hurle burle, that a poore Irish scholar being got in nere to the kitchin dreser, he sought the coke for Gods sake to giue him some reliefe: but the coke (as manie of that calling are cholericke fellows; in a great furie) took vp a lable full of hot broath out of a kettell wherein flesh had bene sodden, and threw it right vpon the Irishmans face, which thing when another Welch scholar that stood by beheld, he cried out; That meane we to suffer this villanie, and therewithall took an arrow, and set it in his bow, which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fraie, and drawing it vp to the head let flie at the coke, and so slue him there outright.

Herevpon againe noise and tumult rose round about the house, the legat for feare got him into the bellstair of the abbey, where he kept himselfe close till the darke of the night had staid the bypore, and then stole forth, and taking his horse escaped as secretlie as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with all speed to the court, which laie not far off at Abington, and there made his complaint to the king, in such lamentable wise, that he forthwith sent the earle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetch auaie the residue of the legats seruants which remained behind in the abbey, and to apprehend the chiefe offenders.

The earle comming thither, took thirtie scholars, with one master who a lawier, and brought them to Wallingford castell, and there committed them to prison. The legat also in reuenge of the iniurie in this wise to him done, pronounced the curse against the midowers, and handled the matter in such wise, that the regents and masters of the Uniuersitie were at length constrained to come unto London, & there to go bare-footed through Cheape-side, vnto the church of S. Dunle, in such wise to aske him forgiveness, and so with much ado they obtained absolution. This legat among other things demanded some after the tenth part of all spirituall mens yearelie reuenues, towards the maintenance of the wars against the Saracens in Asia.

Moreover, the emperor of Constantinople, named lie, Baldwin sonne to Peter earle of Auverre, being expelled out of his empire, came this yeare into England, to sue for aid: but at his first arrival at Douer, he was told, that he had not done well to come so presumptuously into the land of another prince, without his safe conduct. But when the said emperor seemed to be sorie for his offense, and to excuse his innocencie and sincere meaning, the king was pacified, & willed him to come to London, where at his comming thither, being the 22 date of April, he was honorably receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highly honored, so that he had auaie with him to the value of about seven hundred marks

as was reported. About this time also, Eliano the kings sister (that was sometime wife vnto William Marshall earle of Penbrooke) was now by the kings meanes married the second time to Simon Spontford, a man of high parentage and noble prowesse.

This Simon was indowed with such vertue, good counsell, courteous discretion, and other amiable qualities, that he was highly fauoured as was supposed, both of God and man: in somuch that he might right well, as for birth, so also for education and good demeanour be counted (as he deserved) a notable noble man, for he was so qualified as standeth with the nature of true nobilitie, according to that of the poet,

non census, nec clarum nomen auitum,

Sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit.

Notwithstanding all which noble indowments concurring in him, he was banished out of France, vpon displeasure, which Blanche the quene mother conceiued against him. But now comming into England, he was iustlie receiued of king Henrie, who not onlie gaue vnto him (as about is mentioned) his sister in mariage with the earldome of Leicester in name of a dowrie, but also aduanced him vnto offices of greatest honour within the realme of England. Howbeit, this marriage was verie displeasing vnto Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie, because that the foresaid Eliano, after the death of his first husband, had bowed perpetuall chastitie, and betaken hir (as was said) to the mantell and the ring.

As the prelat was not pleased with this match, so the king was as highly offended with the archbishop for not fauouring the cause, in somuch that the archbishop went sone after to Rome, where he not onlie complained of certeine iniuries receiued of the kings hands, but also signified the estate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In like manner, Richard the kings brother found great fault with the king for the same matter, but chieflie, for that he stroke it vp without making him and other of the nobles of counsell therein. So he short, it was not long yer this grudge grew so far, that ciuill war was verie likelie to haue followed therevpon. But when the king saw that all the lords leaned to his brother, he sought to pacifie the matter by courteous means, and so by mediation of the legat, the king and his brother were reconciled, to the great griefe of the lords, which had brought the matter now to that point, that the king could not haue so resisted their force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the realme out of bondage from all manner of strangers, as well of those Romans that were beneficed men, as of any other.

Simon the earle of Leicester also persequing both the matter went, made this another waie to get all the monie he could in prest or otherwise (in somuch that he had of one burges of Leicester, named Simon Curlewath, five hundred marks) and leauing his wife in the castell of Belingworth, he secretlie departed out of the realme, and got him to Rome, to purchase a confirmation of his marriage, which he easily obtained, notwithstanding the archbishop of Canturburies former and verie vehement information against him, and so hauing brought his purpose about, in the latter end of this yeare, he returned into England, and was iustlie receiued, first of the king and after of his wife, whome he found at Belingworth, nere to the time of his trauell, and thortlie after deliuered of a young sonne, whom they called Simon after the name of his father.

At the same time, Frederike the emperor going into Italie, had a great number of English soldiers with him, which king Henrie furnished for his aid,

The countesse of Penbrooke, who to the king married to Simon be Spontford, Polydor.

The archbishop of Canturburie displeased with the marriage.

He goeth to Rome to procure the diuorce.

The earle of Gloucester is also offended for the same marriage.

The earle of Leicester goeth to Rome.

He goeth to Rome to get a confirmation of his marriage.

And sent forth of England to the emperor under

Henrie Tru-
bucille.
John Warden
Wol. Hardell.

under the leading of a right valiant warrior, named Henrie de Trubucille, with whome went also John Warden, whose valiance in that iournie well appeared, and William Hardell a citizen of London was treasurer and paymaster to the souldiers. Here with the pope was sore offended, and wrote his mind thereof to the king, who forthwith returned an eloquent answer, requiring him to be more favourable to the emperor, considering his cause was such as could not justlie offend his holinesse. About the same time, or rather (as by some writers it should appear) somewhat before, the kings sister Joane queene of Scotland, comming into England to see hir brother, fell into a sickness, and died.

The bishop of
Winchester
departeth this
life.

Whereafter, the archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obtained little or nothing touching the suit which he had before the pope, for (as some haue written) the legat who being his heauie friend, had so stopped the popes eares from hearing any of his complaints, that all his whole trauell did come to none effect. In like manner, Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester died this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of June, which prelat had gouerned that see about 32 yeares. He was a man of great wisdom and dexteritie in ordering of weightie affaires touching the state of temporall regiment. He builded manie goodlie monasteries, as the abbeies of Bales, Wyke and Seleborne, with the hospitall at Portemouth. He made also a notable testament, and besides his bequests which were great, he left his bishopricke so stored and throughlie furnished, that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his comming in value, as the cattell that serued to draw the herie ploughs.

Math. Paris.
A naughtie
boyetch meant
to haue de-
stroyed the k.

About this time, a learned esquire, or rather a cleark of the vniuersite of Orenford, bearing some malice toward the king, fained himselfe mad, and espieng thereby the secret places of his house at Woodstoke where he then laie, vpon a night by a window he got into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds side, threw off the coverings, and with a dagger strake diuers times into a pillow, supposing that the king had bene there, but as God would, that night the king laie in another chamber with the queene. In the meane time, one of the queenes chambermaids named Margaret Bisset, hauing espied the traitor, made an outcrie, so that the kings seruants which came to vnderstand what the matter meant, presentlie apprehended the said cleark, who being conueied to Couentre, was there arraigned, and by laboursome proofe had of his malicious intent, was condemned, and executed as a traitor. At his death he confessed, that he was sent from William de Warrisch the sonne of Gessrie de Warrisch to murder the king by such manner of means, not caring what had become of himselfe so he might haue dispatched his purpose.

So his end
in pag. 230.

These practises of treason *In summo gradu*, which cannot be committed without irrecoverable detriment to the whole estate (speciallie where succession is vncertaine) are of an old breeding, though they be neuer so newlie broched. And trulie, if the cursed miscreant which undertaketh an enterpryse of this qualitie, had the grace to consider how manie murders he committeth by implication in giuing the roiall person of the prince a deadlie wound; I doubt not, if he were a man and not a ranke duell, he would be loeued from that outrageous villanie. For, in wounding and killing the prince, he is guiltie of homicide, of parricide, of chisicide, nay of deicide. And therefore a thousand woes light on his hart that shall stretch out his hand, naie, that shall once conceiue in thought a murder so heinous, as both God and na-

ture doth abhorre; speciallie if it be commensed against a christian prince, and such a one as to whome true and vndefiled religion is no lesse pretious and deere than life it selfe. Princes therefore had need to see to the safegard of their persons, sithens the safetie of manie millions dependeth thereupon. For certeine it is, that the state of a poore priuat man is lesse perillous by manie degrees than the state of a potentat, which is ment by this true allegorie following.

10 Quatuor altas sapē procellas,
Aut euerit fortuna domos;
Minus in paruis fortuna furit,
Raras patitur fulminis ictus.
Et nimis vallis.

Seneca in Olla,
& Hippol.

In the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where a great grudge arose betwixt him and Gilbert the earle of Denbroke, by reason that the said earle with his seruants (hauing tipstauers) in their comming to the court, were not suffered to enter within the gates but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had complained, the king made him such an ouerthwart answer, that the earle perceiving him not to like verie well of his seruice, departed forthwith, and rode into the North countrie, so that from that day forth, neither he nor his brother Walter loued the king as they ought to haue done. Some after this departure of earle Gilbert, vpon Candlemas day the king gaue the earldome of Leicester vnto Simon de Mountford, and inuicted him thereinto, hauing first pacified earle Almerike that was elder brother to the same Simon. Yet about the beginning of the next August, the king was so incensed against earle Simon, that both he and his wife were glad to get them ouer into France, till the kings wrath were more pacified.

Anno Reg. 23.
1 2 3 9
Math. Paris.
Marriage be-
twixt the king
and the earle
of Denbroke.

Upon the sixteenth day of June, the kings eldest sonne named Edward, and after surnamed Longshanke by the Scots in mockage, because he was a tall and slender man, was borne at Westmister, who after his fathers decease, succeeded him in the kingdom. Before the birth of this Edward, there appeared earle in the morning certeine daies together before the sunne was by, a star of a large compassse, the which with swift course was caried through a long circuit of the aire, sometimes thewing as it had borne fire with it, and sometimes leauing as it were smoke behind it, so that it was after iudged, that the great deeds which were to be achieved by the same Edward, were by this wonderfull confestall, on foretold and signified.

The birth of
king Edward
the first.

About the same time, by reason of an accusation made by a prisoner against Ranulfe Winton (sometime the kings chancellor, but now leading a priuat life, being a canon of the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London) the same Ranulfe (by commandement from the king sent to the maior of the citie William Joiner) was taken out of his house, had to the tower, and there imprisoned, wherupon the deane of Paules, maister G. Lucie, in absence of the bishop accused all those that had presumptuously attempted to laie hands on the said Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne church of saint Paule vnder interdiction.

Polydor.
A strange
star.

Math. Paris.

Ranulfe Winton taken out of his house, and led to the tower.

To conclude, through threatening of excommunication to be pronounced against the king, and other for this fact by the legat and the bishops of the realme as namelie, Canturburie and London, the king was compelled to release and set at libertie the foresaid Ranulfe. Finally, the prisoner that had accused the said Ranulfe and other, being one of the kings pursuants, when for his wicked doings he came to suffer death, openly confessed, how he had accused those persons, onelie in hope to deferre his owne execution,

¶

cution,

Great raine.

cution, being conuicted as accessarie to the treason of the cleahe that suffered at Councntie the last yeare. He had accused not onelie the said Bziton, but diuers of the nobilitie also to be priue and gillie of the same conspiracie. ¶ This yeare for the space of foure moneths together, fell exceeding great raine, yet at length it began to held by about Calser.

The legat beginneth to loke to his owne comortie.

In this while, the lords of the realme practised sundrie drifts likewise, as men that would saue haue bene rid of the legats companie: but the king did what he could on the other side (by sending to the pope for licence) to haue him remaine still here, who began now indeed to loke to his owne profit, as by way of procuracies and other meanes, so that he got togither great summes of monie, although in the beginning he seemed to forebare, and not to seeke for any such gain. Also, he took upon him to bestow benefices without consent of the patrones that were temporal men, whereupon complaint was made to the pope, namelie, by one sir Robert de Twing, who claimed as patron the presentation of the rectorie of Luthun in Dorsetshire, and could not be permitted to introy it, by reason of the popes prohibition, but upon the hearing of his title in the popes consistorie, he obtained letters from the pope to be ressozed, and also an inhibition, that from thenceforth no person should be promoted to any spirituall benefice or church, without consent of the patron. The king and the pères of the realme vnderstanding themselves to be touched in this wrong offered to this knight, had written in his fauour to the pope, so that his suit had the better successe.

Sir Robert de Twing.

The Jewes punished by the pürse.

A synod holden at London.

Moreover, the Jewes in this yeare, for a murther which they had secretlie committed, were grieuoulie punished, namelie by the pürse to buy their peace, & they were glad to giue the king the third part of all their goods. The legat also assembled a synod of the clergie at London upon the last of Julie, in the which he demanded procuracies, but the bishops upon deliberation had in the matter, answered, that the impotunatnes of the Romane church had so often consumed the goods of the English church, that they could no longer suffer it, and therefore said they, Let them giue you procuracies which vnadvisedlie haue called you into the realme, if they will, for of vs you shall be sure to come by none at all, howbeit he got his demand of the abbats and other religious men.

About the feast of the assumption of our labie, Thomas earle of Flanders, vncle to the quene, arrived at Douer, and was receiued of the king with great joy and gladnesse, who rode thitherward to meet him, and so brought him to London, where the citizens came forth also, and meeting him in the waie, brought him into the citie with all honour that might be deuised. He did homage to the king (as authors write) and at his departure had in reward five hundred marks, and a pension assured him of as much yearelie out of the exchequer of the kings free gift. This earle Thomas was sonne to the earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Jone countesse of Flanders, which had first bene coupled in marriage with Ferdinand, as in the life of king John may further appeare.

Anno Reg. 24.
1240
March. Paris.
March. West.
Waldwin de Riuers earle of the Isle of Wight.

In the 24 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmase at Winchester, where he made Waldwin de Riuers knight, and inuested him with the right of the earldome of the Isle of Wight, in the presence of the earle of Cornewall, who procured him this honour, because he had the wardship of him, and married him to his daughter in law the ladie Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the countesse of Gloucester by his former husband. The earle of Leicester also, meaning to go into the holie land, returned out of France, where he had remained a certeine

time as an exile, but was now receiued honorable of the king and other pères of the realme, and after that he had seene the king and done his dutie as appertained, he went to his possessions to make monie for his furniture necessarie to be had in that iourne, for the which he sold at that time his woods about Leicester, unto the knights of the Hospitall, and to the canons of Leicester, receiuing of them for the same about the summe of a thousand pounds.

The countess about Leicester sold.

About the same time, to wit, the 14 of Aprill, died Leolin prince of Wales, and then followed contention betwixt his sons Griffin and David for the principalltie, which at length David obtained through king Henries support (though he were the younger brother) because he was begot in lawfull bed on the sister of king Henrie. The whole countrie of Wales was maruellouslie in trouble about their quarels. At length, a daie of meeting was appointed betwixt them, to grow by waie of talke unto some quiet end; and Griffin meaning no deceit, came in peaceable wise with Richard bishop of Bangor, and others to the place assigned, where they should haue met. But David by a traine took Griffin, and committed him to prison, whereupon afterwards, the yeare ensuing, by continuall plaint and earnest sute of the bishop of Bangor, king Henrie entred Wales with an armie, and constrained David to submit himselfe, and to deliuer the said Griffin into his hands, and further also to put in suerties to appeare at London, there to receiue such order in the kings courts, as to him by law should be orderlie awarded. Griffin ap Gad-docke and diuerse other great lords of Wales joined with the king in this iourne against David, as in the next yeare ye shall further heare.

Leolin prince of Wales departed this life.

Griffin ap Gad-docke

About the same time, there was great strife and contention still remaining betwixt the emperor Frederike and pope Innocent the fourth that succeeded Celestine the fourth, in somuch that fore and most tall warre followed. But king Henrie by the procurement of the legat Atho, aided the pope with monie, though he was somewhat loth to do it, because the said emperor had married his sister. Indeed, the emperor wrote to the king to staie his hand, but the diligence of that legat was such in furthering his masters businesse, that the monie was gone ouer per the emperours letters came. At this time also, Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie greatlie disalowed the often exactions and subsidies which the legat caused daillie to be lenied of the English clergie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpose the rather against the monks of Canturburie, with whom he was at variance, he first granted to the legats request made on the popes behalfe in a synod holden at Reading, for the hauing of the fifth part of spirituall mens reuenues, and so by his example others were inforced to do the like.

King Henrie aided the pope with monie against the emperor.

Furthermore he gaue eight hundred marks to the pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by constraint, I cannot saie; but now utterlie mistaking all things done by the legat contrarie to his mind, after he had done and said what he could for redresse, and when he saw no hope at hand for any reformati on either in the king or legat, who esteemed not his words, as a man not longer able to see his countrie so spoiled, he went ouer into France, and got him unto Pontney, there to remaine in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predecessor Thomas Becket, whose dowings he did follow in verie manie things. Merclie the collections of monie, which the pope in these daies by his legats gathered here in this realme, were great and sundrie, so that (as it appeareth by historiographers of this time) the cleargie and other found themselves sore grieved, and repined not a little against such couetous dealings and measureable

Complaint to
the king of the
collations
made for the
pope.

The answer
of the king.
Polydor.
The causes
that moued
archbishop
Edmund to
depart the
realme.

Math. West.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.

The death of
Edmund
archbishop of
Cantuarburie
fornamed of
Pontney.

3 Chartres
books moued
apprehended.

measurable exactions, in so much that they spake to the king of it, and said; Right famous prince, whie suffer you England to be made a ppey and desolation to all the passers by, as a vineyard without an hedge, common to the waifaring man, and to be destroyed of the bores of the field, sith you haue a sufficient priuilege that no such exactions should be made in this kingdome? And suerlie he is not woorthie of a priuilege which abuseth the same being granted. The king answered those that went thus about to persuade him, that he neither would nor durst gainesate the pope in any thing: and so the people were brought into miserable despaire.

There be that write how that there were other occasions of the archbishops departure out of the realme of the which this should be one; when he saw religion not to be regarded, and that priests were had in no honor, neither that it laie in his power to reforme the matter, sith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to absent himselfe till the king (warned by some mishap) should repent him of his errors, and amend his misdoings. Other some an other cause hereunto, which was this; whereas the king by the insample of other kings (begun by William Rufus) used to keepe bishops sees, and other such spiritual possessions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient person were to the same preferred, the archbishop Edmund, for that he saw long delays made oftentimes per any could be admitted to the same of those that were deceased, or by any other means depriued, he was in hand with the king, that the archbishop of Cantuarburie might haue power onlie to provide for successors in such romes as chanced to be vacant, above the tearme of six moneths, which thing the king for a certeine summe of monie granted; but afterward perceiuing that hinderance he sustained thereby, he renoked that grant, so much to the displeasure of the archbishop, that he thought god no longer to continue in the realme.

At his coming to Pontney, he so seemed to despise all worldly pompe and honor, giuing himselfe wholly to diuine contemplation, to fasting and prayer, that the former opinion, which men had conceived of his vertues, was maruellouslie confirmed. At length being sore vexed with sicknesse, supposing that he might recouer helth by changing of aire and place, he caused himselfe to be conueied into an other house of religion, named Soisse, two daies iourne from Pontney, where finally he died the sixteenth of November, and his bodie was brought againe to Pontney, and there buried, where also through sundrie miracles shewed (as they say) at his graue, he was reputed a saint, and at length canonized by pope Innocent the fourth. He was bozne at Abingdon, beside Drenford, and thereby some named him saint Edmund of Abingdon, and some S. Edmund of Pontney, after the place where he was inshined. The see of Cantuarburie was void more than thre yeares after his decease, till at length by the kings commandement, the monks of Cantuarburie elected one Boniface of Sauoie vncke to quene Elianor, being the 45 archbishop which ruled that church.

There was this yeare a certeine person of honest conuerfation, and sober, representing in habit one of the Carthusian monks, taken at Cambridge, being accused for that he refused to come to the church to heare diuine seruice, and upon his examination, because he answered otherwise than was thought conuenient, he was committed to secret prison, and shortly after sent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This man openly protested, that Gregorie was not the true pope, nor head of the church, but that there was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, so that no seruice ought to be said

therein, except the same were newlie dedicated, and the vessels and vestments againe hallowed and consecrated; The diuell (said he) is lofed, & the pope is an heretike, for Gregorie, which nameth himselfe pope, hath polluted the church.

Hereupon (in the presence and audience of the abbat of Cuelham, maister Pic. de Fernham, and diuerse other worshipfull personages) the legat said vnto him being thus out of the waie; Is not power granted to our soueraigne lord the pope from above, both to lose and bind soules, sith he executeth the rōme of S. Peter vpon earth? How then all men looked to heare what answer he would make, beléeuing his iudgement to depend vpon the same, he said by way of interrogation, and not by way of assertion; How can I beléeue, that vnto a person spotted with simonie and vsurie, and haplie wapt in more greuous sins, such power should be granted as was granted vnto holie Peter, who immediatlie followed the lord, as same as he was made his apostle, and followed him not onelie in bodily footsteps, but in cleerenesse of vertues. At which word the legat blushed, & said to some of the standers by; A man ought not to chide with a stole, nor gape ouer an ouen.

In this season the king sent his iustices itinerants in circuit about the land, the which vnder pretext of iustice punished manie persons, and so leuied great summes of monie to the kings vse. Sir William of Poike prouost of Beuerley was assigned to visit the south parts, and sir Robert de Lexington the north parts. Also Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, with a nauie of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens, he greatlye advanced the part of the christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Salisburie William Longespée, and William Basset, John Beauchampe, Gestepe de Lucie, John Beuill, Gestepe Beauchampe, Peter de Beuse, and William Furniual. The erle of Pontford also went ouer the same time: but where the earle of Cornewall toke the sea at Sparfles, the earle of Leicester passed through Italie, and toke the water at Byzandze, and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniual, with his brother Gerard de Furniual, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Ammond, Wilshard Ledet, Wunhard de Detwin, and William de Detwin that were brethren, Gerard Belmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenaie. Shortly after also, John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Spallow a Poitouin, men for their valiance greatlye renowned, went thither, leading with them a great number of christian souldiours.

In this yeare and vpon the day of S. Remigius, was the church of S. Paule in the citie of London dedicated by Roger bishop of that citie, the king and a great number of bishops and other noble men being present, which were feasted the same day by the said bishop Roger and the canons. Moreover, there died the same yeare the countesse Isabell, wife to Richard earle of Cornewall, and two earles, William earle Warren, and John earle of Lincoln, also the lord John Fitz Robert, one of the chiefe barons in all the north parts of the realme. Also in februarye there appeared a comet or blasing starre verie deadfull to behold, for the space of thirtie daies together. Moreover, on the coast of England there was a great battell amongst the fishes of the sea, so that there were eleauen whales or thirlepoles cast on land, besides other huge and monstrous fishes, which appeared to be dead of some hurts; and one of those mightie fishes, comming into the Thames aline, was pursued by the fishers, and could scarce passe through the arches of London bridge. At length with darts and other such weapons, they slue him before

Iustices itinerants.
William de Poike.
Robert Lexington iustices.

The earle of Cornewall goeth into the holy land.

The earle of Leicester goeth thither also.

The earle of Albemarle.

The dedication of the church of S. Paule in London.

The death of Isabell the countesse of Cornewall.
The lord John Fitz Robert.
A battell betwixt fishes.
March. Paris.

W. ff. the

The king's
manour at
Wortlake.

A great wind.

In oth res-
cued.

The seneshall
of Aquitaine.

Peter Rosso.

Peter de Su-
pino got a bin-
tiefine, that is
the 20 part of
priefts benefi-
ces.

Anno Reg. 25.
1241

Boniface de
Sauois elec-
ted archb. of
Canterburie.
March. Paris.

the kings manour at Wortlake, whither they follow-
ed him. There was also a great sound heard this
yeare in sundrie parts of England at one selfe time,
as if it had bene the noise of some mightie moun-
taine that had fallen into the sea. And upon the se-
uenth of Maie there chanced a great boisterous
wind that sore troubled the skie.

This yeare the king caused the citizens of London,
and the gardians of the cinque ports, and manie o-
ther to receiue an oth to be true and faithfull to his
sonne prync Edward. The friers preachers and mi-
nors, and other men of the church that were biaines,
absolued such as had taken on them the crosse, recei-
uing of them so much monie as would suffice to
haue bozne their charges in that iournie, and this not
without flander rebounding to the church. The same
meanes to get monie was practised also by the legat
Wtho, hauing authoritie thereto of the pope. The same
yeare the seneshall of Aquitaine came ouer to the
king, and let him know, that if tuncle prouision
were not had, all those countries on the further side
of the sea wold be lost. No other incident chanced the
same yeare neither in warre abroad, nor in the state
of gouernement of the common-wealth at home,
whereof any great accompt is to be made, but that
the legat Wtho got great summes of monie di-
uerse waies, of religious men to the popes behose:
whereupon certeine abbats made complaints to the
king, but in place of comfort they receiued discom-
fort, & after knowledge thereof given to the legat, he
was more erreame with them than he was before.

Shortlie after one of the popes familiars and kins-
man named master Peter Rosso came from Rome,
taking England in his waie to go into Scotland,
and vsed in both such diligence in the popes cause,
that he got a skienth granted here, which he spedilie
gathered. About the same time one Peter de Su-
pino was sent into Ireland, and there likewise he got
a bintiefine, bringing from thence the summe of 115
marks, and aboue. But the collection which Peter
Rosso got out of the Scottissh confines doubled that
summe, as was thought. In his returne also from
thence, visiting the houses of religion, and searching
the consciences of religious persons, by new shifts
he craftilie got yet more monie to the popes vse,
causing them to sweare to keepe this myserie se-
cret, as it were some priuie of confession for the
space of one halfe yeare, whereby he turned the harts
of manie men from the loue of the church of Rome,
wounding them with great greafe and remorse of
conscience to see this pillage.

In the 25 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie kept
his Christmasse at Westminster, at which time the
legat was sent for to returne vnto Rome, and after
he had bene honorable scatted of the king, on the 4
daie of Christmasse he departed from London to-
wards the sea side, after he had remained here aboue
three yeares. Peter of Sauois that was uncle to the
quene came into England, and was honorable re-
cued and intertained of king Henrie, who had gi-
uen to him the earldome of Richmond. This sonne
Boniface was this yeare also elected archbishop of
Canterburie, a tall gentleman and of a goodlie per-
sonage, but neither so learned nor otherwise meet for
that rone. But such was the kings pleasure, who in
fauour of the quene, to whom he was wolen ge-
mane sought to aduance him, and getting the popes
fauour in that behalfe, procured the monks & bishops
to grant their contents, although much against their
minds, if they might haue had their owne wills.

The earle of Cornewall returning out of the holie
land in safetie, after he had settled things there, by
concluding an abstinence of warre betwixt the Sa-
racens and christians about the octaues of S. John

Baptist, he arrived in Sicill, and hearing there in
what place the emperor as then sojourned, he repai-
red vnto him, of whom and of his sister the emperesse
he was most iustillie receiued. Within a few daies
after, he went to the court of Rome, to trie if he
might diue some agreement betwixt the emperor
and the pope, but finding the pope too hard, and no-
thing conformable, except he might haue had all his
owne will (which was, that the emperor should
haue submitted himselfe to the popes pleasure, and
stand vnto what soeuer order the church should ap-
point) he returned backe to the emperor without
concluding any thing with the pope, declaring vnto
him as he had found. After this he remained two
moneths with the emperor, & then taking his leave
was honoured with great gifts at his departure, and
so returning towards England, at length arrived at
the towne of Dover on the morrow after the feast of
the Epiphanie in the yeare following.

About the same time that the earle of Cornewall
was in his returne south of the holie land, new wars
suddenlie arose in Wales, which happened well for
king Henrie. There were diuerse of the Welshmen
that could not well like of the gouernement of Da-
uid, and therefore sore lamenting the captiuitie of his
brother Griffen, whom before (as ye haue heard) he
had by a traine taken and kept still as prisoner, be-
gan to make warre vpon the said Dauid, and those
that took his part, the which on the other side sought
to oppresse their aduersaries, so that there ensued
much bloodshed and slaughter betwene the parties.
The wife also of the said Griffen, and such other noble
men as were become enimies vnto Dauid, sent and
writ vnto king Henrie, requiring his aid, that Griff-
en might be deliuered out of his brothers hands, pro-
mising him great helpe and furtherance, with large
conditions of submission, and assurance furthermore
to be at his commandement, and to receiue him for
their true and soueraigne lord.

King Henrie vnderstanding all their doings and
intents, thought that this contention betwene the
two brethren for the title of Wales would serue he-
rie well for his purpose, and therefore he hastied forth
with a speedie armie of men in that countrie, purpo-
sing to reduce the same vnder his obeliance. Here
with Senena or Guenhera, the wife of Griffen (and
other of the Welsh Nobilitie, that took part with
hir) concluded a league with king Henrie, vpon cer-
teine conditions as the same are contained in an in-
strument or charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as
followeth.

*Conuenit inter dominum Henricum tertium re-
gem Anglorum illustrem ex una parte, & Se-
nenam uxorem Griffint, filij Leolini, quon-
dam principis Northwallie, quem Dauid frater
eius tenet carceri munitatum, cum Griffint
filio suo, nomine eiusdem Griffi. ex altera.*

Articles of agreement betwene Henrie the third of
that name, king of England of the one parties, and
Senena the wife of Griffen, the sonne of Leolin,
sometimes prince of Northwales, whom Dauid
his brother deteined in prison, with Owen his
sonne, in the name of the said Griffen of the other
partie.

In primis, the said Senena undertaketh,
that the said Griffen hir husband will giue
vnto the king six hundred markes, vpon
condition that the king will cause the said
Griffen and Owen his sonne to be deliuered from
the prison wherein they are kept, and will stand to the
iudgement of the kings court, whether by law he
ought

The earle of
Cornewall
interceded
for a peace to
be made
betwixt
the pope and
the emperor

He returned
into Eng-
land.

Warres be-
twene the
Welshmen.

King Henrie
goeth into
Wales with
an armie.

ought to be imprisoned or no.

Item the said Griffin and his heires will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of the said Leolin his father, which of right ought to apperteyne unto him.

Item the said Senena undertaketh for the said Griffin and his heires, that the said Griffin and his heires shall yeld and paie peacelie to the king for the same lands, the summe of three hundred markes. Whereof the first thirde part to be paid in monie, the second in kine, and the third in horses, by the estimation of indifferent men, and the same to be paid yearly at Michaelmas and Easter by even portions, by the hands of the shiriffe of the countie of Salop for the time being.

Item the said Senena undertaketh further for the said Griffin and his heires, that they and everie of them shall obserue the peace against the said Dauid, and suffer him quietlie to enjoy such portion of his fathers inheritance as to him shall be found to be due.

Item the said Senena doth further undertake for the said Griffin his husband and his heires, that in case anie Welshman hereafter shall happen to rebell against the king, they at their owne costs and charges shall compell the said offender to make satisfaction to the king for his disobedience.

Item for the performance of the premises, the said Senena will deliuer unto the lord the king, Dauid and Roderike his sonnes for pledges, with promise that if the said Griffin and Owen or either of them shall happen to die before their deliuerie out of the said prison, it shall be lawfull for the said Senena to haue one of his sonnes released, the other remaining with the king for pledge.

Item the said Senena hath sworn upon the holie Euangelist, that the said Griffin his husband and his heires, and everie of them shall accomplish and performe all the premises on their behalfe, and further undertaketh that the said Griffin his husband, upon his deliuerie out of prison, shall take the same oath.

Item the said Senena in the name of the said Griffin his husband, submitteth his selfe concerning the obseruation of the premises unto the jurisdiction of the reuerend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Lichfield, so that the said bishops or either of them at the kings request shall compell the said Griffin and his heires to obserue all and singular the premises on their behalfe, by sentence of excommunication upon their persons, and interdiction upon their lands.

Lastlie, the said Senena doth undertake and promise (Bona fide) to see and procure the full performance of all the premises, and that the said Griffin his husband and his heires shall allow and performe the same, and thereof shall deliuer his instrument in writing to the king in forme aforesaid. To this charter both parties put their seals, Griffin and Senena to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Senena.

Finalie, for the performance of the articles in this instrument or writing contained, the said ladie in name of his husband, procured diuerse noble men to become sureties or pledges, that is to saie, Ralph de Spottimer, Walter de Cliford, Roger de Pontual, seneschall of Chester, Mailgun ap Iafflun, Meredith ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromesfeld, Youwell and Meredith brethren, Griffin ap Menniden: which persons undertooke for the said ladie, that the covenants on his part should be performed, and therupon they also bound themselves by their writings obligatorie unto the said king, in forme following.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto senescallus Cestrie salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constitui plegium, &c.



O all and singular, to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto the steward of Chester sendeth greeting. Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Griffin the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue undertaken for him to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those covenants and articles, agreed vpon betwene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Griffin his husband and Owen his sonne out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Griffin, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witness whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale. Dated at Salop, the mondaie before the feast of the Ascension of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 15 year of his reigne.

But now to our purpose. When Dauid understood of the kings approach with so puissant an armie, he was brought into great perplexitie, and the more in deed, not onelie because there chanced the same yeare for the space of foure moneths together a great drought, so that the marshes and bogges were dried vp and made passable for the kings people, but also for that manie of the Welsh nobilitie, as cheselie Griffin Maddoc and others, sought his destruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whose deliuerance they earnestlie wished) and for that he stood excommunicate by the pope. All which things well considered, caused him to doubt of a further mischance to hang ouer his head: whereupon he sent to the king, signifieng that he would deliuer his brother Griffin free into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by manie good reasons, that if he did set him at libertie, he should minister manie new occasions of continuall warres.

Whereouer, this covenant Dauid required at the kings hands, that the king should reserve him so to his peace vnder the bond of fidelitie and hostages, that he should not disherit him: which when as the king courteously granted, Dauid sent vnto him his brother Griffin, to dispose of him as he should thinke requisite. The king receiuing him, sent him to London, vnder the conduct of sir John de Berinton, together with other men (whome he had receiued as hostages both of Dauid and others the nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in safetie within the tower there. There was also a charter or deed made by the same Dauid vnto king Henrie, containing the articles, covenants, and grants made betwixt the said prince and the foresaid Dauid, as followeth.

The charter of the articles of Dauids submission to the king.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presentes littere peruenierint, Dauid filius Leolini salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Anglie illustri, &c.



O all christen people, to whom these present letters shall come, Dauid the sonne of Leolin sendeth greeting. Know ye that I haue granted and promised to deliuer

Dauid sworn to his swith end.

Dauid deliuereth his brother to the k.

liuer vnto the lord Henrie the noble king of Eng-
land, Griffin my brother with his sonne and heire
whom I kepe in prison, and all other prisoners, who
by occasion of the said Griffin lie in durance.

Item I shall stand to the iudgement of the kings
court, aswell in that case, whether the said Griffin
ought to be deteyned prisoner or no, as also for and
concerning the part of the inheritance of the said
Lecolin my father, claimed by the said Griffin accord-
ing to the customes of Wales: so that the peace be
mainteyned betwene me and the said Griffin.

Item I and the said Griffin, and either of vs shall
hold our portions of land, of our said souereigne the
king in Capite, acknowledging him chiefe lord thereof.

Item I shall restore vnto Roger de monte alco
steward of Chester, his land of Pontalt or Spould,
with the appurtenances.

Item I shall likewise restore to all other barons,
all such lands, lordships and castels, as were taken
from them since the beginning of the warres be-
twene the lord John king of England, and the said
Lecolin prince of Wales my father, saving the right
of all covenants and grants by writing, to be reser-
ued vnto the iudgement and determination of the
kings court.

Item I shall give and restore vnto our souereigne
lord the king all his charges in this present voiage
laid out.

Item I shall make satisfaction for all damages &
injuries done by me, or anie of my subiects vnto the
king or his, according to the consideration of the
kings court, and shall deliuer such as shalbe malefac-
tours in that behalfe.

Item I shall restore vnto the said lord the king all
the homages, which the late king John his father had,
& which the said lord the king of right ought to haue,
especiallie of all the noble men of Wales: and if the
king shall set at libertie anie of his captives, the pos-
sessions of that man shall remaine to the king.

Item the land of Glincer with the appurtenances
shall remaine to the lord the king and his heires for
euer.

Item I shall not receiue or suffer to be receiued
within my countrie of Wales, any of the subiects of
England, outlawed or banished by the said lord the
king, or his barons of Mercia.

Item for confirmation and performance of all and
singular the premises on my behalfe, I shall prouide
by bonds and pledges, and by all other waies and
means as the said lord the king shall award, and will
accomplish the commandement of the said king, and
will obrie his lawes.

In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue
put my seale: dated at Alnet by the river of Elwey,
in the feast of the decollation of S. John Baptist, in
the five & twentieth yere of the reigne of the said king.
For the obseruation of these 11 articles, the said
prince Dauid and Edmund Glanchan were sworn.
Also the said prince Dauid submitted himselfe to the
iurisdiction of the archbishop of Canturburie, and of
the bishops of London, Hereford, and Couentrie, for
the time being. That all, or one of them, whom the
king shall appoint, may excommunicate him, and in-
terdict his land vpon breach of anie the said articles.
And thereupon he procured the bishops of S. Wan-
go, and S. Asaph to make their charters to the lord
the king, whereby they granted to execute and de-
nounce all sentences, aswell of excommunication
as of interdiction sent from the foresaid archbishop,
bishops, or anie of them.

The said Dauid also sent prauilie to the king, to de-
sire him that he would suffer him being his nephew,
and the lawfull heire of Lecolin his father, to inioy
the principalltie of Wales rather than Griffin, which

was but a bassard, and no kin vnto the king. Cōuing
him withall to vnderstand, that in case he did set
Griffin at libertie, he should be sure to haue the war
renewed. Whereupon the king knowing these things
to be true, and vnderstanding also that Griffin was a
ballant stout man, and had manie friends and fau-
rours of his cause, inclined rather to assent vnto Da-
uids request than otherwise to be in danger of fur-
ther troubles, & therefore willinglie granted the same.

Shortlie after Dauid did send his brother Griffin
vnto the king, and other pledges for himselfe, for per-
formance of the said articles, whom the king sent
forthwith to the towne of London, there to be safely
kept, allowing to Griffin a noble a date for his fin-
ding. And within few daies after Michaelmas, prince
Dauid comming to the kings court did his homage,
and swore fealtie, who for so doing, and in that he was
the kings nephew, was sent home againe in peace.
When Griffin saw how all things went, and that he
was not like to be set at libertie, he began to deuise
waies and means to escape out of prison.

Wherefore deceiuing the watch one night, he made
a long line of hangings, couerings, and sheets, and
hauing gotten out at a window, let downe himselfe
by the same from the top of the towre: but by reason
that he was a mightie personage and full of flesh, the
line brake with the twaight of his bodie, and so falling
downe headlong of a great height, his necke and
head was diuen into his bodie with the fall: whose
miserable carcasle being found the morowe after, was
a pitifull sight to the beholders. The king being certi-
fied thereof, commanded Griffins sonne to be better
looked vnto, and punished the officers for their negli-
gence.

About the same tyme there chanced a controuersie
to rise betwixt the king and the bishop of Lincolne,
for the bestowing of the benefice of Thame, the which
John Spanfell the kings chapleine had gotten in pos-
session by the kings fauour, through prouision gran-
ted of the pope, where the bishop alleging priuileges
to the contrarie, had granted it to an other. At length
the king hauing his fathers trouble before his eyes,
and doubting the bishops words, threatening some
evil mishap to follow, if he should stand long in the
matter against the said bishop, gaue ouer his te-
mour: and therewithall provided John Spanfell of a
farre more rich benefice, that is to saie, of the perso-
nage of Spaldstone, wherinto the bishop speedilie in-
uested him.

This yere manie noble men ended their liues, as
well such as were gone with the earles of Corne-
wall and Leicester into the holie land, and others re-
maining still at home. Amongst which number were
these: William Fitz earle of Albemarle, Walter
Racie, one of the chiefest nobles in all Ireland, Ste-
phan de Segraue, Gilbert de Basset and his sonne
and heire named also Gilbert. Porreouer, John Bi-
set high iustice of the forests, and Peter de Walslow,
Hugh Wake, Robert Sparmin, Peter de Buns,
Guischarde Laidre, Eustace Montuill, Cudo Har-
mon surnamed Bercham, Baldwin de Betun, John
Fitz John steward in household to earle Richard,
John de Beau lieu, Gerard de Furnuall. There dy-
ed also the ladie Elianor the countesse of Britaine,
wife vnto Geoffrey, that was sometime earle of Bri-
taine (which countesse had bene long kept prisoner
at Brisfow) with diuerse other.

Porreouer, there died this yere Roger bishop of
London, and Hugh bishop of Chester. Also Gilbert
Parthall earle of Penbroke, in a toznie which he
had attempted at Hereford against the kings in-
cence, was by an vnclie horse cast, and so hurt, that
immediatlie he died thereof. Further was this yere
onclie mournfull to England for the losse of such
high

March. Paris
page. 76.

March. Paris
page. 77.

John Span-
fell.

Death of
ble men.

Lacie left
issue male be-
hind him, so
his daugh-
ters inher-
ted his lands.

Cardinal
Somercotean
Englishman.

Ineclipse.

Anno Reg. 26.
The death of
the emperesse
Isabell.

1 2 4 2
was renued
betwixt the
kings of Eng
land & France
The earle of
March.
Cogninus.
March. Well.

Sumdrye opi
nions in the
kings coun
cellers.

Charginge a
certaine dutie
for currie
ground.

The bishops
of Durham
sent into
Scotland.

high estates, but also in other places many notable personages departed out of this transitory life. As two popes, Gregorie the ninth and his successeur Celestine the fourth, besides cardinals: amongst the which Robert Somercotean Englishman was one. About the later end of this 25 years, the first date of October, there appeared a right sore eclipse of the sunne, verie strange to the beholders. In the 26 years died the emperesse Isabell, wife unto Frederike the emperour.

In this year also began the wars againe betwixt king Henrie, and Lewis the king of France, for the quarrell of Hugh earle of March, who refused to do homage unto Alfonso the brother of king Lewis, which Alfonso had married the onelie daughter and heire of Raimund earle of Tholouse, and therefore should succeed the same earle in his estate and inheritance. His brother king Lewis had also given unto him the earldome of Poitou, with all the lands of Auergne: and because the earle of March would not do homage unto him, king Lewis made warre upon the earle of March, who therupon sought to procure king Henrie (whose mother he had married) to come over with an armie unto his aid.

King Henrie being sollicitied with letters, not onelie from his father in law, but also from diuerse other noble men of Poitou, who willinglie would haue bene vnder his gouernement, asked aduise of his counsell what he ought to do in the matter. Some were of opinion, that sith there had bene a truce taken betwixt the kings, it were not reason in anie wise to breake the same: but some other thought, that sith the Frenchmen in times past had taken from king John his lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poitou, and wrongfullie detained the same still in their possession without restitution, it could not be at anie time lawfull upon occasion giuen to recover the same out of their hands. This opinion was allowed for good, and the best that might be both of the king & also of the earle of Cornwell, who was latelie returned from his iournie which he had made into the holie land.

But now all the state rested in gathering of monie, which being earnestlie demanded in a parlement begun at Westminster the Tuesday before Candlemasse, was as stiffly denied, alledging in excuse their often payments of subsidies and relieves, which had bene gathered sith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirtieth, fiftieth, sixtieth and fortieth parts of all their moueable goods, besides charunge, hidge, and sundrie escuages, namelie the great escuage granted for the marriage of his sister the emperesse: and also beside the thirtieth with in four years last past, or thereabouts, granted to him, which they thought remained vnspent, because it could not be vnderstood about what necessarie affaires for the common-wealth it should be laid forth and imployed, whereas the same was lent upon condition, that it should remaine in certeine castles, and not to be expended but by the aduise of foure peeres of the realme, as the earle of Warren, and others. Moreover, they alledged, that the elcheats and amercements which had bene gathered of late were such as must needs fill the kings coffers: & so to conclude, they would not consent to grant any subsidie.

Howbeit, the king so handled the matter with the richer sort, and namelie those of the spiritualltie, that partlie by gift and partlie by borrowing, he got together a great masse of treasure, and so prepared an armie and ships to passe over into Gascoine with all convenient speed. In the meane time, because he would leaue things in more suretie at home, he sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, by whose diligence a marriage was concluded betwixt the lord

Alexander eldest sonne to the king of Scots, and the laie Margaret daughter to king Henrie. Moreover, the marriages of England adjoining to Scotland were committed to the king of Scots as wardens of the same: here and beyond which king Henrie should abide in the parts beyond the seas. The archbishop of York in the kings absence, was also appointed gouernour of the realme.

When this possession was once readie, about the middle of Aprill, the king toke the sea, together with the queene his wife, his brother Richard earle of Cornwell, and seauen other earles, and about three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poitouins had written to him that he needed not bring over with him any great armie of men, but rather plenty of monie to reteine such as he should find there readie to serue him at his comming. Whereupon he toke with him thirtie barrells of sterling coine: and at length (but not without contrarie winds) he arrived on the coast of Gascoine, in the mouth of the river of Garon, and taking land, was so fullie receiued of the people, and namelie of Reigmo lord of Pons.

The French king aduertised that the king of England was come over into France, to the aid of the earle of March, and other his subiects against him, prepared a mightie armie, in the which were reckoned to be to the number of foure thousand men of armes, well prouided and armed at all points, besides twentie thousand esquires, gentlemen, peomen and crossebowes: and with the same immediatlie he entred the dominions of the earle of March, and toke from him diuerse townes and castles, as Fountney, wherein he toke one of the earls sonnes: also peruant with diuers other. In the meane while the king of England was advanced forward and come nere unto Tailboze, lieng with his armie in the faire medow by the river side of Charent fast by the castell of Thonap: & he had there with him in campe sixtene hundred knights, or rather men of armes, and twentie thousand footmen, with seauen hundred that bare crossebowes. He made there his two halfe brethren, the sonnes of the earle of March knights, and gave to the one of them five hundred marks, and to the other six hundred marks peece, to be paid out of his elchequer, till he had otherwise prouided for them in lands and reuenues equall to that pension.

Now the French king being aduertised that king Henrie laie thus nere to Tailboze, marched thitherwards with all his puissance latelie reenforced with new supplies, and approaching to Tailboze, had the towne deliuered unto him. This chanced about the latter end of Iulie. When after the French king had gotten possession of Tailboze, he ment to passe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikelie procured by the earle of Cornwell (and as it were at a narrow pinch) the king of England had not found means to remoue in the night season, he had bene in great danger to haue bene taken, through want of such aid as he looked to haue had at the hands of the Poitouins and other his confederats. But yet he got a waie (though with some shame of honour) and withdrew to Raintes, whither also the French king followed, and comming nere to the towne, there was a sharpe encounter begun betwixt the French and the English, wherein the Englishmen were victors, and in which by the Frenchmens owne confession, if the English power had bene like to theirs in number, they had fullie obtayned the honour of a fough, ten field, and for a light skirmish a sound and perfect victorie.

The high protesse and ballance of the earles of Leicester, Salisburie, Suffolke, with other noble men,

The king of Scots wardens of the English marches.

The archbishop of York gouernour of the realme.

Thirtie barrells of English coine. The king passeth over into France.

The French king innadeth the earle of Marches land.

The number of the English armie.

Tailboze.

Raintes. An encounter betwixt the English and French.

The ballance of the earle of Leicester and others.

John Mar-
til.Sir John
Barris.
vill. de Sep.
Gilbert de
Clare Natne.The earle of
March is re-
conciled to the
French king.March Paris.
The countesse
of Biene.The reuol-
ting of other
French lords.
See pag. 42,
43, 44. & pag.
152. of the
hystorie of
England.Death in the
French camp.

men, as John de Burgh, Warren de Spence, Che-
nill, Cheincle, Hubert Fitz Wartheim, and many
Fitz Nicholas did in this fight well appeared,
and likewise other of the worthy nation were them-
selves so manfullie, that they deserved no small com-
mendation. Amongst which also Sir John Barris
the kings chaplain, and one of his privie counsell
did right worthilie, taking prisoner with his owne
hands one Peter Dige a gentleman in good place.
There was moreover taken on the French part Sir
John de Barris a man of good account, by William
de Sep, beside sundrie others. On the English part
was slain Gilbert de Clare, and Henrie having
taken prisoner, with other, to the number of twentie
knights, or men of armes, if I may so call them.

After this encounter, by reason the French armie
increased by new bands still resorting to their king,
the earle of March secretly sought meanes to be re-
conciled unto him: and finally by the helpe of the
duke of Britaine, his old acquaintance and friend at
need, his peace was purchased, so that he had his
lands againe to him restored, except certeine castles,
which for further assurance the French king retained
in his hands by the space of three yeares. The king of
England, perceiuing himselfe too much deceived
in that he had put such confidence in the earle of
March and others of that countrie, which should haue
aided him at this present, and againe aduertised, that
the French king meant to besiege him within the ci-
tie of Raines, departed with all speed from thence,
and came to Blaie, a towne in Gascoigne, situat
nere to the riuer of Garon, & distant seven leagues
from Burdeaur.

Now whilst he laie here at Blaie, there came un-
to him the countesse of Biene (a woman mon-
strous big of bodie) bringing with hir to serue the
king, hir sonne, and three score knights, in hope to get
some of his sterling monie, whereof she knew him to
haue plenty: and so couenanting for hir intertein-
ment, remained still with him, and receiued euerie
daie 13 pounds sterling, and yet she neuer pleased
him the worth of a goat, but rather hindered him,
in making him bare of monie, which she receiued,
purssed by and toke a waie with hir when she depar-
ted from him. But if to hir making and stature she
had bin indued with the courage of Moadicia, whom
she exceeded (as it should come) in proportion, or with
the prowesse of Eliscda, hir seruice had bene no lesse
beneficiall to the k. than anie skilfull captaine mar-
ching vnder his banner. So that we see in this wo-
man a desire rather to satisfie hir hydropicall humo-
r of couetousnesse, than anie true affection to set for-
ward the kings affaires; therefore it may well be said
of hir in respect of hir greedinesse to get from the
king for hir owne commodities sake, that she was

*vt mare, quod dicit deaurat, nunquam abundat,
Nunquam rependit.*

In the meane time the lords de Pons, Mirabran
and Portaigne suddenly reuolted, & submitted them-
selves to the French king, with the vicount of To-
uars, and all other the lords and knights of Poitou,
and the marches therabouts, that not long before had
procured king Henrie to come ouer to their aid. The
citie of Raines was likewise rendred to him imme-
diatlie vpon king Henries departure from thence.
At which season the French king meant to haue fol-
lowed him to Blaie, but by reason of a great death
which chanced in his armie, he was constrained to al-
ter his purpose. Surely, as authors haue recorded,
what though pestilence and unwholesomesse of the
aire, & great manie of Frenchmen died at that time,
and daile more fell sicke. The number of them that
died (as March, Paris, & March, Westminster affirme)
amounted to twentie thousand persons, beside foure-

score of the nobilitie that were diuersly as persons
being in the hospital of the king, began to be diseased
and died, so that he was constrained to reuolte
the French king, and to departe home.
A day or two after, a Blackesmith the sonne
of the Blacksmith of Raines, and then went to
Burdeaur, where he was taken in this meane
while, and brought to the king about midsummer of a
young man, whom they named Beatrice after the
queens mother. Now whilst king Henrie was
thus occupied in Poitou, and Gascoigne, William
Marischall the sonne of Counte Marischall (by comman-
dement from the king) was put to death at Lon-
don, with certeine of his complices in the reign of S.
Bartholomew the apostle. This William Marischall falling in
to the kings displeasure, got him to the sea, and plaied
the rouer, keeping the Ile of Lundia in the west
countie, till finally he was taken and brought pri-
soner vnto the towne, where he was charged with
sundrie articles of treason, as that he should hire that
counterfeit mad man which sought to haue murder-
ed the king at Woodstoke, as before ye haue heard.
Whoebeit when he should die, he utterly denied that
euer he was priuie to anie such thing. He was first
had from Westminster to the towne, & from thence
drowne to the gibet, and there hanged till he was
dead, and after being cut downe, had his bowels rip-
ped out and burned, and when his head was cut off,
the bodie was diuided into foure quarters, and sent
vnto foure of the principall cities of the realme. His
complices were also drowne through the citie of
London vnto the same gibet, and there hanged.

In the time of this warre also betwixt England
and France, there was much hurt done on the sea be-
twixt them of the cinque ports and the Frenchmen
of Normandie, and other: as the Caleis men and
the Britons, which did make themselves as strong
as they could against the Englishmen by sea. Where-
vpon diuerse encounters chanced betwixt them, but
more to the losse of the Englishmen, than of the
Frenchmen: in somuch that they of the ports were
constrained to require aid of the archb. of Poike the
lord gouernour of the realme. About which time, and
after the king was withdrawen to Burdeaur, diuers
noble men, as the earles of Norfolk and Winche-
ster, with others, got licence to returne into Eng-
land. Some after whose arrivall, escauge was gather-
ed through the realme towards the bearing of the
kings charges. Moreover, in this yeare of the king
there died sundrie noble men of naturall infirmities,
as the earle of Warwicke, Gilbert de Gaunt, Bal-
win Wake, Philip de Rame, and Roger Bertham
of the north, with diuerse other. Whoebeit the king
himselfe returned not home, but laie all the winter
time at Burdeaur, meaning to attempt manie en-
terprises, but he brought none to passe, fearing that in
protracting the time, he spent much monie, and to lit-
tle purpose.

About the beginning of the seven and twentieth
yeare of his reigne, his brother the earle of Corne-
wall, mistaking the order of things which he saw da-
lie in the king his brothers proceedings, would needs
returne backe into England, but chiefe when he per-
ceiued that his counsell & aduise could not be heard.
The king was sore offended herewith, but he could
not well remedie the matter, nor perswade him to re-
vise. And so the said earle of Cornwall, together with
the earles of Penbroke and Hereford, and diuerse o-
ther noble men toke the sea, and after manie dan-
gers escaped in their course, at length on S. Lucies
daie they arrived in Cornwall, though some of the
bessels that were in the companie were drowen by
force of the tempestuous weather vpon other con-
trarie coasts, & About this season also, that is to saie,

Truce made
betweene the
two kings.
Polydor.
The queen
of England be-
liuered of a
daughter.

William de
Marischall

See pag. 152.

The feast
bled with
men of warre.

Escauge ge-
thered to the
kings of cum-
knights.
March. West-
minster.
Death of
noble men.

The earle of
Cornwall and
other returne
home.

on the day of S. Edmund the king, there happened a marvellous tempest of thunder and lightening, and therewith followed such an exceeding raine (which continued many daies together) that riuers rose on marvellous heighth, and the Thames it selfe, which seldome riseth: is increased by land floods, passing ouer the banks, & drowned all the countrie for the space of six miles about Lambeth, so that none might get into Westminster hall, except they were set on horse backe.

Provision of
graine and vi-
uals taken
up and sent
to the king.

About the same time the king sent ouer into Eng-
land to the archbishop of Poike lord gouernour of
the realme, to cause prouision of graine and bakon, to
be conueied ouer vnto him, which he appointed to be
taken out of the possessions of the archbishop of
Canterburie, and other bishopps: that were vac-
cant, and out of other such places as seemed to him
good to appoint. Whereupon were sent ouer to him ten
thousand quarters of wheat, fise thousand quarters
of otes, with as manie bakons. Also there was sent
vnto him great prouision of other things, as cloth for
apparell and liueries, but much of it perished in the
sea by one meane or other, that little thereof came to
his vse, who remained still at Burdeaur to his great
cost and charges, and small gaine, sauing that he re-
couered certeine townes and holds there in Gas-
coigne that were kept by certeine rebels. At which
time, because he was inclined rather to follow the
counsell of the Gascoignes and other strangers than
of his owne subiects, and gaue vnto them larger en-
tertainment, not regarding the seruite of his owne
naturall people: he was maruellouslie euill spoken
of here in England, and the more in deed, because
his iourne had no better successe, and was yet so
chargeable vnto him and all his subiects. The Noble
men that remained with him, as the earles of Lei-
cester and Salisburie, with other, were constrained
to borrow no small summes of monie to beare out
their charges: and so likewise the king himselfe ran
greatlie in debt, by taking vp monie towards the
discharging of his impossible expenses.

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The king led
by strangers.

He is euill
spoken of.

Truce taken
by five yeares.

At length by mediation of such as were commit-
tioners a truce was concluded betwixt him and the
French king for five yeares, and then he returned to-
ward England, but he arrived not there till the ninth
of October, although the truce was concluded in
March upon S. Gregories day: for besides other oc-
casions of his state, one chanced by such strife and de-
bate as rose amongst the Gascoignes, which caused
him to returne to land, that he might pacifie the same
when he was already imbarked, and had hoised his
saile immediatlie to set forward. He left in France
for his lieutenant one Nicholas de Huesles or Spo-
les, to defend those townes, which yet remained un-
der his obedience, for he put no great confidence in
the people of that countrie, the which of custome be-
ing vered with continuall warre, were constrained
not by will, but by the change of times, one while to
hold on the French side, and an other while on the
English. In deed the townes, namelie those that had
their situation vpon the sea coastes, were so destroyed
and decayed in their walles and fortifications, that
they could not long be any great aid to either part,
and therefore being not of force to hold out, they
were compelled to obey one or other, where by their
willes they would haue done otherwise.

Nicholas de
Huesles his
lieutenant in
Gascoigne.

This was the cause that the Is. of England, often-
times vpon trust of these townes, which for the most
part were readie to receiue him, was brought into
some hope to recouer his losses, and cheefelie for that
he was so manie times procured to attempt his for-
tune there, at the request of the sickle-minded Spo-
touns, who whilst they did take still to purge their
offences to the one king or to the other, they dailie by

new treasons defamed their credit, and so by such
means the king of England oftentimes with small
aduantage or none at all, made warre against the
French king, in trust of their aid, that could, or (vpon
the least occasion conceiued) quickelie would do lit-
tle to his furtherance. And so thereby king Henrie
as well as his father king John, was oftentimes de-
ceiued of his vaine conceiued hope.

In this seauen and twentieth yeare of king Hen-
ries reigne, diuerse noble personages departed this
life, and first about the beginning of Januarie, de-
ceased the lord Richard de Burgh, a man of great
honour and estimation in Ireland, where he held
manie faire possessions, by conquest of that noble
gentleman his worthie father. Also that valiant war-
riour Hugh Lacie, who had conquered in his time a
great part of Ireland. Also the same yere on the sea-
uenth of Maie, Hugh de Albanie earle of Arundell
departed this life, in the middell of his youthfull
20 yeares, and was buried in the priorie of Westminster
ham, which his ancestors had founded. After his
deceasse, that noble heritage was diuided by partiti-
on amongst foure sisters.

Death of No-
ble men.

Hugh Lacie.

About the same time, to wit, on the twelth day
of Maie, Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent departed
this life at his manor of Banstude, and his bodie
was conueied to London, and there buried in the
church of the Friers preachers, vnto the which Fri-
ers he had bene verie beneficiall. Amongst other
30 things, he gaue vnto them his goodlie palace at
Westminster adioining nere to the palace of the
earle of Cornewall, which the archbishop of Poike
afterwards purchased. The monks of the Cister-
were this yeare somewhat vered by the king, because
they had refused to aid him with monie towards his
iourne made into Gascoigne. Also the places of the
crown were kept and holden in the towne of Lon-
don. And in the night of the six and twentieth day of
Iulie, starres were sene fall from the skie after a
marvellous sort, not after the common manner, but
40 thirte or fortie at once, so fast one after another and
glancing to and fro, that if there had fallen so manie
verie starres in deed, there would none haue bene
left in the firmament.

Fabian.

Math. Paris.

Stars fallen
after a strange
manner.

In the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henries
reigne, the queenes mother the ladie Beatrice coun-
tess of Poouance arrived at Dover on the foure-
teenth day of Nouember, bringing with hir the ladie
Sancia hir daughter, and in the octaues of S. Mar-
tine they were receiued into London in most so-
lemne wise, the streets being hanged with rich clo-
thes, as the maner is at the coronations of princes.
On S. Clements day, Richard earle of Cornewall
the kings brother married the said ladie Sancia,
which marriage was solemnized in most roiall wise,
and with such sumptuous feasts and banquetings,
as greater could not be deuised. Finally, the queens
mother the countesse of Poouance, being a right no-
table and worthie ladie, was honored in euerie de-
greet of hir sonne in law king Henrie in most cour-
teous and sumptuous manner, and at hir departure
out of the realme, which was after Christmasse, she
was with most rich and princelie gifts honourable
rewarded.

Anno Reg. 28.
The countesse
of Poouance
mother to the
queene com-
meth ouer into
England.

The earle of
Cornewall
married to the
ladie Sancia.

About the same time also, whereas William de
Kalegh was requested to remove from the see of
Rozwich vnto Winchester, and consenting therevnto,
without the kings licence, obtained his confirma-
tion of the pope: the king was highlie displeased
therewith, because he ment it to another. Whereby
on when the said William Kalegh was returned
from Rome to be installed, the king sent commande-
ment to the maior and citizens of Winchester, that
they should not suffer him to enter the citie. Where,
upon

William de
Kalegh bishop of
Rozwich.

He is con-
secrated bish.
of Winchester
by the pope.

upon he being so kept out, accursed both the citie and cathedra church with all the monks and others that favoured the prior, which had intruded himselfe onelie by the kings authoritie, and not by lawfull election and means, as was supposed.

At length the said bishop upon græse conceived that the king should be so heauie load unto him, got into a ship at London, and staid a while into France, where he was well received of the French king, and greatly cherished. Also he found such means that the pope in fauour of his cause wrote letters both to the king and to the quene, naming him his cosen, but which waie that kindred should come about, as yet it was neuer knowne. The bishop to shew himselfe thankfull for such friendship, gaue the pope about six thousand marks, as is said, and the pope because he would not be accounted a disdainefull person, turned not backe one pennie of that which was so gently offered him. At length partlie at contemplation of the popes letters, and partlie by reason the bishop humbled himselfe in answering the articles which the king had objected against him in cause of the controuersie betwixt them, he granted him his peace, and received him into the land, restoring to him all that had bene taken and detained from him.

Moreover, in this meane while the pope trusting more than inough upon the kings simplicitie and patience, who indeed durst not in any case seme to displease him, had sent an other collector of monie into England named Martine, not adorned with power legantine, but furnished with such authorities and faculties as had not bene heard of. He was lodged in the temple, where he shewed what commission he had to gather by the popes reuenues, and to crad monie by sundrie manner of meanes, and so fell in hand therewith, using no small diligence therein, vnto the great græse and hurt of conscience of manie: he had power to staie the bestowing of benefices, till he was satisfied to the full contentation of his mind. Benefices of small value he regarded not greatly, but such as were good livings in deed felt his heauie and rauinous hands extended towards them. He had power also to excommunicate, to suspend, and to punish all such as should resist his will, although neuer so wilfullie bent, in so much that it was said, he had sundrie blankes vnder the popes bulled seale, because that upon the sudden he brought forth such as seemed best to serue for his purpose. He used this his vnmearurable authoritie to the vttermost, and therein did not forget his owne profit, but tooke paltries and other presents of religious men.

¶ But to declare all the practises of this the popes agent, as it would be too long and tedious a procelle, so it is nothing strange that these his landloping legats and Nuncios haue their manifold collusions to couen christian kingdoms of their reuenues. For if they were not furnished with forlike fraud and woulusty rauenine, they were no fit factors for him; sith it is required that like maister haue like man. And therefore he is aptlie described in the likenesse of a man, his head and face excepted, wherein he resembled a wolfe; besides that, he is set forth with a crozier staffe in his hand, at the hoke whereof hangeth his Judas purse, wherein are poked up his pilfered pater pence, and I wot not what extorted payments and pretended duties. As for his deceits and craftes, he hath more varietie of them, than the cat of the mountaine hath spots in his skin, or the peacocke hath eyes in his taile. Whereupon it is trulie said of a late poet,

*Antiphisi de
Christi & pape
facinor. sub an-
thore anonyimo.*

*Sydera nemo potest quot sunt numerare polorum,
Quot neq. vere noua gramina campus habet,
Sic quoq. nemo potest vassi ludibria pape
Esse & innumeros commemorare dolos:*

*Huius scopus immensum seducere fraudibus orbem,
Huius scopus humanum ludificare genus.*

But to proceed, when men saw such unreasonable courtlines and polling, by the popes procurement, some of the nobilitie of the realme, not able longer to beare it, came to the king, and exhibited to him their complaint hereof, namely so: that the popes procurator bestowed diuers rich prebends and other rooms in churches vpon strangers knowne to be infamed for blurie, simonie, and other heinous vices, which had no respect to preaching, nor to keeping of any hospitalitie, for maintenance thereof their ancestors had giuen forth their lands to the enriching of the church, not meaning to haue the same bestowed on such manner of persons. The king vnder stood that truth it was which was told him, and therefore writ to the pope in humble wise, beseeching him of his fatherlie care to take order for some reuenge therein.

About this time the king began to reuenge his indignation for the following of the warres against the French king, and therefore asked the aduise of his counsell how he might best attempt the recouerie of those lands in France which were wrongfullie detained from him. The most part of all his ancient counsellors were of this opinion, that to make warre a gaine in trust of others aid, as had bene attempted so often before without any profit, should be no wise done, and therefore he ought either to forbear, or els so to praise himselfe of power sufficient, without trusting to the support of strangers, as he might be able with his owne puissance and force to achieve his enterpryse, for otherwise his trauell should proue but vaine and to vertie small effect. The king perswaded with these sound reasons, thought not good to attempt any thing more touching the said warre vndisabled: and to the end it should not be said how he trusted in vaine vpon the aid of strangers, he caused all such possessions as the Romans held in England to be confiscated, to the intent that as well the Romans as Britons and Poitouins might well vnderstand, that he minded not from thenceforth to credit the false promises of rebels, as he that would now vse onelie the service of his owne people the Englishmen, which in respect of others painted promises he had before contemned.

The occasion that moued the king so to disherit the Romans, did cheeflie rise of the French kings dealing, who about the same time calling to him all those that had lands in England, required them either to sticke vnto him inseparably, either else to the king of England, sith no man might serue two masters. Whereupon some forsaking their lands in England, lined on those which they had in France, and other forsooke those livings which they had in France, and came over into England to line on those possessions which they had here. But in the French kings doings was no enforcing of men, either to forsake the one or the other: wherefore the proceedings of the king of England seemed somewhat more inturions, and partlie sounded to the breach of the truce. Whobett all was passed ouer without apparant trouble.

Whilist all things were thus in quiet, and the king himselfe not troubled with any outward wars, the Welshmen (who though they were subdued, yet could not rest in quiet) received againe the fornamed Dauid to their prince, the which for a policie determined himselfe to make offer to the pope to hold his land of him, yielding therefore yearelie vnto him the summe of five hundred marks (as is said) to the end that vnder the wings of the popes protection he might shadow himselfe, and be defended against all men. At length by large gifts of no small summes of monie he purchased letters of the pope in his fauour,

The nobles
complaint
the king &
popes cause

The king
sisterly to
the pope.

Polydor.
The king &
both coun-
sell how to
win in his
warre against
the French

The possi-
ons of the
Romans
confiscated

March. Paris
The occasion
why the Ro-
mans were
disgraced

Polydor.
March. Paris
March. Paris
Dauid prince
of Wales
worthy to
be compared
to the pope

Math. Paris
fig. 28.

The well-
men discom-
fied.

Dauid fled in-
to Scotland.

The pronoceth
the king of
Scots to
make warre
against En-
gland.

The king of
Scots inua-
deth England.

Math. Paris.

King Henrie
requireth an
aid of monie
of his subiects.

New orders
deuised by the
lords.

Unreasonable
request.

to the prejudice of the crowne of England, as touch-
ing the right which the king of England had to the
dominion of Wales, as by the tenour thereof it may
appare beginning as here in sueth, *Illustri viro domi-*

no Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglie, &c.

Thus Dauid being encouraged herewith and such o-
ther of the Welshmen as took his part, at time ap-
pointed did set upon the kings captains as they stra-
gled abroad, whom at the first byunt they put to flight,
and slew manie of them here and there as they took
them at adventure. The Englishmen when night
was come, and that the Welshmen withdrew to
rest, assembled themselves againe together, and in the
morning with new recovered force both of mind and
bodie, came upon the Welshmen, and began with
them a new battell, which continued the space of three
houres together, till at length the Welshmen, which
rathier had entred the fight, began to shrinke backe,
and fled to their wonted places of refuge, the woods
and marshes. Their chiefe captaine Dauid fled into
Scotland, hauing lost in that battell the most part of
all his souldiers which he had there with him. At his
comming into Scotland, and whilst he there remain-
ed, he incited king Alexander against king Henrie
to his uttermost powler, putting into his head
how reprochfull the Englishmen did speake of the
Scots, reproving them of cowardnes & lacke of sta-
minth; also that they liued according to the prescript
of the English nation, as subiects to the same: and
manie other things he forged, which had bene able to
hauemoued a most patient man into indignation
and displeasure.

Finallie, either by the prouoking of this Dauid,
or by some other occasion, king Alexander meant to
make warres upon king Henrie indeed, and in rais-
ing an armie made a rode into England, and did
some hurt by incursions, and further signified to king
Henrie, as some write, that he neither ought nor
would hold anie part or portion of Scotland of the
king of England. King Henrie sore offended here-
with, purposed in time to be reuenged, and hostlie af-
ter called a parliament at Westminister, in the which
he earnestly moued the lords and other states to aid
him with monie towards the furnishing of his cof-
fers, being emptied (as they knew) by his credding
charges in his last iourne into Gascoigne. He would
not open his meaning which he had to make warre
to the Scots, because he would haue his enterprise
secretlie kept, till he should be readie to set forward.

But although the king had got the pope to write
in his fauour vnto the lords both spirituall and tem-
porall, to aid him in that his demand of monie, there
was much adoe, and plaine deniall made at the first,
to grant at that time to anie such payment as was
demanded: and euen so they fell in hand with deu-
ising new orders, and namelie to renew againe their
suit for the confirmation of the ancient liberties of
the realme, so as the same might be obserued, accor-
ding to the grant thereof before made by the kings
letters patents, without all fraud or contradiction.
They also appointed, that there should be foure lords
chosen of the most puissant and discretest of all other
within the realme, which should be sworn of the
kings counsell, to order his businesse iustlie and tru-
lie, and to see that euerie man had right without re-
spect of persons. And these foure chiefe counsell-
ors should be euer attending about the king, or at
the least three or two of them: also that by the view,
knowledge and witnesse of them, the kings treasure
should be spent and laid forth, and that if one of them
chanced to fall awaie, an other should be placed in his
room by the appointment of the residue.

They would also that the lord chiefe iustice and the
lord chancellour should be chosen by the generall voi-

ces of the states assembled, and because it was need-
full that they should be oftentimes with the king, it
was thought they might be chosen out of the number
of those foure about rehearsed conseruators of ius-
tice. And if the king at anie time chanced to take the
seale from the lord chancellour, what former writing
were sealed in the meane time should be of none ef-
fect. They aduised also, that there should be two ius-
tices of the benches, two barons of the exchequer, and
one iustice for the Jewes; and these for that present to
be appointed by publicke voices of the states, that as
they had to order all mens matters and businesse, so
in their election the assents of all men might be had
and giuen: and that afterwards, when upon anie oc-
casion there should be anie elected into the rowne of
anie of these iustices, the same should be appointed by
one of the afore mentioned foure counsellors.

But as the Nobles were busie in these weekes
space about the deuising of these ordinances and o-
ther, to haue bene decreed as statutes, the enemie of
peace and sower of discord, the diuell, hindered all these
things by the couetousnesse of the pope, who had sent
his chapleine master Martin, with authoritie to le-
ue also an aid of monie for his need to mainteine
his wars withall against the emperor; and the em-
peror on the other part sent ambassadours to the
king, to staie him and his people from granting anie
such aid vnto the pope: so that there was no lesse hard-
hold and difficultie shewed in refusing to contribute
vnto this demand of the popes Nuncio, than vnto the
kings. At length yet in another sitting, which was be-
gun three weekes after Candlemasse, they agreed to
giue the king escuage to run towards the marriage
of his eldest daughter, of euerie knights fee holden of
the king twentie shillings to be paid at two termes,
the one halfe at Easter, and the other at Michelmasse.

After this, the king minding to inuade the Scots,
caused the whole force of all such as ought to serue
him in the wars to assemble, and so with a mightie
host he went to new castell vpon Tine, meaning
from thence to inuade the same, in reuenge of such in-
juries as the Scots had done vnto him and his sub-
iects, and namelie, for that Walter Cumyn a mightie
baron of Scotland and other noble men had built
two castels nere to the English confines, the one in
Calotwaie, and the other in Louthian, and further had
receiued and succoured certeine rebels to the king
of England, as Geoffrey de Harisch or Haris an Ir-
ish man, and others. The king of Scots was aduer-
tised of king Henries appoich, and therefore in de-
fense of himselfe and his countrie, had raised an
huge armie. Whereupon certeine noble men vpon ei-
ther side, soie to vnderstand that such bloodshed
should chance as was like to follow (and that vpon
no great apparant cause) if the two kings joined bat-
tell, toke paine in the matter to agree them, which in
the end they brought to passe, so that they were made
friends and wholie reconciled. There was a publicke
instrument also made thereof by the king of Scots
vnto king Henrie, signed with his seale, and likewise
with the seales of other noble men, testifieng his alle-
giance which he ought to the king of England, as su-
perior lord, in forme following.

The pope sen-
deth for some
aid of monie
to mainteine
his wars against
the emperor.

Esuage gra-
ted the king.

The k. With
an armie go-
eth towards
Scotland.

The king of
England and
Scotland
made friends.

The charter of Alexander king of Scotland made to Henrie the third.



*Alexander Dei gratia rex Scotia, om-
nibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum vi-
suris vel audituris, salutem. Ad ve-
stram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro
nobis & heredibus nostris concessisse, & fideliter
promi-*

promississe charissimo & ligio domino nostro Henrico tertio Dei gratia regi Anglia illustri domino Hibernia, duci Normania & Aquitania, & comiti Andegavia, & eius heredibus, quod in perpetuum bonam fidem ei seruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quod nunquam aliquod fedus inuenimus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte nostra, cum inimicis domini regis Anglia vel heredum suorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, unde damnum eis vel regnis suis Anglia & Hibernia, aut ceteris terris suis eueniat, vel possit aliquatenus euenire: nisi nos iniuste grauēt: stantibus in suo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum dominum regem Anglia initis ultimo apud Eboracum in presentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi cardinalis, tunc apostolicæ sedis legati in Anglia. Et saluis conuentionibus super matrimonio contrahendo inter filium nostrum & filiam dicti domini regis Anglia.

Et ut hæc nostra concessio & promissio pro nobis & heredibus nostris perpetua firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animam nostram Alanum Osiarium, Henricum de Baliol, David de Lindesey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quod omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obseruabimus. Et similiter iurare fecimus venerabiles patres, David, Wilhelmum, Galfridum, & Clementem sancti Andrea Glasconiensis, Dunkelden, Dublinensis episcopos: & præterea Malcolmum comitem de Fife, fideles nostros, Patricium comitem de Dunbar, Malisum comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Menteth, Wilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrum comitem de Buchquhan, David de Hastings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Osiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Rogerum de Mowbray, Laurentium de Abirneith, Richardum Cumin, David de Lindesey, Richardum Siward, Wilhelmum de Lindesey, Walterum de Moravia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaum de Sully, Wilhelmum de veteri Ponte, Wilhelmum de Brewer, Anselmum de Mesue, David de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningham.

Quod si nos vel heredes nostri, contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam (quod absit) uenerimus, ipsi & heredes eorum nobis & heredibus nostris nullum contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam auxilium vel consilium impendant, aut ab alijs pro posse suo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & heredes nostros, ipsi & heredes eorum, quod omnia prædicta à nobis & heredibus nostris nec non ab ipsis & eorum heredibus firmiter & fideliter obseruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium tam nos quam prædicti prelati, comites & barones nostri presens scriptum sigillorum suorum appositione roborauimus. Testibus prelati, comitibus & baronibus superius nominatis, Anno regni nostri, &c.

The same in English.

Alexander by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all faithfull christian people that shall see or heare this writing, sendeth greeting. We will that it be knowne to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted and faithfullie promised to our most deare and liege lord Henrie the third, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and Guien, and earle of Aniou, and to his heires, that we will beare

and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we shall not enter into any league with our selues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimies of our said souereigne lord the king of England, or of his heires, to procure or make warre, whereby any damage may happen to come to them or to their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, except vniustlie they doo molest and oppresse vs. The couenants alwaies standing in force, which were concluded betwixt vs at our last being together at Yorke, in the presence of Otho decon cardinall of saint Nicholas *In carcere Tulliano*, then legat of the see apostolike in England, and sauuing the couenants made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our sonne & the daughter of the said king of England.

And that this promise and grant for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlasting assurednesse, we haue caused these to sweare on our behalfe: Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, David de Lindesey, Wil. Gifford, that we shall in good faith obserue all the premisses faithfullie and substantiallie, and we haue likewise caused to sweare the reuerend fathers, David, William, Geoffrey, & Clement, Bishops of S. Andrewes, Glacew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithfull subiects Patrike earle of Dunbar, Malcolm earle of Fife, Malisus earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin earle of Menteth, William earle of Mar, Alexander earle of Buchquhan, David de Hastings earle of Athol, Robert de Bruis, Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirneith, Richard Cumin, David de Lindesey, Richard Siward, William de Lindesey, Walter de Murraie, William de Gifford, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veipont, William de Brewer, Anselme de Mesue, David de Graham, and Stephan de Suningham.

And if that either we or our heires, against the foresaid grant and promise, shall doo anie thing to the breach therof (which God forbid) they and their heires shall not imploie either aid or counsell against the said grant and promise, nor shall suffer other to imploie any such aid or counsell, so far as they may hinder them therein: yea rather they and their heires shall in good faith and plaine meaning endeouour against vs and our heires, that all the premisses may firmelie and faithfullie be obserued and kept of vs and our heires, and likewise of them and their heires for euer. In witnesse whereof aswell we our selues, as the said prelati, our earles and barons haue confirmed this writing by putting their seales vnto the same, the prelati earles and barons before rehearsed beeing true witnesse therevnto, In the yeare of our reigne, &c.

The seales of king Alexander himselfe, of William de Brewer, William de Veipont, William de Lindesey, Stephan de Suningham, and the seales of the rest were set to afterwarde, and the writing sent ouer to the king of England at Christmasse next ensuing, by the prior of Timmouth, who had trauelled diligentlie and faithfullie in this negotiation to the honour of both parts. This writing also was sent to the pope, that he might confirme the same in manner as followeth.

A request made to the pope that he
would vouchsafe to confirme the fore-
said charter.

Sanctissimo in Christo patri I. Dei gratia summo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia rex Scotiae, comes Patricius, comes de Strathern, comes Leuenox, comes de Ancui, comes de Marra, comes de Atholia, comes de Ros, comes de Catnes, comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mowbray, Rogerus de Abirneithie, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, Wilhelmus de veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, Wilhelmus de Murray de Dunfel, Wilhelmus de Muref de Petin, Iohannes Bifet iuuenis, Wilhelmus de Lindefey, Iohannes de Vallibus, David de Lindefey, Wilhelmus Gifford, Duncanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes Wintoniensis, H. comes Oxoniensis, W. de Vefcy, Richardus Siward, Wilhelmus de Ros, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Breterre, Eustacius de Stourville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Mentethshire, Walterus filius Alani, Walterus Olifar, Barnardus Fraser, Henricus de Bailliol, David Cumin, David Marefchallus, David filius Ranulfi, Wilhelmus de Fortere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Robertus de Ros, salutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam.

Sanctitati vestre significamus, nos sacramentum corporaliter praestitisse coram venerabili patre Othone, tituli S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono cardinalium, in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia, nunc apostolica sedis legato, ac chartam nostram confecisse, quae ita incipit: Sciant presentes & futuri, quod ita conuenit in praesentia domini Othonis sancti Nicolai, &c. Quae charta penes dominum regem Angliae, & nos remanet chyrographata. Item aliam quae sic incipit: Ad omnium vestrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cum ut ex forma praecedentiumstrarum pateat obligationum subiecimus nos iurisdictioni vestre, ut nos & haeredes nostros, per censuram ecclesiasticam positis coercere, si aliquo tempore contra memoratam pacem venerimus.

Et si nonnunquam continget, quod quidam nostrum omnes vel unus contrauenire temere praesumpserint vel praesumere nituntur vel nitentur, & ex hoc tam animabus nostris quam haeredum nostrorum graue possit generari periculum, & corporibus nostris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum: sanctae paternitati vestrae supplicamus, quatenus alicui suffraganeorum archiepiscopi Cantuariensis detis in mandatis, ut nos & haeredes nostros ad praefata pacis obseruationem compellat, prout in instrumentis inde confectis plenius continetur. Alias super eadem pace quod canonici iusserit auctoritate vestra statuatur contradictores, &c. Et ad istius petitionis nostrae consummationem praesenti scripto sigilla nostra apposuimus.

In English thus.

Our holie father in Christ I. by the grace of God, the highest bishop, Alexander by the same grace king of Scotland, earle Patrike, the earle of Stratheme, the earle of Leuenox, the earle of Angus, the earle of Mar, the earle of Athole, the

earle of Ros, the earle of Carnesse, the earle of Buch, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abirneithie, Peter de Mauuere, Richard Cumin, William de Veipont, Robert de Bruis, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Sulley, William de Murray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin, Iohn Bifet the yoonger, William de Lindefey, Iohn de Valeis, David de Lindefey, William Gifford, Duncan de Ergile, Iohn de Matreuers, Eimere his sonne, Roger earle of Winchester, Hugh earle of Oxford, William de Vefcy, Richard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henrie Fitz conte de Breterre, Eustace de Stouteuille, earle Malcolme of Fife, the erle of Mentethshire, Walfer Fitz Alaine, Walter Olifard, Barnard Fraser, Henrie de Baillioll, David Cumin, David Marefchall, David Fitz Randulfe, William de Fortere, Iohn de Baillioll, and Robert Ros, send greeting and due reuerence with all honour.

We doo signifie vnto your holiness, that we haue receiued a corporall oth before the reuerend father Otho, deacon cardinall of S. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, legat to the see apostolike, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and haue made our charter or deed, which beginneth thus; Sciant presentes, &c. Which charter or deed indented and sealed, remaineth with the king of England, and with vs. Also another deed or writing that beginneth thus; Ad omnium vestrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Whereas therefore by the forme of our precedent deeds obligatorie, we haue submitted our selues to your iurisdiction, that you may bridle and restraine vs, and our heires by the ecclesiasticall censures, if at any time we go against the said peace.

And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, shall fortune to presume rashlie and vnaduisedlie to go against it, or be about, or hereafter shall be about so to presume, and thereby may procure great perill as well to the foules of our owne selues, as of our heires, & no small danger may also be readie through the same our default to light vpon our bodies & goods, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that you will giue in commandement vnto some of the suffragans of the archbishop of Canturburie, that he doo compell vs and our heires vnto the obseruing of the same peace, accordinglie as in the instruments thereof more fullie is conteined, or else to order by your authoritie vpon the same peace, that which shall be agreeable to the canons, &c. And to the performance of this our petition, we haue to this present writing set our seales.

When all things were thoughtlie concluded, and order taken in what sort the assurances of this accord should passe, the king of Scots returned into the inner parts of his realme, and the king of England likewise returned to London. At the same time also, the Welshmen were verie buile: for hearing that the kings of England and Scotland were agreed, they doubted least all the burthen of the warre would be turned against them. Wherefore (as it were to prevent the matter) they began to waite the English confines. The king aduertised thereof, sent Hubert Fitz Pathew with three hundred knights or men of armes to defend the English marches against the

The Welshmen were verie buile.

A. y.

Welsh.

The letter of the lords to pope Innocent.

Mauch. Paris.

Welshmen, that made battie war against those that dwelled on the marches, and namelie against the erle of Hereford, which chællie occasioned this warre, by detaining the land which appertained unto the wife of prince David, as in the right of hir purpartie.

The deceasse
of the bishop
of Cicester.Anno. Reg. 29.
P. V.A subsidie of
the richer sort.

Mauch. Paris.

The citizens
of London.The seneschall
of Gascoigne
vanquished
the king of
Navarre.
Anno. 1242.
as Mauch. West.
Paris.

1245

David king
or prince of
wales.

Thereupon when the Welshmen understood that the king had broken by his armie and was returned to London, they invaded their enemies, namelie the said earle of Hereford men and the Portimers, slea- ing and cutting in peeces two valiant and noble knights, and maiming the third, they slue and over- threw of the foribands about an hundred, so that all the English armie was disordered, and the Welsh- men with victorie returned to their places of refuge. Which when the foresaid Hubert Fitz Mattheu under- stood, the morrow after he made forth with his three hundred waged men of armes, in hope to hem in and take the Welshmen at advantage: but he was prevented and by them distressed, in so much that he was constrained with losse of men and horses to returne to his holds, and scarce could be suffered to remaine there in safetie. This yeare Rafe Speuill bi- shop of Cicester and chancellour of England depar- ted this life.

In the 29 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie hauing spent much treasure with the great preparation of wars which he had taken in hand against the Scots, and also because he was constrained to be at further charges for the Welsh wars, he called a parlement to begin on the third daie of Nouember, in the which he demanded a great reliefe of monie, but the same being generallie denied of all men, he exacted it in particular of the richer sort of his subiects, & amongst other he caused the citizens of London to giue unto him 15 hundred marks for a fine, because they had receiued a banished man, one Walter Bokerell into their citie, contrarie to the law and order: but this they denied, affirming that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patents they could proue, but they were answered, that the king was under age when these letters were purchased, and therefore were of none effect. About the same time, sir Nicholas de Holis or Hales seneschall of Gascoigne, hauing warres against the king of Na- uarre, got the victorie in battell. ¶ About the midd of Nouember, great thunder and lightning chanced, with a marvellous intemperat season for the space of 15 daies together, as a signe of some misfortune to succeed.

On S. Hughes daie died Margaret countesse of Penbroke the widow of Gilbert Barthall late earle of Penbroke, & sister to the king of Scots, and shortly after the bishop of Excester William de Beuwer likewise deceased, as yet being in his flourishing age, a man in manners, parentage, and knowledge right honorable, and highlie commended. ¶ On the daie of S. Marcellus was the queene deliuered of a man child, which at the font was named Edmund.

In Lent following nere to the castell of Mount- gomerie in Wales, three hundred Welshmen were slaine by them that lay in garrison there by a policie of the capteine, which faining a counterfeited flight, drew the Welshmen within danger of an ambush, which he had laid to surpise them into waies as it came euen to passe according to his deuise. David that took himselfe for king of Wales, coueting to be re- uenged of this displeasure, ceased not daie nor night to make incursions and to exploit enterprises to the damage of the marchers, the which valiantlie resisted the enemies, and drove them oftentimes into the mounteines, woods, bogs, and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enemies hauing the advantage of place, did much displeasure to the Englishmen.

Upon a time as they (being got to the height of an

hill, to cast downe stones and throw darts vpon the Englishmen that assailed them beneath) chanced a- mongst other to slea with a mightie stone (which they threw downe by the side of the hill) sir Hubert Fitz Mattheu a right ballant knight, and a man of great accompt for his knowledge and seruice in warres. Thus the wars continued betwene the parties, and oftentimes the Welshmen by the sudden inuasions got the better: their prince David comming to the castell of Spontault besieged it, and within a short time wan it, slaieng or taking all those whome he found within it. The owner thereof the lord Roger de Spontault by chance was not at home, which hap- pened well for him, where otherwise he had bene in great danger: but nere to the castell of Mountgo- merie, the Welshmen yet were edwards ouerthrowne and 200 of them slaine by an ambush that brake forth vpon their backs. About the middell of Lent the prelates of England were summoned to come to a generall counsell, the which pope Innocent had ap- pointed to be holden at the feast of S. John Baptist next following.

It chanced that about this time, a post comming from the pope with letters to his Nuncio maister Martin, containing instructions how he should pro- ceed for the gathering of monie, was staied at Dou- uer, by the practise of such noble men as were grie- ued to see anie such summes of monie to be conuied out of the realme in sort as was bled. He was had into the castell and his letters taken from him, where- in such secrets were contained for the getting of mo- nie, as ought not to haue bene reuealed. Maister Martin hearing that the post was thus staied and imprisoned, made a grievous complaint vnto the king, so that the post was set at libertie, had his let- ters to him restored, & so came vnto maister Martin, and deliuered them vnto him that he might under- stand the popes pleasure, which others to his grieve understood how as well as himselfe.

The king this yeare caused inquisition to be made through euerie countie within the realme, to under- stand the true valuation of all such benefices and spi- rituall promotions as were in the hands of anie in- cumbents that were strangers boine, and such as had bene preferred by the court of Rome, and the whole summe of all their reuenues was found to be sixtie thousand marks. On Whitsundaie the king made the earle of Glocester, Gilbert de Clare knight, and 40 other yong gentlemen that attended vpon him. And perceiving by the late inquisition what great reuenues the beneficed strangers had and possessed within the realme, and againe conside- ring the exceeding great summes of monie which the court of Rome had reconuered of his subiects, he be- gan to detest such couetous dealing. And hereupon a letter was deuised by the whole bodie of the realme, wherein were contained, the sundrie extorsions and manifold exactions of the popes legats, and other of his chapleines, which vnder colour of his authoritie they had used. There were appointed also to go with these letters vnto the generall counsell, certaine ho- nouable and discreet personages, as Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, John Fitz Geoffrey, William de Cantloth, Philip Walter, and Rafe Fitz Nicho- las, with other, the which presenting the same letters vnto the said assemble, should declare the græce of the whole realme; and require some redresse and ease- ment therein.

Howeuer, it chanced that there was a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled together at Dunstable and Luton, to haue kept a martiall iusts, and triumphant toirne, but they had a countercommoement from the king, not to go forward with the same: whereupon, when they were disappointed

Sir Hubert
Fitz Mattheu
slaine.The castell of
Spontault
taken by the
Welshmen.A generall
counsell.The popes
letters staied.The battell
of benefices
taken, that
pertained to
strangers.This Gilbert
de Clare
of Glocester,
Hereford &
1020 of Clare.Ambassadors
sent to the ge-
nerall coun-
sell.
These were
barons.A iusts and
toirne appoin-
ted, and by the
kings com-
moement
disappointed.

Fouke Fitz
warren com-
mandeth the
popes sum-
mo to avoid
the realme.

The kings
answer unto
the popes
Nuncio.

Math. Paris.
March. West.
The popes
Nuncio sent
out of the
realme.

S. Peters
church at
Westminster.

The English
ambassadors
come to the
council.

The English
ambassadors
threaten the
pope, that he
should not
have any tri-
bute out of
England.

disappointed of their purpose herein. Upon occasion of their being altogether, on the morrow after the feast of Peter & Paul, they sent from them Fouke Fitz Warren, to declare unto maister Martine the popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole bodie of the realme, that he should immediatly depart out of the land. Fouke doing the message somewhat after a rough manner, maister Martine asked him what he was that gave forth the said commandement, or whether he spake it of himselfe or from some other. This commandement (saith Fouke) is sent to thee, from all those knights and men of armes which latelis were assembled together at Dunstable and Luton.

Maister Martine hearing this, got him to the court, and declaring to the king that message he had received, required to understand whether he was psonie to the matter, or that his people took it upon them so rashly without his authoritie or no? To whom the king answered, that he had not given them any authoritie so to command him out of the realme: but indeed (saith he) my barons doe scarselye so beare to rise against me, because I have mainteyned and suffered thy pilling and infamous polling within this my realme, and I have had much ado to saie them from running upon thee to pull thee in peeces. Maister Martine hearing these words, with a fearefull voice besought the king that he might for the loue of God, and reuerence of the pope, haue free passage out of the realme: to whom the king in great displeasure answered, The diuell that brought thee in carrie thee out, euen to the pit of hell for me. Wolbeist at length, when those that were about the king had pacified him, he appointed one of the marshals of his house, called Robert Joroth or Jorres, to conduct him to the sea side, and so he did, but not without great feare, lest he was afraid of euerie bush, lest men should haue risen upon him and murdered him. Whereupon, when he came to the pope, he made a greuous complaint, both against the king and others.

The church of saint Peter at Westminister was enlarged, and newlie repared by the king, speciallie all the east part of it, the old wals being pulled down, and builded up in moze comelie forme. The generall council, according to the summons giuen, was holden this yeare at Lyons, where it began about midsummer, in which the English ambassadors being arrived, presented to the pope their letters, directed from the whole bodie of the realme of England, requiring a redress in such things, therewith (as by the same letters it appeared) the realme found it selfe sore annoyed. The pope promised to take aduise therein, but with the matter was weightie, it required respit. Finally, when they were earnest in requiring a determinate answer, it was giuen them to understand, that they should not obtaine their desires, whereupon in great displeasure they came awaie, threatening and binding their words with oaths, that from thence, forth they would neuer paie, nor suffer to be paid, any tribute to the court of Rome, nor permit the revenues of those churches, whereof they were patrons, to be pulled awaie, by any prouision of the same court.

The pope hearing of these things, passed them ouer patientlie, but he procured the English bishops to set their scales unto that charter, which king John had made concerning the tribute, against the mind of the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton, who at that time, when king John should seale it, spake sore against it. When king Henrie was informed herof, he was greuously offended; and swore in a great chafe, that although the bishops had done otherwise than they ought, yet would he stand in defense of the liberties of his realme, and would

not so long as he had a day to liue, paie any dutie to the court of Rome, under the name of a tribute. In this meane while, the king with a puissant armie invaded the Welsh rebels, to reduce them to some quiet, whereas with their continual insurrections and other exploits, they had the barres barred, and wasted the lands of the kings subjects.

Hereupon the king being entred the countie, invaded the same, unto the confines of Snowdon, and there he began to build a strong castell at a place called Cannoke, remaining there about the space of ten weekes, during the which, the armie suffered great miserie through want of vittels and other prouisions namelie apparell, and other helps to defend themselves from cold, which sore afflicted the souldiers and men of warre, because they laie in the field, and winter as then began to approach. Moreover, they were bounden to keepe watch and ward verie strongly, for doubt to be surprised by sudden assaults of the enemies, the which watched upon occasion euer to do some mischiefe.

The morrow after the Purification of our ladie, Isabell de Boulber countesse of Drenford departed this life, and likewise the morrow after saint Valentines day died Balduino de Kluers earle of Devonshire and of the Wight. Moreover, Giffrey de March, a man sometime of great honour and possessions in Ireland, after he had remained long in exile, and suffered great miserie, ended the same by naturall death. Also Raimond earle of Rouance, father to the queenes of England and France deceased this yeare, for whom was kept in England a most solemn obsequie. Also in the weeke after Palmesundate, died a right noble baron, and warden of the north parts of England, the lord Gilbert Humfrenle, leaving behind him a yong sonne, the custodie of whom the king forthwith committed to the earle of Leicester, not without the indignation of the earle of Cornewall, who desired the same.

Finally, after that the king had liued at Cannoke about the fortifying of the castell there, the space of ten weekes, and saw the worke now fullie finished, he appointed forth such as should lie there in garrison, and therewith, on the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, he raised his field, and returned towards England, leaving the Welshmen in great miserie, and like to starue for want of necessarie food. For the Ile of Anglesey, which is as a nurse to the Welshmen, those Irishmen that came to the kings aid, had utterlie wasted and destroyed. Again, the king of purpose had consumed all the prouision of corne and vittels which remained in the marshes, so that in Cheshire, and other the parts adioining, there was such dearth, that the people scarce could get sufficient vittels to susteine themselves withall.

The king also gaue forth commandement, that no prouision of corne or vittels should be conueied unto the Welshmen, out of any parts, either of England or Ireland, on paine of forfeiting life, lands & goods. Moreover, he caused the hyne pits in Wales to be stopped up and destroyed. The king hauing thus ordered his businesse, returned into England, and shortly after, taking displeasure with the lord Spaurice, chiefe iustice of Ireland, because he had not made such speed as had bene conuenient in bringing the Irishmen to his aid, he discharged him of the office of chiefe iustice, and placed in his room John Fitz Giffrey. In this thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, Walter earle of Marshall and of Denbroke departed this life: and shortly after, to wit, three daies before Christmasse, his brother Anselme that succeeded him in the inheritance, deceased also without issue: and so all the fine sonnes of the great earle William Marshall, being departed this world with-

Math. Paris.

The king invades Wales. He buildeth a castell at Cannoke.

The decease of the countesse of Drenford, and of the earle of Devonshire. Giffrey de March deceased. The decease of Raimond earle of Rouance.

The decease of the lord Humfrenle.

Anno Reg. 30.

The king returneth forth of Wales. Irishmen destroyed Anglesey.

A dearth.

Hyne pits destroyed in Wales. The lord Spaurice chiefe iustice of Ireland.

John Fitz Giffrey lord iustice of Ireland. Math. Paris. The decease of Walter erle Marshall.

A. 14. out

out heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage descended to the sisters, and so was divided amongst them as coparteners.

The king this yere held his Christmas at London, and had there with him a great number of the nobilitie of his realme, which had bene with him in Wales, that they might be partakers of pastime, mirth and pleasure, as they had bene participants with him in suffering the diseases of heat, cold, and other paines abroad in the fields and high mountaines of Wales, considering with himselfe (as the truth is) that

Mal. Palin
suo cap.

*vita est quam precium leibo,
Quam merito spernenda animam si nulla voluptas
Molcent atq; leucent solatia nulla laborem.*

But that no pleasure should passe without some staine of greife, there was a rumor spread abroad, that the pope concluded fresh rankor in his stomach against the king and realme of England, for the complaints which had bene exhibited in the councill at Lion by the English orators, for the oppression done to the church of England: that thereupon, minding now to be reuenged, as was said, he earnestly moued the French king to make warre against the Englishmen and to subdue them vnder his dominion: which enterpryse the French king utterly refused, both for that he and the king of England were consens, and againe, because the king of France had no iust title or right to make claime to England.

The pope requirith the French king to make war against England.

The French king refuseth to gratifie the pope therein.

The countesse of Prouance beareth vniuersallic with the king of England his sonne in law.

Charles the French kings brother is made earle of Prouance.
The archb. of Canturburie purchaseth grant of the pope to leuie monie.

Dauid prince of Wales departyeth this life.

Further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and France, and before that England could be subdued, much guiltlesse blood should be spilt. Also, the christians in the holie land were sore oppressed, and looked daile for the arrivall of the king of France, and therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterpryse to hinder his iornie thither. But about the feast of the Epiphanie, other news came out of Prouance, that troubled the king of England worse than the other before, as thus, That the countesse Beatrice his wiues mother had deliuered up the countie of Prouance into the French kings hands, together with sixteen castles, which in right of the queene ought to haue remained vnto the king of England, for the safe keeping wherof to his vse, the said countesse Beatrice had receiued pærelie for the terme of five yeres last past, the summe of foure thousand marks of the king of England, and yet now in the deliuering of them, with the residue of the countrie vnto the French king, he neuer made any mention of his right.

Shortlie after also, Charles the French kings brother married the ladie Beatrice, yongest daughter of earle Raimond, and had with hir the same countie of Prouance, and so was intituled earle thereof, as in the French historie appeareth. Moreover, the archbishop of Canturburie procured a grant from the pope to recover for one yere the first fruits of all cures that chanced to be void within the citie, diocese, and prouance of Canturburie, by and during the tearme of leauen yeres then next following, till the summe of ten thousand marks were leuied, towards the discharge of the said archbishops debts. The collection of the which ten thousand marks was assigned by the popes bulles vnto the bishop of Hereford, who should also leaue two thousand marks of the revenues belonging to the church of Canturburie, to be conuerted to the same vse. The king at the first was sore offended herewith, but shortlie after, he was pacified and so the archbishop had his will.

After this, about the beginning of the next spring, Dauid prince of Wales departed this life, after great penitensence of mind, for the destruction and miserie into the which his countrie had bene brought through the present warres with the Englishmen.

After his deceasse, the Welshmen elected to succeed in his place, the sonne of Griffin, whom king Henrie had retained in seruice, and honourable vsed, euen of a child: but now that he heard that the Welshmen had elected him to their prince, he stole away, and fled into Wales. ¶ On the day of the purification of our ladie, a robberie was committed vpon certeine Jewes at Drenford, for the which fact, five and forty of the offenders were put in prison, but at the suit of Robert bishop of Lincoln, they were deliuered by the kings commandement, because no man impeached them of anie breach of peace, or other crime. The citizens of London also about the beginning of the spring, were compelled to paye a talage, wherewith they found themselves sore aggrieved.

Ap Griffin
choien prince
of Wales.

Jewes robbed
in Drenford.

The Londoners paye a talage.

About the middell of Lent, there was a parliament holden at London, wherein diuerse statutes and ordinances were deuised, as penalties for those that offended in other mens parks and warrens: but the chiefest occasion of assembling this parliament, was to take aduise in matters touching the græces wherewith the church of England seemed to be oppressed by the pope and the court of Rome. The pope indeed to quiet the English ambassadoys, and to put the king and realme in some good hope of release and deliuerance out of such oppressions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councill, did not onelie promise largelie, but also caused diuerse priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the said ambassadoys verie fanorable, in the behalfe of their request. But yet the same notwithstanding, with the breaking vp of the said generall councill, and return to the ambassadoys, manie things were done, to the increasing and continuation of the former græces, so that they stood in doubt of further oppressions to follow, rather than in hope of the promised redresse. Whereupon they concluded edicions to write vnto the pope, and to the cardinals, both in name of the king, of the bishops and prelates, of the earles, barons, and other estates of the tempoialtie, and of the abbats and priors. In the meane time, the pope for a while somewhat relented in the point of bestowing benefices here in England: for when any of his friends or kinsmen was to be preferred to any benefice, with in this realme, he would sue to the king for his grant and good will, that such a one might be admitted, and not some of himselfe to grant it without the kings consent.

¶ parliament.

¶ Statute against simoniacs.

The earle of Sarney in the presence of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford and others, did homage to the king of England, acknowledging to hold of him certeine fees, as those of Wuse, Auillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the castell of Ward, which he might well do, not preiudicing the right of the empire, sith he held nothing of the same empire, except Aignes and the passages. This yere, the office of the earle Marthall was giuen to Roger Wigod earle of Northfolke, in right of his wife the countesse, that was eldest daughter vnto the great earle William Marthall. ¶ Moreover, in this yere the king holding his Caster at London, honored Harold king of Span with the order of knight hood. About the same time, diuerse noble men of Wales submitted themselves, and were receiued vnto the kings peace. ¶ On saint Sparkes day was a great frost and snow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in such extreame wise, that for the more part they withered and faded away.

The earle of Sarney doth homage to the king of England.

Roger Wigod intitled to the office of earle Marthall.

March. Paris. Harold king of Span. Welshmen returned to the kings peace, upon their submission.

Furthermore, because the pope vnderstood, that diuerse rich beneficed men were of late dead in England intestate, as Robert Wailes the archdeacon of Lincoln, Almerike the archdeacon of Bedford, and John Botolpe archdeacon of Northampton, he ordained a decre, that all such spirituall persons

¶ heere of the pope.

sons as died intestate, their goods should remaine to the pope. The execution of which decrees, he commaunded to the friers preachers and minors: but the king would not suffer it to take place, because he sawe that it should rebound to the prejudice of him and his kingdom. Wherein the popes oppression and tyranny offered to the dead (by whose decesse their suffering friends should be benefited) and his cruell countenances extending to the verie senseles corpse doth manifestly appeare, so that it is verified of him, by waie of comparison,

*Carnivorax tumidis ut gaudet hyana sepulchris,
sic instat putridis ille cadaveribus.*

Also, where the pope required a talage of the clergy, the king flatly forbade it by his letters inhibitorye.

In this meane while, William Botwis chapelaine, and sir Henrie de Lancere knight, which were sent with the second letters, deuisid in the late parlement (as you haue heard) to be preferred vnto the pope and cardinals, returned againe without obtaininge anye towardly answer, but rather (as they declared) they found the pope sharp and rough in speech, saying, The king of England which nowe kicketh against the church, & beginneth to plaie Frederiks part, hath his counsell, & so likewise haue I, which I intend to follow. After answer they could not obtayne. Againe, the Englishmen that were sutors in the court of Rome, were strangelye bled, and could not get anye dispatch in their businesse, but were rather put backe as schismatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Hereupon the king called a parlement at Winchester, to haue the aduise of his lords in this matter, where howe soeuer they agreed, proclamation was immediatly set forth, and published in euery shire & countie throughout the realme, that no man should consent to the popes contribution, nor send anye monie out of the realme to his aid. When the pope heard of this, he wrote verie sharplye to the bishops, commanding them on paine of excommunication and suspension, to satisfie his Nuncio remaininge at the new temple in London, before the feast of the Assumption of our ladye. And whereas the king minded to haue stood in the matter through threats of his brother the earle of Cornewall, and of certayne prelates, namelye, the bishop of Worcester (who had authoritie as was said to interdict the land) he yielded and suffered the pope to haue his will, to the great grieve and discomfort of manie.

A foretempst of haile.

Isabell the kings mother departed this life.

Roger de Quince earle of Winchester.

John lord Beuil departed this life with diuers other.

Anno Reg. 31.

On S. Margarets daie, there fortun'd a marvellous foretempst of haile, raine, thunder and lightning, which beinge vniuersall through the realme, did much hurt, & continued the space of 15 houres together without ceasing. This yere, sundrie noble personages departed this world, as Isabell the kings mother, wife to the earle of March in Poitou. Also, the countesse of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galloway, and sister to the countesse of Winchester: whereupon, a great part of Galloway that belonged to hir (for that she died without issue) remained to Roger de Quince earle of Winchester, that married the eldest sister. Moreover, John lord Beuil died this yere, which had bene chiefe forester of England: but he was not onely put out of that office for certayne transgressions, but also out of the kings fauor before he died, where (at first) none was more esteemed in the court than he. The bishop of Salisbury, named master Robert de Argenton knight, a right noble personage, which in the holie land had shewed good proofe of his high valiantie, manhod, & prowesse: likewise sir Henrie Ballioll of the north, and diuerse other.

In the beginning of the one and thirtieth yere of king Henries reigne, the pope sent into England to

haue the third part of one yeres profit of euery beneficed man that was resident, and of euery one not resident the one halfe. The bishop of London should haue sayde this aid and collection leuted, but it would not be granted. And in a parlement called this yere on the morrow after the Purification of our ladye, it was ordeined, that new letters sealed with the common seale of the citie of London should be sent by sufficient messengers, from all the estates of the realme, vnto the pope and cardinals, requirring a moderation to be had in such exactions as were intolerable for the realme to beate. Whilste this parlement yet lasted, there came ouer the lord Peter of Saxony earle of Richmond, bringinge with him certein young ladies and damels, to be bestowed in marriage on such young lords and gentlemen, as were wards to the king.

On S. Valentines euen, a great earthquake happened here in England, and namelye about London, on the Thames side, with the which manie buildings were ouerthrowen. These earthquakes, the seldomier they chance in England, the more dreadfull the same are, and thought to signifie some great alteration. A litle before this earthquake, the sea had creased from ebbing and flowing for the space of thre moneths together, by a long tract nere to the English shore, to the great maruill of many, for either it stood not at all, or else so litle that it might not be perceived. And after the earthquake, there followed such a season of foule weather, that the spring seemed to be changed into winter, for scarce was there anye daie without raine, till the feast of the translation of S. Venet.

There were at this time diuerse ordinaunces decreed and enacted by waie of prohibition, to restraints the authoritie of spirituall persons, as that no ecclesiasticall iudge should determine in causes of anye temporall man, except touching causes of matrimonie and testaments. They were also prohibited to sue anye actions touching tithes, before anye spirituall iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, was called an *Indicavit*. Sundrie other such ordinaunces were deuised, which for breuifenesse we omit. What speed or answer to enen the messengers had that were sent to Rome with the letters deuised in the late parlement, truth it is, that the pope sent ouer into England such of his agents as gathered no small summe of monie amongst the cleergie, as one Marinus, and an other named Iohannes Anglicus a frier minor, the which were not intituled by the name of legats, to saue the priuileges which the king had, that no legat might come into the realme without his licence. The cominge ouer of these men, because it was to gather monie, contented not manie mens minds, as well appeared in a parlement called at Oxford about reformation thereof, but yet notwithstanding it was there agreed, that the pope should haue eleuen thousand marks to be leuted amongst them of the spiritualtie, exempt persons and places reserved.

About the same time, Baldwin naminge himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new aid of the king, towards the reconerie of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Grekes. Also, there arriued in England a cardinall that was bishop of Sabine, hauing first receiued an oth, that he came not for anye hurt to the king or his realme, for otherwise beinge a legat he might not be suffered to enter the land: he came this waie to passe ouer into Northwalie, whither he went to crowne and annoint Hacon king of that realme. There arriued here with him the thre halfe brethren to the king, Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, & Athelmarc a prest, with their sister Alice. All these were begotten by Hugh

1247
March, Paris.

Intolerable exactions.

Peter de Saxony earle of Richmond.

An earthquake.

A strange wonder.

Continuall raine.

Acts made to restaine presumptuous authoritie of the spiritualtie.

The popes collectors.

A gift by forbearing the name of legat.

The emperour of Constantinople cometh into England.

A cardinall cometh into England, receiving an oth not to prejudice the realme.

The kings halfe brethren came to see the king.

Hugh

The cardinal
maketh shift
for money.

William de
Valence mar-
ried lord
Bouchier's
daughter.

Gaston de Bi-
erne maketh
war against
the kings
lieutenant.

Preists of the
province of
Cantuarburie
suspended.

Sir Fouke
de Newcastell
the kings co-
sen by his
mother de-
parteth this
life.

Pardon gran-
ted by bishops

Knights
made.

Anno Reg. 32. earle of Winchester remaining in Gallowgate, where

Hugh Ball earle of March, of quene Isabell the kings mother, and were therefore tofullie receiued of the king, with faithfull promise, that he would be to them a beneficiall god brother, which his salengs with effectuall deeds he after fullie performed. The cardinall hauing saluted the king, toke leaue of him and came to Lin, where he staied at the point of thre moneths, making such purchase amongst religious men, that what by procuraries and other shifts, he got as was thought, a foure thousand marks towards his charges, and so departed. Edmund Lacie earle of Lincoln, and Richard de Burgh, as then waites to the king, were married vnto two of those yong ladies of Honouance, which Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought ouer with him, whereat manie of the English nobilitie grieved.

Also, about the thirtieth of August, the ladie Jone daughter to the lord Guarine de Bouchier, was married vnto William de Valence the kings halfe brother. The same ladie was heire to hir fathers lands, by the death of hir brother the sonne of the said lord Guarine. Sir William de Bueles knight a Norman boine, was made seneschall of Gascoigne about this season, and was sore vexed with wars by Gaston the sonne of the countesse of Biene and others, which Gaston shewed himselfe verie vnthankfull, for the king had giuen both to him and to his mother (a woman of a monstrous stature) verie large intertainment to serue him in his wars at his last being in that countrie (as before ye haue heard.) The archbishop of Cantuarburie suspended the priests of his prouince, because they would not consent (according to the grant which he had purchased of the pope) that he should haue the first fruits for one yeare, of euerie benefice that chanced to be vacant within the same prouince. The earles of Cornewall and Penbroke got much monie by waite of a collection, towards the reliefe of the warres in the holie land, hauing purchased of the pope certeine bulls of indulgence for the same. Sir Fouke de Newcastell a valiant knight, and cosen germane to the king on the mothers side died at London, during the time of the parlement.

On the thirtieth of October was a portion of the holie bloud of Christ (as it was then supposed) shewed in most reuerent wise in a solemne procession, for the king comming to the church of S. Paule in London, receiued there the same bloud contained in a chrysalline glasse, the which he bare vnder a canopie supported with foure staves, through the streets, vnto the abbey church of Westminster. His armes were also supported by two lords as aids to him all the waie as he went. The masters of the Templers and Hospitallers had sent this relike to the king. To describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that daie, would require a speciall treatise. But this is not to be forgotten, that the same daie the bishop of Norwich preached before the king in commendation of that relike, pronouncing six yeares and one hundred and sixtene daies of pardon, graunted by the bishops there present, to all that came to reuerence it.

Also the same daie and in the same church, the king made his halfe brother William de Valence, and diuerse other yong bachelers, knights. Vnto the said William de Valence, for his further aduancement and maintenance, he gaue the castell of Hertford, and the hono: thereto belonging, with great treasure: & to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, which about the same time returned into France, he gaue verie great and honorable gifts, lading his sumpters with plate and treasure of sterling monie, which in those daies in all countries was verie much esteemed. The

he had faire possessions in right of his wife, was besieged of his owne tenants, within a castell wherein he lodged, and being in danger either to die through famine, or else at the discretion of the enemies, he burst forth, and making way with his sword, escaped, and comming to the king of Scots, complained of the iniurie done to him by his people, whereupon the king toke such order, that the rebels were punished, and the earle set in quiet possession of his lands againe.

Toward the latter end of Nouember, William earle Ferrers of Derby departed this life, a man of great yeares and long troubled with the gout, a tall man and a peaceable. The same moneth the countesse his wife died also, a woman of yeares vertue and fame like to hir husband: Thomas Becket the archbishop of Cantuarburie did minister the priests office at their marriage. Their eldest sonne William succeeded his father in the earledome, a good man and a discreet, but vexed with the gout verie pitifull, hauing that disease also as it were, by inheritance from his father. There died likewise other of the nobilitie, as Richard de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham. Beatrix the countesse of Honouance mother to the quene, and Thomas de Sauoy late earle of Flauers, came into England to visit the king and quene and were honorable receiued, and at their departure backe towards home, richlie rewarded. This yeare in the octaues of the Purification, a parlement was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was present. There were nine bishops, as the archbishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Rochester and Carlisle, with the earls of Cornewall, Leicester, Winchester, Hereford, Northfolke, Oxford, Lincoln, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond, besides lords and barons. The archbishop of Cantuarburie was at the court of Rome, & the bishop of Durhame was licted by sicknesse.

In this parlement king Henrie earnestlie required a subside, in reliefe of the great charges which he had diuerse waies sustained, whereupon he was freight waies by the peeres of the realme noted both of couetousnesse, vnthankfulnesse, and breach of promise, because he neuer ceased gathering of monie, without regard had to his people: and where he had promised manie things, as that he would not be burdensome vnto them, and such like; he had performed verie little of those his gale promises. Manie misdeemeanors, and wrongfull doings, to the greivance of his people were opened and laid before him, as charging and enriching of strangers, & using his prerogatives to largesse, to the great decaye & hinderance of the common wealth. The king abashed herewith, and supposing that the confession of his fault should make amends, & aswage the displeasure which his Nobles and other had conceiued at his misgouernance, to content them all with one answer, he promised that he would reforme all that was amisse, and so quietting the minds of his barons, the parlement was prorogued till the quindene of the nativite of S. John Baptist. Wherein his prudence and wisdom was to be commended, but his patience deserueth exceeding great praise, whereby he shewed himselfe princelike-minded, in that he could tolerate the exprobatation and casting of his faults in his face, euen by such as should rather haue concealed than disclosed them: whereas it had stood with his valour to haue giuen them the counterchecke, and in angrie mood to haue tamed their malapertnesse: but that he prouidentlie considered that

parit ira furor,
Turpia verba furor, verbi en turpium exit

Rex,

The earle of
Winchester
beheaded in
Gallowgate by
his owne te-
nants.

William earle
Ferrers de-
parteth this
life.

1248
The countesse
of Honouance
commeth into
England.
A parlement.

A subside re-
minded.
Polydor.
Mab. Park

The king
charged by
his immoder-
ate enriching
of strangers.

The parlment
prorogued.

rix, ex hac oritur vulnus, de vulnere letum :

— patientia virtus,

Qua quicquid caret, caret probitate necesse est.

Qui nil ferre potest, hominum commercia vitet.

In ordinance
for monie.

Inquire
made for
howe clip-
pers of monie.

Math. Paris.
The parliamt
dissolued.
The king dis-
cuss to sell his
plate.

St. Edwards
faire at West-
minster.

Sir Richard
Sward de-
ceased.

Death of
bishops.

In eclipse.
Newcastle
burnt by es-
tall fire.
The archb. of
Cant. curried.

Anno Reg. 33.
Earthquake

1249

About the same time, by reason that the sterling monie was generallie so clipped, that the inscription was cut off for the most part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was set forth, that no pices thereof should passe from one to an other, nor be receiued as currant and lawfull monie, except the same were of iust weight and fashion. Herewith also inquitie was made for those that had so defaced it, and sundrie Jewes bankers, and cloth-merchants of Flanders were found gilty. Also, the French king caused serch to be made within his realme for the same offenders, and such as were found gilty, were hanged, so that he was more seure in punishing those falsifiers of the king of Englands coine, than the king of England was himselfe.

The parlement began againe at the day appointed, but nothing to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a displeasure kindled betwixt the king and his barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his doings, and he for monie out of their coffers, which would not be granted, and so that parlement brake vp. The king hereupon for want of monie, was driven to so hard a shift, that he was constrained to sell his plate and Jewels (which the Londoners bought) so much to his hinderance, that diuers pices (the worth of them) was more worth than the value of the stuffe) were sold notwithstanding after the rate as they wiced.

This yeare, the king caused a faire to be kept at Westminster at saint Edwards tide, to indure for sixtene daies, and to the end that the same should be the more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and such like holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the citie of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell, should come for that time vnto Westminster: which was done, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not time there, but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease, for want of necessarie provision, being turmoiled too pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine that fell in that vnseasonable time of the yeare. The bishop of Elie complained fore of the wrong done to him by suspending his faire at Elie aforesaid.

Sir Richard Sward died this yeare, after he had lated a long time vexed with the palste, which sir Richard had in his daies bene a right worthie and famous knight. There died also the bishops of Bath and saint Davids. In the first day of June, the mone immediatly upon the setting of the sunne, was almost wholie eclipsed, so that little of his might appeared. The towne of Newcastle vpon Tyne was almost wholie consumed with fire, together with the bridge there. The archbishop of Canturburie remaining still with the pope by his procurator the deane of Beaufeis, denounced all them accursed which went about to impeach him of receiuing the first fruits of benefices that voided, which he had by the popes grant, the king and quene, with their children, and the kings brother the earle of Cornewall onclie excepted out of that curse.

There chanced another earthquake foure daies before Christmasse, namelie in the west countie about Bath and Welles, which shoke and ouerthrew some buildings, speciallie the tops and summets of steeples, turrets and chimnies were shaken therewith, and not the bases or lower parts. ¶ In Christmasse following, the earle of Leicester returned out of

Calcoigne, where he had bene as generall against Galfon de Biene, whom he had so afflicted and put to the worse, that the same Galfon was glad to sue for an abstinence of warre, where before he had done much hurt to the kings subiects. The said earle had also with the aid of the kings subiects apprehended an other rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont who had done much hurt in the parts of Calcoigne, and in the confines there, whom he had left in prison within the castell of the Rioll.

This yeare a little before Candlemas, the bishop of Durham being a man of great yeares, by licence obtained of the pope, resigned his miter, reseruing to himselfe onelie thre manors, Houeden with the appurtenances, Stoddon and Guerington. The king hauing the last yeare receiued of his subiects a deniall of a generall subsidie to be granted him, praished this yeare to get some reliefe at their hands, in calling each of them apart: but first he got two thousand marks of the citie of London, and after sell in hand with the abbats and priors, of whom he got somewhat, though sore against their willes. By occasion of two merchant strangers of Babant, which chanced to be robbed about the parts of Winchester, whilst the king was there, upon their importunate suit and complaint, there was a great nest of theues broken, amongst the which were manie wealthie persons and freeholders, such as used to passe on life and death of their owne companions, to whom they were fauourable inough you may be sure: also, there were some of the kings seruants amongst them. About thirtie of those offenders were apprehended, and put to execution, besides those that escaped, some into sanctuarie, and some into voluntarie exile, running out of and utterlie forsaking the countie.

About Easter, the archbishop of Rone came ouer into England, and doing homage for such reuenues as belonged to his church here within this realme, had the same restored vnto him. In June there fell such abundance of raine, speciallie about Abington, that the willow trees, milles, and other houses standing nere to the water side, were boine downe and ouerturned, with one chapell also: and the coine in the field was so beaten to the ground, that bread made thereof after it was ripe, turned as it had bene made of bran.

About the same time, William de Longespée earle of Salisburie, and Robert de Wier, with other Englishmen, to the number of two hundred knights, hauing taken on them the crosse, went into the holie land, the said earle being their cheefe capteine, and had so prosperous speed in their iourne, that they arrived safe and sound in the christian armie, where (the French king being cheefe thereof) they were receiued ioyfullie. But yet (as Matthew Paris writeth) the pride and disdain of the Frenchmen was so great, that vpon spite and enuie conceiued at the Englishmens glozie, which bare themselves right worthilie, the Frenchmen vied the Englishmen nothing frendlie; namelie the earle of Acras stiked not to speake manie reprochfull words against the said William de Longespée and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

Also the same season, the earle of Leicester, who had likewise receiued the crosse, deferred his iourne for a time, and sailing into Calcoigne, nightlie there subdued the kings enemies, as Galfon de Biene, also one Kuffeine, and William de Solares. This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Breuanois borne, whom the king had preferred in marriage vnto the ladie Maud, daughter and heire of Walter Lacie a man of faire possessions in Ireland. Of which marriage there came issue a sonne and a daughter. Also about Whitsuntide died a noble baron of the north

The bishop of
Durham re-
signeth his
bishopricke.

Math. Paris.
The king
praished to
get monie.

A nest of
theues broken.

The archb. of
Rone.

Math. Paris.
Great raine.

The earle of
Salisburie &
other go into
the holie land.

Math. Paris.

The spite of
the French
towards the
Englishmen.

Peter de Ge-
neure.

Paris,

The decess of Roger Fitz John.

The death of Hugh le Desp.

Anno Reg. 34. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized.

A toynie holden at Wackley, wher the earle of Glocester (contrarie to his accustomed maner) fauoured the part of the strangers, wherby they preuailed. In somuch that William de Valence handled one sir William de Windingelles verie roughlie, the same sir William being a right towzthie knight. About the same time, the countesse of Cornewall at Berkehamsted was deliuered of a sonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the spring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other Noble men of the realme, as the earle of Glocester, Henrie Hastings baron, & Roger Turkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arrate and furniture to visit the pope, who held his court still at the cite of Lions. The bishop of Lincoln also and the bishop of Worcester went thither. For that cause the other went, it was not openlie knowe. But the bishop of Lincoln went thither about such businesse as he had in hand against the Templers, Hospitallers, and such other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purpose to passe, for his aduersaries with morie had purchased the iudges fauour. And so the bishop returned, hauing spent his trauell and monie in vaine.

I 250 Edmund son to Richard earle of Cornewall bozned.

An ambassage sent to the pope.

The king taketh on him the crosse.

The lord Roger de Montgomerie.

Gaston de Biernie subdueth himself to the king.

The earle of Leicester his service in Gascoigne.

The bishop of Lincoln.

parts, named the lord Roger Fitz John, whose sonne and heire being yong, was giuen in wardship to William de Valence the kings halfe brother. Also this yeare Hugh earle of March, father to the same William de Valence died in Cyprus, whilst the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holic land.

In the feast of All saints, the archbishop Bonifacius was inthronized at Canturburie, and kept a solenne feast, at the which the king and queene, with the more part of all the prelates of the land were present. About this season was a great toynie and iusts holden at Wackley, wher the earle of Glocester (contrarie to his accustomed maner) fauoured the part of the strangers, wherby they preuailed. In somuch that William de Valence handled one sir William de Windingelles verie roughlie, the same sir William being a right towzthie knight. About the same time, the countesse of Cornewall at Berkehamsted was deliuered of a sonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the spring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other Noble men of the realme, as the earle of Glocester, Henrie Hastings baron, & Roger Turkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arrate and furniture to visit the pope, who held his court still at the cite of Lions. The bishop of Lincoln also and the bishop of Worcester went thither. For that cause the other went, it was not openlie knowe. But the bishop of Lincoln went thither about such businesse as he had in hand against the Templers, Hospitallers, and such other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purpose to passe, for his aduersaries with morie had purchased the iudges fauour. And so the bishop returned, hauing spent his trauell and monie in vaine.

On the 6 of March being sundae, the king took upon him the crosse, with his brother de Valence, and a great number of other Noble men, and amongst other the abbat of Burie, to the pcurdise (as was thought) of his order. Roger de Montgomerie, a baron of great honour, meaning berlie to go in that iourne, to recover monie towarde his necessarie furniture, set and sold the most part of his liuinges. His woods and possessions, which he had about Countreie, he sold and let to fee farme vnto the count there. The like chieuanee was made by sundrie noble men, which prepared themselves to go in that iourne.

Upon the 27 day of April those that had taken on them the crosse, assembled at Bermondsey besides London, to treat of their setting forward, determining that the same should be at Midsummer next: but by the popes letters which the king procured, they were commanded to staie till the king himselfe went. Thus their iourne for that time was disapointed. There was of them and their retinues that meant thus to haue gone, five hundred knights, besides yeomen or demilances and other common soldiers in great numbers. Gaston de Biernie was so diuinen to his shifts by the high prowesse of the earle of Leicester, that in the end he was constrained to come ouer into England, and submit himselfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gat such mercie at the kings hands, that he was pardoned and restored to his lands. But the earle of Leicester put the king in possession of the castles of Fronfacke, Egremount, and others, and banished Rastain, and William de Solares, with diuerse other subbozne and disoiall rebels, depriving them of their lands and inheritance in that countreie.

The bishop of Lincoln did excommunicat a prest within his diocese, that was accused of incontinencie. And because the same prest continued for tie daies without seeking to be reconciled, the bishop

sent to the shiriffe of Rutland, within whose bailiwick the same prest dwelled, to apprehend him as a disobedient and rebellious person: but the shiriffe winked at the matter, and would not execute the bishops commandement, whereupon the bishop did also excommunicat the shiriffe: whereof the king being informed, took displeasure, and sending to the pope, procured an inhibition, that no archbishop nor bishop should compell anie officer belonging to the king, to follow anie suit afoze them, for those things that appertained to the kings iurisdiction, or giue sentence against them for the same.

The mondaie before the Rogation weeke, Richard the kings brother earle of Cornewall, returned from the court of Rome, where he had bene about certeine businesse vnknoone to most men: but whatsoeuer the same was, the pope gaue him most courteous and honorable interteinement for his welcome, and made him great cheare during his abode at Lions, where the popes court as then laie. ¶ About this season, the king to rid himselfe out of debt, wherein he was endangered to certeine merchants, lessened the charges of his household, and kept but a meane port, diminishing euen the accustomed almesse of the pope, and also the great number of tapers and lights in his chappell, so that he was noted with the blame of too much niggardie sparing and pinching: but in that he discharged his debt to the merchants, he was thought to doe wiselie and charitablie, for that he would not see them hindered to whom he was so indebted: besides the opinion that he had concerning himselfe, namelie that

Profectum faciunt rariū quos debita stringunt.

About the same time also, he caused the Jewes to giue vnto him a great portion of their goods, so that they were greatlie impouerished. There was one of them named Aaron bozne in Porke, the which since the kings last retorne out of Gascoigne, had paid to the king the summe of thirtie thousand markes, ouer and besides two hundred markes which he had giuen to the queene, as the same Aaron protested to Matthew Paris, vpon his faith and truth which he bare to his law. In the Whitsuntweke was a generall chapter holden of the friers preachers at London in Holbozne, where out of sundrie parts of the world were assembled about foure hundred of them, and they had meat and drinke found them of almesse, because they possessed nothing of their owne. On the first daie the king came into their chapter, that he might be partaker of their prayers, and found them meat and drinke that day, and dined there with them, to doe them the more honour. Another day the queene likewise fed them, and afterwards the bishop of London, the abbats of Westminster, S. Albion, and Chatham, with others.

About the same season the citizens of London found themselves greued verie soze, for such liberties as the king granted to the abbat of Westminster, to the great hinderance and decaie of the franchises of their citie. The maiors and communalitie resisted all that they might against those liberties, and finally by the god helpe and fauour of the lords, as the earles of Cornewall and Leicester, they obtained their purpose. This yeare maister William de Baskenne, a sober, faithfull and learned man, was made keeper of the great seale. ¶ The same yeare vpon inquisition made by Cestrey de Langley, one of the kings counsell of transgressors in forests and chases, manie that had offended were presented, and most greuouslie punished by imprisonment, fines, and exceeding great amercements, and namelie in the north countreie.

On the nineteenth of Maie died Robert de Lexington cleark, the which hauing continued a long time

An inhibition procured by the king of the pope.

The earle of Cornewall to turneth from the pope.

The king ready to bring himselfe out of debt.

The Jewes constrained to helpe the king with monie.

Math. Paris.

A generall chapter of friers preachers.

Math. Paris. Stride betwixt the king and the abbat of Westminster.

William de Baskenne keeper of the great seale.

Robert de Lexington cleark.

The lord Hen-
ric Hastings
deceased.
Robert Spal-
champe.
Athelmarle
the kings half
brother made
bishop of Win-
chester.
The earle of
Salisbury
slaine by the
Saracens.

A mightie
wind.

Math. Paris.

The sea sec-
meth to burne

Ships lost.
Hertburne.
Winchelsey.

Anno Reg. 35.
The p[re]sente
of the bishops
to disappoynt
the archb[ishop]
of Cantuarburie
of his purpose

An earthquake
at S. Albons.

The pope sin-
ned for licence
to come at
Burdeaur.

time in the office of a iudge, purchased to himselfe great fame, and also most large possessions. But cer- teine yeeres before his death, because he was diseased with the pallie, he gaue ouer that office, and dyed himselfe into a quiet trade of life, so ending his daies in praiers and doing of almesdeeds. About the feast of S. Margaret died Henrie Hastings a noble baron, and one Robert de Gulchampe a man of great renowne in the north parts. Also Walter bishop of Winchester departed this life, about the feast of S. Mattheu, in whose place (through the kings earnest suit) his halfe brother Athelmarle was promoted to succeed. Moreover, in the east parts, that ballant erle of Salisbury William de Longespæ, with Robert de Cler, and others, was slaine in that unfortunate battell in the which the Saracens vanquished the christian armie, and toke Lewes the French king prisoner.

On the first day of October, the mone upon his change, appearing exceeding red and swelled, began to shew tokens of the great tempest of wind that followed, which was so huge and mightie, both by land & sea, that the like had not bene lightlie knowne, and sildome or rather neuer heard of by men then a lue. The sea forced contrarie to his naturall course, flowed twice without ebbing, yelding such a roaring noise, that the same was heard (not without great wonder) a farr distance from the shore. Moreover, the same sea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had ben on fire, and the waues to strive and fight together after a maruellous sort, so that the mariners could not deuise how to saue their ships where they laie at anchor, by no cunning nor thift which they could deuise. At Hertburne thre tall ships perished without recoverie, besides other smaller vessels. At Winchelsey, besides other hurt that was done in brydges, milles, breakes and banks, there were thre hundred houses, and some churches drow- ned with the high rising of the water course. The countrie of Holland beyond the sea, and the marish land in Flanders, sustained inestimable damage, and in manie other places; by reason that riuers beate backe and repelled (by the rising of the sea) swelled so high that they ouerdrowed their chanelles, and much hurt was done in medowes, brydges, milles, and houses.

About the beginning of the fise and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the bishops of England, vnderstanding that the archbishop of Cantuarburie was about to purchase of the pope a grant to gather monie through his whole prouince of the cleargie and people for synods and p[ro]curacies, they thought to p[re]uent him, and therefore made a collection euerie one through his owne diocesse, of two pence in cuc- rie marke which any beneficed man might dispend, which monie so collected, they ment to imploye about charges in the popes court, for the staie of the archb[ishop]s suit, that the grant should not passe.

About the same time, to wit, vpon saint Lucies day, there was a great earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parts thereabouts with a noise vnder the ground, as though it had thundred. This was strange and maruellous, because the ground there is chalkie and sound, not hollow nor loose, as those places be where earthquakes for the most part happen. Doves, rakes, and other birds that sat vpon houses, and in boughes of trees fearing this strange wonder, flied vp, and flew to and fro, shewing a token of feare as if a goshauke had bene ouer their heads. The pope required by solenne messengers sent to the king of England, that he might come to the citie of Burdeaur in Gascoigne, & there for a time remaine. The king wist not well what answer to make, for loth he was to denie arie thing that the pope should

require, and againe he was not willing for sundrie respects, that the pope should come so neere vnto him. Indeed, manie were in doubt, least if he came to Burdeaur, he would also come into England, and rather impaire the staie thereof than amend it by his presence, sith by such vsurers and licentious li- uers as belonged to him, the realme had already bene soe corrupted. Howsoever the matter went, there was delaie and such means deuised and made, that the pope came not there at that time.

On Christmasse day in the night, great thunder and lightning chanced in Northfolke and Suffolke past measure, in token as was thought of some euill to follow. The king kept his Christmasse at Win- cheser, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hospitalitie with him was greatlie laid aside. About this time, Guy de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into England, after his retourne out of the holie land, and was of the king iustillie receiued. To- wards the release of his expences made in that iour- nie, the king gaue him five hundred pounds which he got of the Jewes. Moreover, he gaue to his brother, Cestrey the custodie of the baron Hastings lands, and so by such liberall and bounteous gifts as he be- stowed on them and other strangers, he greatlie incurred the hatred of his naturall people the Eng- lishmen.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the earle of Leice- ster came to the king in great hast out of Gascoigne giuing him to vnderstand, that the Gascoignes were revolted in such number, that if speedie succour were not prouided, the whole countrie would fall from the English subiection. Whereupon the king furnished him with monie, and the earle himselfe got all that he could make of his owne reuenues, and likewise of the Amfrenilles lands, the heire whereof he had in custodie. He made no long abode, but with all speed returned, and reteined two hundred Ritters out of the duke of Babants countries, and with them cer- teine crossbowes. These were eger souldiers, and bloudie, but yet the Gascoignes prepared themselves to resist them all that they might: howbeit the earle put them still to the worse. Before his last retourne from thence, he had rased the castell of Fronfacke flat with the ground, and likewise left desolate the castell of Egremount.

About this season, one of the kings iustices named Henrie de Bath fell in the kings displeasure, because he was accused that he had not exercised his office vprightlie, but to his owne priuat gaine, and peruer- ted iustice through bribes, vpon occasion of a suit moued betwixt him and one Guerard de Trum- pington: he was appealed of falshood and treason by Sir Phillip Marcie knight. His wife was of kin to the Walleys and Samfords, the which procured him great friendship at the hands of the earle of Corne- wall, and of John Mansell, and other of the kings counsell. But for all that they could do, he was in great danger to haue lost his life at the parlement holden that yeare, and begun on the sixteenth day of february. For the king was so sore moued against him, that he caused proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to laie against the said Hen- rie de Bath, they should come forth, and their infor- mation should be heard. Whereupon diuerse came and presented their complaints, and amongst other, one of his owne fellows, that was a iustice also, decla- red that he had suffered an offendour commit, to escape unpunished, for a bribe, which he receiued to the p[re]- iudice of the king, and the danger of his associates the other iustices, whereas it is required of one pnt in trust with the administration of lawes, to be incor- rupt and sound in iudgement, according to this true position,

The popes
presence more
like to impaire
than amend
things.

I 3 5 7
a thunder and
lightening.

Guy de Lusig-
nan brother to
the king.

The earle of
Leicester re-
turneth.

He had of the
king 5000
marks.

Ritters.

A iustice ac-
cused for taking
bribes.

Indignis est recte munere nec prece flecti.

The king herewith rose up in a great fume, and said openlie: If any man will sea Henrie of Bath, he shall not be impeached for his death: for I do here plainlie declare him acquit and guiltlesse for the same. Wherewith diuers would haue run upon him to haue murdered him, but that John Spanfell staied their outrage, shewing them that the king might well hereafter repent the words which he speake thus in his furie, and those that should do any violence vnto the man, were not like to escape punishment: for both the bishop of London would sue lie accorde them, and other of his friends would not faile to seeke reuenge by temporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bath in the kings high displeasure for the time. Howbeit at length, through intercession of the earle of Cornewall, and the bishop of London, he was put to his fine, and pardoned.

Henrie de Bath put to his fine.

Bishp of Winchester confirmed bishop of Winchester by the pope, although he was thought scarce sufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares. About this time also, the bishops assembling at Dunstable, tooke aduise together, how to prevent the archbishop of Canturburie, that he should not visit: and in the end they concluded to send their procurator vnto the court of Rome, to trie what purchase might be made there for monie to staie the licence, and not to sticke for the disbursing of foure thousand marks, if need required. Their procurator did so much in the matter, that he found the pope sauourable vnto his cause, though no determinate answer was given of a long time, till at length, to gratifie the archbishop and his kin, as the duke of Banop and other, the pope granted him licence to visit, but not generallie: for he might not visit anie parish church, except the person required him thereto. And whereas he had libertie to visit conuentuall churches, yet might he not receive for procuracies about foure marks. For this moderation to be had, the procurator for the bishops gaue vnto the pope six thousand marks.

Six thousand marks given to the pope.

The bishop of Lincoln visited the religious houses within his diocese, to vnderstand what rule was kept amongst them, vnder the matter somewhat friuolous (as they thought): for he entred into the chambers of the monks & searched their beds. And coming to the houses of the nuns, he went to nare as to cause their byasses to be tried, that he might vnderstand of their chast linings. In Lent following he was suspended by the pope, because he would not suffer an Italian that had no skill of the English tong to inioy a prebend in his church, which the pope had given to the same Italian. In this season, Wales was brought to be subiect vnto the English lawes, and that part which ioined to Cheshire, was committed to the custodie of Alain lord Zouch, the which gaue, for hauing of the profits thereof to ferme, a hundred marks, and supplanted lord John Craie which should haue had it for five hundred. Certaine visitors and strangers borne called Caorini, had bought faire houses at London, and so remained there as inhabitants, occupieng their trade without controulment, for the prelates durst not speake against them, because they alleged themselves to be the merchants of the popes highnesse: and the citizens durst not trouble them because they were defended by certaine noble men, whose monie (as was said) they occupied, to game after the manner of the court of Rome. Howbeit at length they were called before the ciuill magistrats by the kings procurement, and grieuousely accused for their vnlawfull occupieng of vsurie, and some of them committed to prison, the residue hid themselves out of the way, till at length for a summe of monie they were licenced to be at rest,

The bishop of Lincoln suspended by the pope.

Wales subiect to the English lawes. Alain lord Zouch.

Visitors called Caorini.

and so continued for a season. The Jewes resorted heretofore to haue fellows with them in their traffike.

In this season also there depended a controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishop of London and his canons of Paules: so that the said bishop of London & the deane of Paules, and other of the canons were excommunicated. But the bishop perceiving which way the world went, reconciled himselfe: as for the deane, he stood long in the matter, & at length went himselfe to the pope to bitter his greefe. This controuersie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in such wise, that laie-men laughed at their doings, for now and then when the pope commanded to be absolved, their aduersaries by colour of the popes authoritie would command to be excommunicated. The first day of Julie the earle of Leicester in Gascoigne ouercame manie of the kings enemies, and took from them a fortresse called Chatellon.

Controuersie betwixt the bishop of London and his canons of Paules.

The earle of Leicester in Gascoigne.

On S. Dunstons day there was a marvellous sore tempest of weather, the aire being darkened on euerie side from the foure corners thereof, and withall chanced such a thunder as few the like had bene heard of. First it began as it had bene a great way off, but after it burst out with such terrible crackes as was wonderfull. But one amongst the rest crecided, and withall such lightening flashed forth, as put men in great feare and terror. The chimney of the chamber, wherein the queene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to dust, and the whole building sore shaken. This was at Windsoxe, where in the parke, oaks were rent in funder, and turned up by the roots, and much hurt done; as milles with the millers in them, thepolds with their shepheardes, and plowmen, and such as were going by the way were destroyed and beaten downe. About the same time the sea on the coasts of England arose with higher tides than the naturall course gaue, by the space of six feet.

A sore tempest of weather.

Windsoxe.

High tides.

About Michaelmasse queene Dowager of Scotland, that was daughter to Monsieur de Cousie a Frenchman, came through England to returne into France where she was borne, and was of the king honorable receiued and welcomed. This yeare the nunne of Marton not far from L. in was founded by the ladie Isabell countesse of Arundell. Also this yeare the lord William de Cantlow departed this life, in whose heritage his son also named William succeeded. Also Roger, John Cobham & Geoffrey Spenser (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings counsell) departed this life, Cobham before Easter, and Spenser shortly after the same feast. Also in the octaues of Pentecost, Paule Pictur o: Peure departed this life, he was one of the kings chiefe counsellors, and lord steward of his house. This man at the first was not borne to anie great possessions, but by purchase attained to great reuenues. The ladie Jone his wife compounded with the king for the marriage of hir son named Paule, after his father, but the lord John Craie paid the monie, being five hundred marks, and so discharging hir of that debt, married hir some to one of his daughters at his mano: of Citon, and afterwards at London married the mother of his sonne in law, where with the king was sore displeased, for he had giuen the marriage of hir vnto a stranger, one Stephan de Salines, so that the lord Craie was glad to giue to the king the summe of fiftie marks, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

The nunne of Marton founded.

Paule Pictur o: Peure.

The king with great displeasure.

In the six and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the church of Hales was dedicated of the foundation of Richard earle of Cornewall. At which dedication he kept a solemne feast on the euen of saint Leonard being Sunday. There was present the king and the queene,

Anno Reg. Henr. 36. The church of Hales dedicated.

The charges
of the build-
ing of the
church of
Wales.

Tournies and
wills in those
daies were
handled in
more rough
manner than
is used in our
time.

1222

The hofte
at Coucie.

The king of
Scots did ho-
mage to the K.
of England.

Sir Robert
Hoze, and
fir Stephen
Waulan.

An exceeding
great wind.

The bifhop of
Rocheft. built.

The Gal-
lognes make
warre againft
the Englifh
lobbes.

queene, and almost all the Nobilitie of England, both fpiritual and temporal. The building of that church, all charges accounted, flood the earle in ten thousand marks, as he himfelfe confefled unto Matthew Paris. ¶ About the fame time the earle of Leicester and Guie de Luffignan the kings halfe brother came into England out of France, and landed at Dover, whome the king received with great ioy and gladneffe. He gaue to his brother at his returne great rewards, as he was euer accuftomed. In the feaft of the Conception of our ladie at a iuftes holden at Rocheftre, the strangers were put to the toffe, and well beaten by the Englifh batchlers and men of armes, fo that the difhonour which they did to the Englifhmen at Bakley was now recompensed with intereft. For the strangers fleeing to the citie for fuccour, were met by the way by the Englifh knights feruants and peomen, which fell upon them, beat them fore with clubs and ftaues, and handled them verie euill. Hereof fprang a great hatred betwixt the Englifhmen and strangers, which daile grew and increafed more and more, the rather becaufe the king had them in fo good eftimation, and retained fo manie of them within the realme.

The king did celebrate the feaft of Chriftmasfe at Forke, whither came Alexander the yong king of Scots, and was there made knight by the king of England, and on faint Stephens day he married the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the affurance before time concluded. There was a great affembly of noble perfonages at that feaft. The queene Dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the houle of Coucie, had paffed the fea, & was prefent there with a faire companie of lords and gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englands part were reckoned to be at the point of one thousand. The king of Scots had with him three fcore knights, and a great fort of other gentlemen comparable to knights. The king of Scots did homage to the king of England at that time for the realme of Scotland, and all things were done with great loue and fauour, although at the beginning fome ftrife was kindled about taking bp of lodgings.

This affembly of the princes coft the archbifhop verie de relie, in feafting and banquetting them and their traines. At one dinner it was reported he fpent at the firft courfe three fcore fat oren. ¶ At request of the K. of Scots, the K. of England received Philip Lunell againe into fauour, or rather Louell (as I take it) one of his counsell, againft whome he had conceived difpleafure in the yeare laft paff, for fuch byberie as he was thought to be guiltie of for the yong fauour to the Jewes. The king of Scots when he fhould depart, took his leaue in moft courteous manner, and led with him his new married wife, on whome attended fir Robert Hoze knight marfhall of the kings houle, and fir Stephen Waulan, and alfo the ladie Walow, the widowe of the lord William Cantlow, with others. On the octaues of the Epiphanie chanced an exceeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerfe places of the realme. The bifhop of Rocheftre returning fro the court of Rome, brought with him a bull, authorifing him to receiue to his owne ufe the fixt part of the reuenues of all the beneficed men within his diocelle.

In this meane while the earle of Leicester remained in England, the Gallognes made fore warre againft fuch as he had left behind him, and withall gaue information to the king that the earle of Leicester was a traitor, and one that had fpoyled the kings fubiects: and furthermore by his vntruff dealings had giuen to the Gallognes caufe of rebellion. The

king to bould out the truth of this matter, fent firft his chapleine Henrie Wingham, and afterwards fir Nicholas de Poles de Valence, as commiffioners to inquire of the earles doing, who went and returned without finding any manifelt crime in the earles demeanour. The earle was much offended that his innocencie fhould be thus fufpected; but at length being appointed to returne into Galcoigne, he obetied and hauing a great fomme of monie, he retained a power of men of warre, as well Frenchmen as others, and meaning to be reuenged of thofe that had giuen the information againft him, he ftrengthened himfelfe with the aid of the king of Nauarre, and of the earle of Wigore and other, fo that he oppreffed his aduerfaries on eche hand, and fo abated their pride, that if conuenientlie they might, they would haue paffed themfelves to fome other prince, and vtterlie haue renounced the K. of England for euer. Whereby it fhould feeme that he was thoughtlie reuenged of them euen to their no fmall fmart, not in word and theating, but with fword and bloud-fhedding, defending his innocencie, and manfullie fhewing his warlike mind. But yet he had purchafed to himfelfe a greater portion of praife, if he had not with weapen but with wife dome made a conqueft of the enimie: according to this found counsell of a fage wyiter;

*Ingenio fudeas magè quàm fuperare furore,
Ingenio vires cedunt prudentia victrix
Cuncta domat.*

The earle of
Leicefter
danteth his
enimies.

Mal. Palin
fuo cap.

On the thirteenth day of March, the new mone was feene, whereas the yime change by naturall courfe fhould not haue bene till the firteenth day following; and for the fpace of fixtene daies that then next infued, the funne, the mone, and ftarres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth feemed as it had bene fhadowed with a thicke mift or fmoke, the wind notwithstanding remaining north and northeaft. Then began a fore drought, continuing a long time, the which together with morning frofts, and northerlie winds, deftroyed the fruits and other growing things, which were blafted in fuch wife, that although at the firft it was a verie forward yeare, and great plentie towards of corne and fruit, yet by the means aforefaid, the fame was greatlie hindered and fpeciallie in the fummer feafon, when the funnes heat increafed, and the drought ftill continued.

A ftrange
wonder of the
new mone.

A great
drought.

The refidue of fuch fruits as then remained, withered awaie, fo that fcarle a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent fcore. For if the abundance which the bloffomes promifed had come forward, the trees had not bene able to haue bozne the fame. The graffe was fo burned bp in paffures and meadowes, that if a man took bp fome of it in his hands, and rubbed the fame neuer fo little, it freight fell to powder, and fo catteill were readie to ftarue for lacke of meat. And becaufe of the exceeding hot nights, there was fuch abundance of fleas, flies, and gnats, that people were vexed and brought in cafe to be wearie of their lues. And herewith chanced manie difeafes, as sweats, agues, and other. In the harueft time fell there a great death and murren amongst cattell, and fpeciallie in Northfolke, in the fens and other parts of the fouth. This infection was fuch, that dogs and rauens feeding on the dead carrens, fwelled & right waies and died, fo that the people durft eat no beafe, leaft the flefh fhould be infected.

Manie difeas
fcs reigned.
A murren
of cattell.

Alfo this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heifers and bullockes followed the milch kine, & as it had bene calves fucked the fame kine. Alfo apple trees and pear trees, now after the time of yielding their ripe fruit, began againe to bloffome, as if it had bene in Aprill. The caufe of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After fo great a drought

The caufe of
the death of
cattell.

B. j.

drought

dzought (which had continued by all the space of the moneths of Aprill, Maie, Iune, and Iulie) when there folowed god plenty of raine, the earth began to yeld her increafe most plentifullye of all growing things, though not so wholesome nor of such kindlie substance, as in due time and season she is accustomed to bring forth, and so the cattell which before were hungerstarved, fed now so greedilie of this new grasse springing up in undue season, that they were suddenly puffed up with flesch, and such unnatural humors, as bred infections amongst them, whereof they died.

The bishop of Lincolne.

The bishop of Lincolne would have enforced all the beneficed men within his diocesse to be priests, but they purchased a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Universities for certeine yeares, without taking the order of priesthood upon them. ¶ The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holie land, had grant of the pope to leuie a tenth of his subjects both spirituall and temporall. The Gascoignes fore repining at the earle of Leicester his streit gouernance (who handled them more roughlie than they had bene accustomed) sent the archbishop of Burdeaur ouer into England to exhibit a complaint against him in all their names. The earle of Leicester aduertised thereof, followed him, and coming to the court, found the archbishop ready to aduouch the information which he had made against the said earle, chesellie in that he had sought the destruction of those to whom the earle of Cornewall when he was ruler there, had granted life and peace, and whom sir Henrie Trumbleuile, and Maleran the Dutchman, late stewards of Gascoigne, vnder the king, had cherished and mainteined. With manie other things the archbishop charged him, the which the earle wittilie refelied and dispmoued, so as he was allowed in his iustificacion by those that stood by, as the earle of Cornewall and others.

The earle dispmoueth the allegations of his accusers.

The bishop of Lincolne authorized to institute vicars in churches inappropriate.

The bishop of Lincolne got authoritie of the pope to institute vicarages in churches inappropriate to religious men, where no vicars were; and where such were as seemed to slenderlie provided of sufficient allowance, to augment the same as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he used more largelie than stood with the pleasure of religious persons, because he shewed great fauour to the vicars. The copie of the letters which the bishop had procured of the pope, authorizing him herein, followeth as we find the same in the chronicles of Matthew Paris.

The tenor of the popes grant.

INnocentius episcopus, &c. Cum sicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diocesi, nonnulli religiosi & alij collegiati ecclesiarum perochiales in proprijs vicarijs, in quibus nimis exiles aut nulla taxa sunt vicarijs; fraternitati tue per auctoritatem summam mandamus, quod in istis ecclesijs de ipsarum prouentibus vicarias instituas, & institutas exiles adaugeas vice nostra: prout iuxta consuetudinem patrie secundum Deum videtur expedire, non obstantibus si predicti exempti sint, aut alias muniti apostolicis priuilegijs siue indulgentijs, per que id impediri vel differri possit; & de quibus speciale oporteat in presentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas apostolica potestate compescendo. Datum Lugduni 7 Octob. pontificatus nostri, An. 8.

The earle of Leicester sent shewes into Gascoigne.

The earle of Leicester was effrones sent into Gascoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen

into his enemies hands, as should appeare. But the earle hired souldiers in France, and comming into Gascoigne, preuailed against his enemies, though in one conflict he was in danger of losing both life and the honour of the field. But yet through his good hap, Gods fauour, and the balliance of himselfe and some of his retinue, he got the upper hand, and put his enemies to flight, taking Ruffeine, one of the chiefe ring-leaders, whom he caused to be presented to the king. At the same time had the king inuested his son Edward with the duchie of Aquitaine to the offense of the earle of Cornewall, to whom by charter he had before giuen and confirmed the same. In a iusts holden at Malben, sir Arnold de Sponteinis a right valiant knight was slaine by sir Roger de Lemboigne, for which mischance all the Nobles there assembled made great lamentation, and namelie the said sir Roger: but yet he was suspected to be in blame, because the socket of his staffe was polished, & not abated. Hereby it should appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, and not in manner of their running together, these iusts and toornies in those daies practised differed from the verie order of warre.

Ruffeine taken.

The king eldest son Edward crown duke of Aquitaine.

Sir Arnold de Sponteinis slaine.

The 17 of September the cathedrall church of Ely was dedicated, which the bishop of that see named Hugh had builded of his owne proper costs and charges, together with the palace there. The king and a great number of the pères & nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present at this solemn feast, which was kept in most plentiful manner. The 13 day of October, the king held a great feast at London, and had called the states of the realme, then and there to assemble in parlement, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obtained of the tenths due to the church, to be received by him for three yeares, towards his charges in his iournie which he meant to make into the holie land. The bishops, and namelie Lincolne, bitterlie refused to be contributarie to his grant.

The church of Ely dedicated.

Parlement.

The king to mandrich the tenths of the spirituall.

They alledged sundrie reasons for their excuse, as the pouertie of the English church being already made bare, with continuall exactions and oppressions; but chesellie they excused themselves by the absence of the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, of whom the one was beyond the sea, and the other at home in the north parts. All the other English bishops were there, except Hereford & Chester, which Chester was sick, and therefore without the consent of those that were absent, and namelie their primate the archbishop of Canturburie, they could not conclude vpon any generall point touching the kings demand. And although the king fretted and stomed against them, yet could he not bring them to his purpose, so that the parlement for that time was dissolved. Yet before their departure from London, he communed with the bishops apart, to see if he might persuade them to giue him some portion of monte towards his charges: but they had tuned their strings all after one note, discording all from his tenor, so that not a penny could be got of them: wherefore he toke high displeasure against them, reuiling them in most reprochfull manner, and amongst other he vpbaided his halfe brother (the cleer of Winchester) of great vthankfulnesse, who also amongst the residue stood against him.

The bishops refuse to pay to the popes grant.

The king highlie offended with the bishops.

The king hauing this repulse at the bishops hands, began to fall in talke with the lords of the temporallie touching the troubles in Gascoigne, where things were in boile by the hard doings of the earle of Leicester, against whom the Gascoignes ceased not to make warre still, and of late hauing besieged him in the castell of Spountalbon, droue him to such strait, that to escape the present danger he was glad to set at libertie certeine rebels, which he had before taken captiues.

The king desired to get more of the lords temporall.

The Londoners help at a pinch.

The death of Sir Nicholas Samford.

The countesse of Winchester departeth this life.

Marth. Paris. The decease of the countesse de Alise de Wight.

Anno Reg. 37. The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicill vnto the earle of Cornewall.

captiues. Therefore to reduce that countrie into quietnesse, the king determined to go thither himselfe, and to remove the earle of Leicester out of his office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, which was to desire their aid both of men and monie, the lords would not agree to grant him anie. And where he sought to burthen the erle of Leicester with misgoverning things against his honour, they excused the same earle, and so the lords also departed in displeasure of the king as well as the bishops. ¹⁰ Wherbet the king got of the Londoners by way of princelie praier twentie thousand marks of gold at that time. And to their further græfe for better meane to be reuenged against the bishop of Glie, he caused the said Londoners to keepe saint Edwards faue for fiftene daies together at Westmister, and in the meane time to keepe their shops shut through all the citie. Which thing (by reason of the foule weather chancing at that time) was verie grauous vnto them, albeit there was such repaire of people thither, that London had not bene fuller to the iudgement of old ancient men neuer at anie time in their daies to their remembrance.

This yere died Sir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and ballancie. Also on the twentieth day of October, the countesse of Winchester daughter to the earle of Hereford departed this life at Grobie, a manour place belonging to hir husband the earle of Winchester, a little besides Leicester, and was buried at Wsahlie. The said earle shortly after married an other wife in hope of issue. For neither by this his last wife, neither by his first that was daughter to the lord Alane de Calowate had he any children. Also the same yere, that noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lisle surnamed Kiuers, sometime wife to Fouls de Bzent, departed out of this world, about the second day of October. In the season and thirtieth yere of king Henries reigne, one of the popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicill. ⁴⁰ But the earle supposing it not to stand with his honour, to depprue his nephew Henrie, sonne to the emperour Frederike the second, by his wife the emperesse Isabell that was sister to the said erle, refused to take that honour vpon him.

About the same time, that is to say, on the octaues of saint Martin, Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie arrived in England, comming from the court of Rome, where he had bene long resident. At the same time there chanced a great occasion of strife betwixt the said archbishop, and the bishop of Winchester. For where maister Eustace de Lin, officiall to the said archbishop had first excommunicated, and after for his contumacie caused to be attached a preest which by authoritie of the elect of Winchester as diocesane there, was entred into possession of an hospitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of prior, without consent of the officiall: who pretended title as patrone in his maisters name. The said elect of Winchester caused a riotous sort of persons after the manner of warre to seeke reuenge hereof, the which after manie outrages done, came to Lambeth, and there by violence toke the said Eustace out of his owne house, and led him to Farnham, where he was kept as prisoner.

The archbishop thus serued at his first comming ouer, and taking the same but for a homlie welcome, was maruellously offended, and comming to London accompanied with the bishops of Chichester and Hereford, in the church of saint Marie bowe, being reuenced in portificalibus, pronounced all those accursed, which were authors or fauourers of such a rash and presumptuous deed, and further commanded

all the bishops within his prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the same in their churches euerie sundaie and holie day. The bishop of Winchester on the other part, sent commandement to the deane of Southwarke, to resist the archbishop to his face, and to denounce his curse to be void, vaine, and of no force, but deuised of a craftie purpose and wicked meaning. The archbishop continuing in his conceiued displeasure, went to Drenford, and there on the morrow after saint Nicholas day, renewed the same curse in solemne wise before all the learned men, students, and scholers of the Vniuersitie.

Howbeit, at length the matter was taken by betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cause, and the queene for hir uncle the archbishop, toke some paine to agree them: and so in the octaues of the Epiphanie they were made frends, and those absolved that were excommunicated, in which number William de Valence, and John de Warren were thought to be contained, as those that should be present in blessing the force against the officiall (as before ye haue heard.) By inquirie taken about this time by the diligence of the bishop of Lincoln, it was found that the perillie profits and reuenues of spirituall promotions and livings resting in strangers hands preferred by the popes provisions, amounted to the summe of threecore and ten thousand marks, which was more by two third parts, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

The earle of Gloucester and the lord William de Valence went ouer into France in most triumphant manner, to conclude a marriage betwixt the sonne of the said earle of Gloucester, and the daughter of the lord Guic of Engolesme. Which marriage the king had motioned for: the affection which he bare towards the advancement of his linage, by the mothers side. Whereat because they were strangers, the English nobilitie somewhat repined. And whereas like lustie yong gentlemen they attempted a iustis and toznie to shew some proufe of their valiant stomachs, they were well beaten by the Frenchmen, that disdained to see yong men so presumptuous, to prouoke old accustomed warriours to the triall of such martiall enterprises. About the beginning of Lent, the new mone was seene foure daies before she ought to haue appeared by hir due and common course.

The king by a gift got of the Londoners 1000 marks. For as it happened about the same time the youthfull citizens (for an exercise and triall of their actiuitie) had set forth a game to run at the quintine, and whosoever did best, should haue a peacoeke which they had prepared for a pisse. Certene of the kings seruants, because the court laie then at Westmister, came (as it were in spite of the citizens) to the game, and giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the citie and ancient priuileges which they ought to haue intoted were called barons) the said Londoners not able to beare so to be misused, fell vpon the kings seruants, and beat them shrewdlie, so that vpon complaint, the king caused the citizens to fine for their rash doings. Wherein the Londoners followed the counsell of him that in a case of strife, said

*Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,
Audaces fortuna iuuat.*

Howeuer, about the same time, the king vpon displeasure conceiued against the earle of Leicester, had caused him to resigne his office of the wardenship of Gascoigne: and because the earle had it by patent, the king not able to find any iust cause of forfeiture, agreed to paie vnto him for the resignation no small portion of monie. And whereas the Gascoignes had charged the earle with too much streit

1 2 5 2

The archb. of Canturburie and the bishop of Winchester made frends, William de Valence, and John de Warren.

The balne of spirituall liuings in strangers hands.

The new mone appeared before hir time.

Running at the quintine.

The Londoners called Barons.

The earle of Leicester resigneth his gouernment of Gascoigne.

The Rioll,
S. Whilom,
townes in
Calcoigne.

Knightes to
be made.

In ordinance
against rob-
bers.

The cause &
manner the
Calcoignes
to rebellion.

Parlement.

A tenth gran-
ted of the spi-
ritualtie.
Escuage
granted.

Magna charta.

Godlie coun-
sell no doubt.

handling of them, whereby they were occasioned to raise tumults, the matter was now nothing at all amended. For after the earle had resigned, they continued still in rebellion, so that the Rioll with S. Whiloms and other places were taken by the adversaries out of the kings hands, and great slaughter of people made in those parts: wherefore the king minding to go thither, caused musters to be taken, and men put in a redincle according to the custome, that he might vnderstand what number of able men furnished for the warre were to be had. He also took order that euery man that might dispend perille fiftene pounds in lands should be made knight.

Moreover, for the better preservation of peace and quietnesse amongst his people, he appointed watch to be kept by night in cities and borough townes. And further by the aduise of the Sauoines, which were about him, he ordeined that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any meanes damaged by any theise or robber, he to whom the keeping of that countie chafelie appertained where the robbrie was done, should competentlie restore the losse: and this was after the vsage of Sauoy, but was thought more hard to be obserued here, than in those parts, where are not so many bypaths and starting corners to shift out of the waie. ¶ The Calcoignes continued in their seditious doings, and namely Calcon de Bierne, who renouncing his dutie and obedience to the king of England iouined himselfe to the king of Spaine, through his helpe to be the stronger & more able to annoy the English subiects. The euill increasing vnto the Calcoignes which brought hither twines, in that the same were oftentimes taken from them by the kings officers, and other, without readie monie allowed for the sale, gaue occasion to them to grudge and repine against the king.

In the quindene of Easter a parlement began at London, in which all the states being assembled, the matter was moued for aiding the king with some reliefe of monie towards the iournie which he ment to make into the holie land: and so at length it was agreed that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for thre yeaeres space, and that escuage should be lenied for that yeaer, after thre markes of cuerie knights fee, and the king on the other part promised faithfullie to obserue and mainteine the grant of the great charter, and all the articles contained within the same. For further assurance whereof, on the third day of Maie, in the great hall at Westminster, in the presence and by the assent of the king and the earles of Norfolke, Hereford, Oxford, Warwike, and other noble men, by the archbishop of Canturburie as ppeimate, and by the bishops of London, Elic, Lincolne, Worcester, Norwiche, Hereford, Salisburie, Durham, Excester, Carlisle, Bath, Rochester, and S. Dames, reuelled and apparelled in pontificalibus, with tapers, according to the maner, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all transgressors of the liberties of the church, and of the ancient liberties and customes of the realme of England, and namely those which are contained in the great charter, and in the charter of foreest.

Whilest the sentence was in reading, the king held his hand vpon his breast with glad and cherefull countenance, and when in the end they thew auaite their extinct and smoking tapers, saying, So let them be extinguisht and sinke into the pit of hell which run into the dangers of this sentence; the king said, So helpe me God, as I shall obserue and keepe all these things, euen as I am a christian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and annointed. But afterward when he through other counsell brake his promise therein, he was aduised by some

to giue a portion of that monie which he got at this time, to the Pope, that he might of him be absolved.

Immediatlie after the breaking vp of the parlement, that is to saie, about the first of Iune, the king being earnestlie called vpon by messengers sent from the Calcoignes to prouide in time for the defence and safeguard of that countie, sith otherwise he stood in danger to lose it, with all speed he resolved to go thither; and thereupon caused summones to be giuen to all those that held of him by knights seruice, to prepare to be at Dorsetmouth, with horse and armour in the octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith he made great prouision of ships, the which being assembled, and the armie likewise come together, through lacke of conuenient wind he was enforced to stay a long time, to his great greife and no lesse charges.

Finallie, on the 6 of August he took the sea, lea- uing his brother the earle of Cornewall, and the queene in charge with gouernance of the realme, and of his sonne the lord Edward. There departed with him from Dorsetmouth thre hundred sailes of great ships, besides a number of other smaller vessels. And thus accompanied, he took his course to Calcoigne, & about our ladie day named hir Assumption, he arriued at Burdeaur, where he was of the citizens honorablie receiued. Immediatlie after his arriual there, he caused the towne of the Rioll to be compassed about with a strong siege, within the which a great number of rebels were inclosed, which valiantlie defended the place in hope of rescue, which Calcon de Bierne that was fled to the king of Spaine had promised to procure for them. But the king of England to prevent them in that point, sent the bishop of Bath, and his trustie chapleine sir John Spansell vnto the said king of Spaine, to conclude friendship and aliance with him, so that the lord Edward his eldest sonne might marrie the king of Spaine his daughter.

After long treatie, by the diligence of the said ambassadors, a full conclusion followed of their motion. And whereas the king of England had giuen and assigned the dominion of Calcoigne to his said sonne the lord Edward, the king of Spaine in the instrument that contained the covenants of the marriage, resigned and quite claimed all the right and title within Calcoigne which he had or might haue by the gift of king Henrie the second, and by confirmation of the kings, Richard and John. In this meane while, the townes and castles which the rebels held, were won and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith followed a great dearth in the kings armie, so that a hen was sold for six pence sterling, a pound weight in bread was at two pence or thre pence, a gallon of wine at two shillings, a corne of foure bushels of wheat at twentie shillings, so that a knight with his esquire, and costrell with his two horses, might scarce be competentlie found for two shillings in silver. Wherefore the king to relieue his people there with him on that side the sea, sent the prior of Belesborough with other into England, to cause prouision of vittels and other necessaries to be conueied and brought vnto him into Calcoigne, and so there was a great quantitie of graine and powdered flesh taken vp and sent auaite with all conuenient speed.

The earle of Leicester came to the king, bringing with him out of France where he had remained for a time, a faire companie of souldiers and men of warre to the kings aid, and was verie courteously receiued. The Calcoignes then persequed the kings power to increase, and saw how not onelie the castles wherein they trusted to haue refuge were wonne and gotten out of their hands by the king of England, but also that their viues (wherein chafelie consisted their hope of sustentation) were burned vp and de- stroyed,

The king re-
poled to go
himselfe into
Calcoigne.

He taketh the
sea.

He arriued at
Burdeaur.

Embassadors
sent into
Spaine.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt the k.
of England
sonne & the k.
of Spaine
daughter.

A dearth in
the kings
campe.

The Gas-
coigne begin
to humble
themselves.

The bishop of
Chester
Richard with
and Crofted
b. of Lincoln
depart this life

The praise of
Crofted.

Le ppa.

The L. wil.
Elesie depar-
teth this life.

Great wet.

Great drought.

Anno Reg. 38.
The ladie Ma-
therin the
kings daugh-
ter boyne.

winter
thunder.

1254

The queenes
liberalite to-
wards the k.

A strang sight
in the aire.

Kiddoone.

The death of
Shepe.

stroied, they began to humble themselves, and so by little and little returned to their due obedience, after that the authours of their seditious tumults were either appehended, or chased out of the countrie.

This yeare died Richard Witt: the bishop of Chester, a man of great vertue and singular knowledge. Also that famous cleark Robert Crofted bishop of Lincoln departed this life on the day of St. Denise in the night, at his manor of Bugdon, whose learning coupled with vertue and brightness of life was to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifest blamer of pope and king, a reprover of prelates, a corrector of monks, a director of priests, an instructor of clerkes, a sustainer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of incontinent liuers, a diligent searcher of the scriptures, a contemner and a vertie mallet of such strangers as sought preferment in this realme by the popes provisions: in housekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentiful, and in ministering spirituall food, deuout and godlie affected: in his bishoplike office diligent, reuerend, and neuer wearied: a singular example of a bishop, speciallie in those daies, and at whose life our reformed bishops may fetch light to abandon their darknesse, and to amend that which is amisse in them, with

*Adhuc sunt exempla quam precepta,
Et plenius docemur vita quam verbo.*

Whereouer there died in Gascoigne, William de Elesie a baron of great fame in the north parts. Also in the spring and summer of this yeare was a great drought, and in the haruest season fell such wet, that great floods by the rising of the riuers, and ouerflowing their banks, did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Again in the later end of haruest about Michaelmasse, there was effsones such a drought, that men could get no grinding at the milles, but were constrained to go in some places a daies iournie off, to haue their corne ground. In the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the queene was deliuered of a daughter which was called Matherin, because the same was bozne on saint Katherins daie.

On St. Lucies daie, there fell a great snowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of some euill to follow. The king to settle the state of the countrie of Gascoigne in better order, tarried there all the winter, and repaired certeine decayed towines and castles. The queene kept hir Christmasse at London, where she laie in child-bed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a roiall feast, at the which manie great lords were present, as the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Ely, the earls of Cornewall and Gloucester, and manie other. She sent ouer at the same time to hir husband for a new yeres gift the summe of five hundred marks of hir owne reuenues, towards the maintenance of his warres.

On the euen of the Circumcision of our Lord, in the night season, whilest the aire was most cleare and bright with shining starres, the mone being eight daies old, there appeared in the element the perfect forme and likenesse of a mightie great ship, which was first seene of certeine monks of saint Albons, who remaining at saint Amphibalus, were got by to behold by the starres, if it were time for them to go to mattens; but perceiving that strange sight, they called by such of their acquaintance as lodged nere at hand, to view the same. At length it seemed as the boards and ioints thereof had gone in sunder, and so it vanished awaie. There followed a marvellous soze later end of a winter, through cold and ouerharpe weather, which continued till the feast of St. Gregorie in March next ensuing. Also there chanced the same yeare a great murren and death of shepe

and deere, so that of whole flocks and heards scarce the one halfe escaped.

Whilest the king remained still in Gascoigne, he sent for his wife queene Elenor, with his eldest sonne Edward, but because he could not make an end of all his businesse that winter, he continued there the summer also. And forsomuch as he stood in need of monie, to haue some reasonable pretense to demand a subsidie, in the beginning of March, he sent to his brother Richard the earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before that purpose) certeine instructions, to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by means of Alfonso the tenth of that name king of Castile, who manaced verie hostilie to inuade the confines of Gascoigne pertaining to the English dominion, and therefore he required of his faithful subjects some aid of monie, wherby he might be able to resist his aduersarie the said k. of Castile. Earle Richard did what he could to perswade the people to this payment, but he cast his net in vaine before the face of the feathered fowle, as the old proverbe saith,

Apparens rete fugere volucris quæq.

For though he set forth the matter to the uttermost in the presence of the Nobles and other estates, yet would they not heare of anie payment to be made, as those that smelled out the feined fetch and forged tale of the kings need. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the same cause the queene and the lord Edward were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a sight of him, as he had required, when the covenants of the marriage were accorded.

The states of the realme were twice assembled at London about the grant of this payment, but all in vaine; so that they were constrained to passe it ouer with silence, and to surceasse in the matter to their great græfe, and namelie the earle of Cornewall, who had taken great paines therein. Yet for that he would not returne with empty hand, he lenied by rigorous means a great summe of the Jewes (of whom a maine multitude inhabited at that season in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henrie, shewed him how he had sped. The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with monie, inasmuch that upon euerie light occasion, he was ready to reuenge his displeasure towards them, in taking awaie such grants of priuileges and liberties as before he had made. But now to avoid suspicion of his feined pretense of war betwixt him and king Alfonso, he sent his sonne Edward into Castile vnto the same Alfonso, vnder a colour to compound with him for peace, whereas the verie occasion of his going thither, was to purchase him the ladie Elenor to wife, that was sister to the said king Alfonso.

At his comming to the court of Spaine, he was verie honorable receiued of the king, and in the end, upon conference had of his message, obtained his suit, so that king Alfonso was content to bestow by on him his daughter in marriage, with the countie of Pontieu in France, which she held in right of hir mother queene Jone, the second wife of Ferdinando the king of Castile, father vnto this king Alfonso, which Jone was the onelie daughter and heire of Simon earle of Pontieu, and had issue by hir husband the said Ferdinando two sonnes, Ferdinando and Lewis, with one daughter; to wit, the foresaid Elenor, the which by reason hir brethren died young, was heire to hir mother. The lord Edward hauing dispatched his businesse according to his desire, returned with a iollull hart to his father, and declared to him what he had done. His father most glad thereof, for

The king re-
mandeth a
subsidie.

The king of-
fended with
them that re-
fused to helpe
him with
monie.

Edward the
kings sonne
is sent to the
k. of Castile.

The marriage
the ladie Ele-
nor daughter
to k. Alfonso.

Ran. Higd.
Polydor.

Edward the
kinge sonne
of France, and
reue of Cye-
lent.
March. Paris

Edward the
kinge younger
sonne created
duke of Lan-
castre.
ships of a
turnage mold.

Gaston de Bi-
erne attempt-
eth to take
the cite of
Baton.

A mutinie in
the English
armie.

A mightie
storme of
haile.

Anno. Reg. 39.
The king re-
turneth hom-
wards thro-
ugh France

The countesse
of Cornewall.

an augmentation of honour, created him prince of Wales and earle of Chester, and appointed him to be his depatie and generall lieutenant both in Gaülen and in Ireland, and gave to him the townes of Baynolow, Stamford and Grantham. Hereof came it, that ruer after the kings eldest sonne was made immediate upon his birth prince of Wales and earle of Chester. He created also his other sonne named Edmund earle of Lancaster.

About this season were certeine ships driven by force of wind and weather into certeine hauens on the north coasts of England towards Barwick, which ships were of a verie strange forme and fashion, but mightie and strong. The men that were aboard the same ships were of some farre countrie, for their language was unknowne, and not understandable to any man that could be brought to talke with them. The freight and ballast of the ships was armour and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, speares, bowes, arrows, crossbowes and darts, with great store of vittells. There laie also without the hauens on the coast diuerse other ships of like forme, mold and fashion. Those that were driven into the hauens were staied for a time by the bailiffes of the ports. But finally, when it could not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licensed to depart without losse of barrie in bodie or goods.

About Candlemasse, Gaston de Bierne, assembling together a multitude of the kings enemies, thorough the intelligence of some of the citizens of Baton that fauoured not the king, brought so, that certeine of his number entred that cite, meaning to haue herell the king of the domination thereof. But other of the citizens (namelie those of the meaner sort) which fauoured the king, made such resistance, that the enemies which were entred, were apprehended, and diuerse of them suffered punishment, as they had well deserved. After this, there chanced a mutinie in the English armie, because the kings brethren and the bishop of Hereford took upon them to punish certeine Welshmen, for that without commission they had bene abrod to spoile within the French con fines. Therefore in asmuch as the punishment seemed to exceed the degree and qualitie of the offense, and againe, for that the earle of Hereford being constable of the host by inheritance ought to haue had the order of all corrections in cases of such offenses, the Englishmen were in mind to haue slaine all the Poitouins in despite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wise sought to haue appeased their furie.

The wind continuing this yeare for the space of thre moneths and od daies northerlie, did greatlie hinder the growth and increase of floures and fruits: and about the first of Iulie there fell such a storme of haile and raine, as the like had not bene seene nor heard of in those daies, breaking downe the tiles and other coverings of houses, with boughes of trees, by the violent abundance and force of the water and hailestones, which continued about the space of an houre pouring and beating downe incessantlie. After this, when the king had remained a whole yeare in Gaülen, he returned homewards through France, and comming vnto Charters, was honorable there receiued of Lewis the French king, as then latelie returned out of the holie land, and from thence he was roiallie by the same king Lewis brought vnto Paris. The countesse of Cornewall went ouer with a noble traine of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be present at the meeting of hir two sisters, the queenes of England and France, so that the roialtie of the assemble on ech part was great.

After that king Henrie had continued there for his pleasure certeine daies, he returned to England,

landing at Dover in Christmasse weeke. This iour-
nie into Calcoigne was verie costlie, and to small purpose (as writers haue recorded) for the kings charges amounted to the summe of 27 hundred thousand pounds and about, except lands and rents, which he gaue unabusedlie to those which little deserved, but rather sought the hinderance both of him and his realme, besides the gift of 20 thousand marks, which he bestowed vpon his halfe brethren by the mothers side, not reckoning the lands nor rents, neither yet the wards nor the hosties, nor iewels which he gaue to them besides, being of price incalculable. Thus in two iournies which he made, the one into Poitou, which countrie he lost; and the other into Calcoigne, which he hardlie preserved; he spent more treasure than a wise chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had bene set on sale (as Matthew Paris writeth) so that it might be verified in him that is meant by the old prouerbe,

*Qui procul excurrit, sed nil mercatur ibidem,
si via longa fuit, rediens tristatur hic idem.*

Moreouer to increase the kings vaine charges, so it fell out, that pope Innocent bearing grudge towards Conrad king of Sicill, offered that kingdome (as before is partlie touched) to Richard duke of Cornewall, who refused the offer, as well for other causes, as chiefe for that the pope would not agree to such conditions as earle Richard thought necessary for his assurance. Whereupon the pope granted that kingdome vnto king Henrie, with manie goodlie promises of aid to his furtherance for attaining the possession thereof. King Henrie sofullie receiued that grant, and called his sonne Edmund openlie by the name of K. of Sicill, and to furnish the pope with monie for the maintenance of his war against Conrad, he got together all such summs as he could make, as well out of his owne coffers, and out of the exchequer, as by borrowing of his brother earle Richard, and likewise what he could scrape from the Jewes, or otherwise extort by the rapine of the iudices itinerants: all which he sent to the pope, who not content herewith (when he began elisions to want) wrote againe to the king for more.

The king through the insinuat of the duche, to answer the popes auarice, sent him letters patents obligatorie, signed with his roiall seale, by which he might take by way of lone such summes of monie, as should largelie serue his turne of the merchants Italians, willing him not to sticke at the disturbing of treasure, nor at the great quantitie of the interest rising vpon the blurie, for he would discharge all: and hereunto he bound himselfe under paine to forfeit his kingdome and other his heritages. The pope consenting hereunto, accepted this large offer. If he did well herein (saith Matthew Paris) the Lord the iudge of all iudges iudge it, to whom appertineth the care of all things. To conclude, much monie was spent, for the pope spared not the king of Englands purse, though little good was done therewith. At length Conrad died, not without suspicion of poison. The pope being aduertised of his death, reioiced greatlie, as he well uttered in plaine words, saieing; Let vs all that be the children of the Romish church reioice, for now two of our greatest enemies are dispatched out of the waie; the one a spirituall man, that is to saie, Robert bishop of Lincoln; and the other a laic-man, that is Conrad king of Sicill. But yet the pope missed of his purpose, for against the bastard sonne of the emperor Frederike the second, was shortly after proclaimed king of Sicill, and so the second error was greater than the first.

About the quindene of Easter, there was a parliament holden at London, at the which were assembled all the states of the realme in greater number than had

The pope offered
kingdome of Sicill
vnto the king of Eng-
land.

The king was
greatly grieved
that he could
not scrape from
the Jewes, or
otherwise extort
by the iudices
itinerants.

The sentence of
the pope was
sent to take
by monie.

March. Paris

The pope is
liberall of his
owne mens
purse.

Ag. frederike
claimed king
of Sicill.

A parliament

The states re-
sule to grant
a subsidie.

had bene commonlie sente. This parlement was chaſelle called, to let them vnderstand the kings ne- cessitie of monie for discharging of his debts, and to require them of their aid towards the same. But whereas he requested more than was thought good with reason, they would not agree thereunto, but de- sired that he would confirme, and without all cauilla- tion sweare to obserue the liberties which by the char- ter he had promised to hold. Forcower they required, that by the common counsell of the realme they might chose to them the chafe iustice, the chancellour and treasurer, but they were answered plainlie by some of the priue counsell, that this request would at no hand be granted.

The parlement
adourned.

Furthermore, the prelates complained, that they were driuen to paie the tenths which they promised conditionallic, as it were now by constraint and of dutie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the church. The Nobles also found themselves grieved for the exactions which they saw at hand, but finallie, after manie things had bene debated touching these mat- ters, the parlement was adiourned till Michaelmas next, and euerie man departed to his home, with no great trust of the kings good will towards them, noz anie hartie thanks receiued of him for their paines, as may be thought by that which writers haue recoz- ded. Two Noble men, to whom the custodie and gui- ding of the king and quene of Scots was commit- ted, that is to say, Robert de Ros, and John de Baili- oll, were accused, for misusing themselves in the trust and charge which they had taken vpon them. King Henrie was the same time at Nottingham. The information came forth by a physician, who was sent from the quene of England, vnto hir daughter the quene of Scots, to be about hir for gard of hir health, but because the same physician (whose name was Reignold of Bath) perceiued the quene of Scots to be impaired in health through anguish of mind, by reason of the misdeameanz of such as had the gouernement of hir and hir husband, he stiched not to blame and reprove them in their doings, for the which he was poisoned, as some thinke: for the truth was, he shortly after sickened and died, signifi- eng vpon his death-bed vnto the quene of England what he misliked and thought amisse in those, that had the doings about hir daughter and hir husband the Scottis king.

Reignold de
Bath a phy-
sician.

An eclipse.

The mone suffered a marvellous eclipse on the night following the day of S. Margaret in Julie. It began afoze midnight, and continued foure houres. The king in the behalfe of his daughter the quene of Scots raised a power, and drez northwards, sending before him the earle of Gloucester, and John Hantell that was his chapleine and one of his coun- cell. These two vsed the matter, that they came to Edinburgh, where the king and quene of Scots then laie in the castell, into the which they entred, and alitred the order of the household, so as good with the contentation of the king and quene, which were in such wise vsed before that time, that they were not suffered to lie together, noz scarce come to talke together.

Robert de
Ros summo-
ned to appeare.

Robert de Ros was summoned to appeare before the king of England, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. At the first he withdrew himselfe, but afterwards he came in, and submitted himselfe to the kings pleasure. Diuerse of the nobles of Scotland toke it not well, that the earle of Gloucester and John Hantell should thus come into the castell of Edinburgh, and order things in the kings house in such sort at their pleasure: whereupon they assembled a power, and besieged the castell, but at length perceiuing their owne error, they raised their siege and departed. John de Bailioll being accused

of the like crime that was laid to the charge of his fellow Robert de Ros, for a pece of monie bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lands of Robert de Ros were seized into the kings hands. Finallie, the king and quene of England came to an enter- uiew with the king of Scots and the quene their daughter, and setting all things with them in such or- der as was thought conuenient, they returned to- wards the south parts.

In the meane season, the bishop of Hereford de- uised a shift to helpe the k. with monie, towards the payments of his debts, by obtaining certeine au- tenticke seales of the prelates of this land, wherewith he signed certeine instruments and writings, wherein was expessed, that he had receiued diuerse summes of monie for dispatch of busincle pertaining to them and to their churches, of this and that merchant of Florence or Siena, whereby they stood bound for re- payment thereof by the same instruments and wri- tings so made by him their agent in their names. This shift was deuised by the said bishop of Here- ford, with licence obtained thereunto of the king, and also of the pope, vnto whom for the same intent the said bishop was sent, with sir Robert Mulerane knight. The pope was the sooner persuaded to grant licence for the contriuing of such manner of shift, be- cause the monie should go to the discharging of the kings debts, into the which he was run, by bearing the charges of the warres against the king of Sci- cill.

A shift to get
monie of the
bishops deu-
ised by the bish.
of Hereford.

About the feast of saint Edward, the parlement began againe at London, in which the states trea- ted of a subsidie to be granted to the king, but they could not conclude thereof, neither would Richard earle of Cornewall disburse anie monie at that sea- son to his brother the king, because he allowed not the manner of laing it out for the warres against Span- fied, being taken in hand without his consent. The same yeare, the king by the procurement of his bro- ther Richard earle of Cornewall, had seized the li- berties of the citie of London into his owne hands, vnder colour that the maior had not done his dutie in the iust punishing of bakers for breaking of the assises of their bread. Whereupon, where the maior and communalitie of the citie had by the kings grant the citie to farme, with diuerse customes and offices, at a certeine rate and stinted summe of monie; now the king set officers therein at his pleasure, which were accomptable to him for all the reuenuess and profits that grew within the citie.

A parlement.
Richard earle
of Cornewall
standeth a-
gainst his
brother for
the grant of
a subsidie.

The libertie
of London se-
ized into the
kings hands.

But whereas the malice which the earle of Corne- wall bare to the citie, was, for that they would not exchange with him certeine grounds that belonged to their communalitie, they were glad to agree with him, and paie vnto him six hundred marks. After which agreement concluded, about the nineteenth daie of Nouember, they were shortly after restored to their liberties. This chanced before the kings com- ming ouer, who at his comming to London, lodged in the tower, and vpon new displeasure conceived a- gainst the citie for the escape of a prisoner (being a cleerke conuict) out of Newgate, which had killed a prioz, that was of aliance to the king, as couline to the quene, the king sent for the maior and the shirifs to come before him to answer the matter. The ma- ior laid the fault from him to the shiriffs, for so much as to them belonged the keeping of all the prisoners within the citie: and so the maior returned home a- gaine, but the shiriffs remained there as prisoners by the space of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excused themselves, in that the fault chafelle rested in the bishops officers: for whereas the prisoner was vnder his custodie, they at his request had granted him licence to imprison the offender within their ward

The shiriffs
of London
imprisoned.

ward of Newgate, but so as his officers were charged to see him safe kept. The king notwithstanding demanded of the citie three thousand marks for a fine.

The king de-
mandeth mo-
nie of the
Jewes.

The kings
debt 300000
marks.

The earle of
Cornewall
lendeth the
king monie.

Hor. lib. 2.
serm.

An elephant
sent to the k.

An ewer of
pearle, per-
adventure
an agat.

Strange
wonders.
High tides.
A comet.

The decease
of walter
archbishop
of yorke.

Elizora the
wife of prince
Edward es-
meth to the
citie.

The libertie
of the citie re-
stored to the
Londoners.

A legat from
the pope nam-
ed Ruseand
a Gascoigne.

Teniths ga-

Moreouer, whereas he stood in great need of mo-
nie, he required by way of a tallage eight thousand
marks of the Jewes, charging them on paine of han-
ging, not to deferre that payment. The Jewes soze
impowertised with greuous and often payments ex-
cused themselves by the popes vsurers, and reprimond
plainelie the kings excessiue taking of monie, as well
of his christian subiects as of them. The king on the
other side, to let it be knowne that he tared not his
people without iust occasion, and upon necessitie that
droue him thereto, confessed openlie, that he was in-
debted by his bonds obligatorie, in three hundred
thousand marks: and againe, the yearelie reuenues
assigned to his sonne prince Edward, arose to the
summe of sixtene thousand marks and aboue, where
the reuenues that belonged vnto the crowne were
greatlie diminished, in such wise, that without the aid
of his subiects, he should neuer be able to come out of
debt. To be short, when he had siced the Jewes to
the quicke, he set them to farme vnto his brother
earle Richard, that he might pull off skin and all; but
yet considering their pouertie, he spared them, and ne-
uertheless, to relieue his brothers necessitie, vpon a
pawne he lent him an huge masse of monie. These
thrifts did the king vie from time to time, not caring
with what exactions and impositions he burthened
the inhabitants of his land, whereby he procured vnto
himselfe the name of an oppressor and couetous
scrapor. But what wonder is it in a king, fifth

Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem?

About the same time, Leues the French king sent
vnto king Henrie for a present an elephant, a beast
most strange and wonderfull to the English people,
fifth most seldome or neuer any of that kind had
bene sene in England before that time. The French
quene also sent for a present vnto the king of Eng-
land an ewer of pearle like to a peacoeke in forme
and fashion, garnished most richlie with gold, silver,
and sappires to furnish him forth in all points of fine
and cunning workmanship, to the verie resem-
blance of a liuing peacoeke. ¶ Danie wonders chan-
ced about this time. The sea rose with most high tides,
rivers were so filled with abundance of water, by
reason of the great continuall raine, that marvellous
floods followed therevpon. A comet also appeared,
and manie high buildings were stricken by force of
tempests. The death of Walter archbishop of Yorke
followed these prodigious wonders, who had govern-
ed that se the space of forty yeares. After him suc-
ceeded one Senall the 34 archbishop of that citie.

About the feast of S. Etheldred, the ladie Elizora
wife of prince Edward the kings son, came to Lon-
don, where she was honorablie receiued of the citi-
zens, & conueied through the citie to S. Jones with-
out Smithfield, and there lodged for a season, and per-
long the removed to the Sauoy. It was not long
after, that the king seized the libertie of the citie of
London into his hands, for certeine monie which the
quene claimed as due to hir of a certeine right to be
paid by the citizens, so that about the feast of S. Mar-
tine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the king foure
hundred marks, and then had their libertie to them
againe restored, and the kings vnder-treasoror dis-
charged, which for the time was made custos or kee-
per of the citie.

About the same time came another legat from
the pope, namely, one Ruseand a Gascoigne borne,
to whom, with the archb. of Canturbarie, and the bi-
shop of Hereford, the pope had granted authoritie to
collect and gather the tenth of the spiritualtie within

England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vse of the
pope and the king, notwithstanding all priuiledges,
for what cause or vnder what forme of words to cuer
the same had passed. This Ruseand also absolved the
king of his vow made to go into the holie land, to
the end he might go against Hanfred king of Sicill.
He also preached the crosse against the same Han-
fred, promising all those remission of their sins which
should go to war against Hanfred, as well as if they
should go into the holie land, to warre against Gods
enemies there, whereat faithfull men much marvel-
led, that he should promise as great meed for the shed-
ding of christian blood, as the blood of infidels.

The craftie and sic fetters which were bled in this
season by this Ruseand the bishop of Hereford, and o-
ther their complices, to get monie of the prelats and
gouernors of monasteries within this realme, were
wonderfull, & verie greuous to those that felt them-
selues oppressed therewith; and namelie, for the debt
which the said bishop of Hereford had charged them
with, they being not priue to the receipt, nor hauing
any benefit thereby. Ruseand called a counsell at
London, & propounded great causes why the prelats
ought to aid the pope, and so therevpon demanded
great summes of monie. Amongst other summes,
he demanded six hundred marks of the house of S.
Albons.

To conclude, his demands were esteemed vntrea-
sonable, so that the bishops and abbats were in a mar-
vellous perplexitie, perceiuing into what miserable
state by reason of immoderate exactions the church of
England was brought. The bishop of London stie-
ked not to saie, that he would rather lose his head,
than consent that the church should be brought to such
feruitude as the legat went about to enforce. And the
bishop of Worcester openlie protested, that he would
sooner suffer himselfe to be hanged, than to see the
church subiect to such oppression by their examples. W-
ther also taking a boldnesse vnto them, affirmed, that
they would follow the steps of Thomas sometime
archbishop of Canturbarie, which for the libertie of
the church suffered himselfe to haue his baines cut
out of his head. Yet were those prelats euill troubled,
for the king was against them on the one side, and
the pope gaping after monie was become their vt-
ter enemie on the other: neither were the noble men
much moued with pitie towards the church their mo-
ther (as the terme then went) now thus in miserie.

Finallie, the prelats appealed from Ruseand, vnto
the popes presence, and would not obeie the willfull
and violent oppressions of the same Ruseand, so that
much adoe there was, and a great complaint made to
the king by Ruseand, of the stubborne disobedience
of the prelats, and namelie of the bishop of London.
The king was in a great chafe with him, and threat-
ned that he would cause the pope to punish him ac-
cording to that he well deserved: but the bishop an-
swered thereto; Let the pope and king (saith he) which
are stronger than I am, take from me my bishop-
ricke, which by law yet they cannot do: let them take
awaie my miter, yet an helmet shall remaine.

This yeare after S. Lukes daie, the king assen-
bled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and
thither came the bishop of Bologna la grille from
the pope, bringing with him a ring, with the which he
inuested Edmund the kings sonne king of Sicill
and Naples. About the same time, the burgesse of
Darbie obtained of the king for a summe of monie
to haue the iustices itinerants to hold their assises at
Darbie for the countie of Darbie, and likewise the
shiriffes to keepe their tournies there, and not at
Nottingham, as before they had bene accustomed
for both the shires. But now to returne to the bi-
shops.

The crosse
preached a-
gainst Han-
fred.

A counsell
called at Lon-
don by the bi-
gat.

March. Paris.
The church-
men being
pinched by
their parties,
fret and hum-
against the
popes proce-
dings in that
behalf.

The bishop
would rather
become mar-
tyr, than his
their moue.

Ruseand de-
plaineth to
the king of
the froward-
nesse of the
prelats.
The bishop
of London
saies.

Anno Reg. 4^a

Edmund the
kings sonne
inuested king
of Sicill and
Naples.
Chro. Duk.

The counsell
propozed.The k. lieth
in wait for
mens goods.

Manh. Paris.

The l. ord
Gray hostis-
beth the court.Jehes accus-
ed & executed
for crucifying
a child at
Lincolne ma-
nch. Engli.

In the meane tyme, the bishop of Hereford and
Kusland fought to set variance and discord amongst
the English prelats, whereby being diuided in parts,
and not consenting together, they should be lesse able
to giue true information to the pope, how the verie
truth rested. But finallye, because the archbishop of
Canturburie was in the parts beyond the sea, and
for that also the see of Poike was vacant, and diuerse
bishops were absent, the counsell was propozed till
the feast of S. Hilarie, and so they departed euerie
man to his home in a maruellous doubt what waie
were best for them to take, sith they saw themselves
in great distresse, if Kusland did suspend or excom-
municate any of them either iustlie or otherwise.
For sure they were, that the king as a lion lieng in
wait whome he might deuoure (to get monie) after
somethe daies were past, if they submitted not them-
selves, would spoile them of all their goods as forfeit-
ed. So that the pope and the king seemed as though
the shepheard and wolfe had bene confederate to-
gether to the destruction of the poore flocke of shepe,
threatning euerie mans vndowing, to their owne in-
riching: and not ceasing, till with fullnesse they were
forced to fall from the flesh, much like bloodsucking
boyllachpes, of whose nature it is notable noted, that

*Non missura prius carnem quam plena cruoris,
Quando heret tenera molis hirudo cuti:
Sic ignara dolis emungitur are caterua,
Imbellis populi quid nisi praeda manent?*

Thus by reason of couetous greedinesse to get mo-
nie for the furnishing of the popes warres against
Spanish king of Sicill, both the pope and the king
of England ran in slander and hatred of the Eng-
lish nation, namelye, of the spiritualtie, so that such as
recoyded the acts and doings of that tyme, feared not
to make manifest to the world by their writings,
how inturbonlie they were handled, blaming the
practises of the court of Rome in plaine terms, and
affirming that the pope had power in those things
which worke to edification, and not to destruction.
About this season, John lord Grey, being one of the
chefe counsellors to the king, a right honourable
knight, and for his good demeanour and high valian-
cie greatly commended of all, withdrew himselfe
from the court, either by reason of age that desired
rest, or rather (as was thought) for that he doubted to
beare blame for such errors as were dailye commit-
ted by them that bare rule about the king, which could
not but bring the authours into great infamie at
length, and therefore was he loth to be partaker with
them of such slander as might haue redounded to
him also, if he had still continued and taried amongst
them.

Also, upon the two and twentieth of November,
were brought vnto Westminster a hundred and two
Jehes from Lincolne, that were accused for the cru-
cifying of a child in the last summer, in despite of
Christes religion. They were vpon their examinati-
on sent to the towne. The child which they had so cru-
cified was named Hugh, about an eight yeeres of
age. They kept him ten daies after they got him vnto
their hands, sending in the meane tyme vnto di-
uerse other places of the realme for other of their na-
tion to be present at the crucifying of him. The mure-
ther came out, by the diligent search made by the
mother of the child, who found his bodie in a well, on
the backe side of the Jewes house, where he was cruci-
fied: for she had leaened that hir sonne was lastlie
sene plaicing with certeine Jewes children of like
age to him, before the doore of the same Jewes. The Jew
that was owner of the house, was apprehended, and
being brought before sir John de Lexington, vpon pro-
mise of pardon, confessed the whole matter. For they
used peacelie (if they could come by their peeie) to

crucifie one christian child or other. The king vpon
knowledge had hereof, would not pardon this Jew
that had so confessed the matter, but caused him to
be executed at Lincolne, who coming to the place
where he should die, opened more matter concerning
such as were of counsell and present at the crucifi-
eng of the poore innocent. Whereupon at length also
eightene of them that were so brought to London,
were conuined, adiudged and hanged, the other re-
mained long in prison.

Eightene
Jehes hanged

When the feast of saint Hilarie was come, the
cleargie met againe at London, and fell to intreat
of their former businesse, at what time one maister
Leonard alias Keignold that was chosen prolocutor
for all the prelats, amongst other answers made to
the legat Kusland, when the same Kusland alledged
that all churches were the popes; Truth it is said
Leonard, to defend, and not to vse and appropriate
them to serue his owne turne, as we saie, that all is
the princes, meaning that all is his to defend, and not
to spoile: and such was the intent of the founders.
Kusland soe offended herewith, said, he would that
euerie man should speake afterwards for himselfe,
that as well the pope as the king might vnderstand
what euerie man said in their businesse and matters.
The prelats were stricken in a dumpe herewith, for
they perceiued how the matter went: they appealed
yet against the demands that were made by Kus-
land, who would not change a word of that he had
written, in which was contained, that the prelats had
acknowledged themselves to haue borrowed of the
merchant strangers, no small summes of monie, and
the same to be conuerted to the vse of their churches,
which was most untrue as all men well vnderstood;
whereupon the prelats affirmed, and not without rea-
sonable cause, that there was a greater occasion in
this cause of martyrdome, than in that of Thomas
sometime archbishop of Canturburie.

The prolocu-
tors answer
to the popes
legat.The prelats
appeale.Marke the
cause of mar-
tyrdome.

Kusland at length, perceiuing their manner, be-
came somewhat more mild, and promised that he
would talke with the pope of this matter. But first
there was sent to Rome the deane of Pauls in Lon-
don, and certeine others, as attornies or agents for
the whole cleargie of England. These sped so in their
suit, that the pope took order that if the prelats paid
the monie by force of the contriued writings, where-
by they stood bound for them, their houses, and churches;
then, to ease their burthen, they might retaine
in their hands such parcell of tenths as they ought to
paye to the king, for furnishing of his wars against
the Saracens, amounting to the summe which they
should be constrained to paye for the bonds made to
the merchants, by the bishop of Hereford (as be fore
is recited.)

The deane of
saint Pauls
sent to Rome
on the behalfe
of the prelats.

In this season the deuotion, which manie had con-
ceiued of the pope and the church of Rome, began to
war cold, reputing the vertue which he shewed at his
entring into the papacie, to be rather a colourable hy-
pocrisie, than otherwise, sith his proceedings answe-
red not to his good beginnings: for as it was mani-
fest, where suitors brought their complaints into the
court of Rome, such sped best as gaue most bribes,
and the two priors of Winchester, the one expelled,
and the other got in by intrusion, could well witnesse
the same: and all the world knoweth that the pipe-
rines generation of Romanists, reckoning from the
ringleader to the simplest shaueling, haue made
gaine the scope of their holinesse, and as it is true,
he said,

*Qua libet arripiunt, lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet, imponent, hos scelus omne inuast:
Accipiunt quoduis, si non sonat, are crimena,
Sine filio adstr, fordida sine pecunia, &c.*

Mens deuoti-
on towards
the pope waxe
cold.Anish. de ppele
Christi, &c.The b. of Sa-
lisbury: epas-
teth this intoThis yeare died William of Poike bishop of Sa-
lisbury.

Suit of court
when it was
first received
for a law.

March. Paris.
Magnus
king of
Spain.

Proclama-
tion for
knighthood.

Soe tem-
pest of wind
and raine.

The king of
Scots com-
meth into
England.

John Han-
sell feasted the
two kings.

Orders dem-
and for the
appearance of
thirffes.
The thirffes
fined.

The king of

lisure, which had bene brought up in the court, euen from his youth. This bishop first caused that euery of euery lordship are bound to owe their suit to the lords court, of whom they hold their tenements.

In the feast of Easter this yeare, the king adorned Magnus king of Spain, with the order of knight-hood, and bestowed upon him great gifts and honors.

The countesse of Warren Alesia or Alesia (as some booke haue) sister to the king by his mother, departed this life in his flourishing youth, unto the great griefe of his brother, but speciallie of his husband John earle of Warren that loued hir intierly.

About the midd of Maie, the Jewes that were in the towne, and in other pions for the murder of the child at Lincolne, and had bene indicted by an inquest upon the death of him that had suffered at Lincolne, were admitted and set at libertie, to the number of foure hundred of them. In Whitsuntide was holden a great feast at Wile, where the lord Edward the king, with some first began to shew proofe of his chivalrie. There were diuerse o'werthrowen and hurt, and amongst other William de Longspe was so hurt, that he neuer after recouer his former strength.

The king caused a proclamation to be set forth, that all such as might dispend foure pounds in lands, should receiue the order of knight-hood; and those that would not or could not, should paie their fines. This yeare, three daies after the feast of S. Ciricus, a marvellous soe tempest of wind, raine, haile, and thunder chaunced, that did exceeding much hurt. Mill-wheles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the wind-milles were no lesse tormented with the rage of wind. Arches of bridges, stables of hails, houses that stood by water sides, and children in cradles were borne away, that both wondrous and no lesse pitifull it was to see. At Bedford the river of Ouse bare downe six houses together, and did vnspokeable hurt thereabouts.

Alexander the third king of Scots with his wife quene Margaret, came about the beginning of August into England, and found the king at his manor of Woodstocke, where he solaced him a season, and had the lands of the earle of Huntington restored unto him, which his grandfather king William in his time lost and forfeited. Here he did homage to king Henrie. Upon the day of the decollation of S. John, the two kings with their quenes came to London, where they were honorable receiued, and so conuicted unto Westminster. On the day of S. Augustine the bishop, being the eight and twentieth of August, John Hansell the kings chapleine besought the two kings, and other states, to dine with him on the morrow following, which they granted, and so he made a marvellous great dinner. There were seuen hundred melles serued vp, but the multitude of guests was such, that scarce the same sufficed; his house was not able to receiue them all, and therefore he caused tents and booths to be set up for them. The like dinner had not bene made by any chapleine before that time. All those that came were worthilie receiued; feasted and interteined, in such sort, as euery man was satisfied.

About foure daies before the feast of S. Edward, Henrie came into the ercheper himselfe, & there demanded order for the appearance of thirffes, and bringing in of their accompts. At the same time also, there was five marks set on euery thirffes head for a fine, because they had not restrained euery person that might dispend 15 pounds land, to receiue the order of knight-hood, as was to the same thirffes commanded. The king of Scots, after he had remained a while with the king of England, returned

backe into Scotland, and left his wife behind with his mother till she should be brought to bed, for she was as then great with child.

In the 41 yeare of the reigne of king Henrie, his brother Richard earle of Cornwall was elected emperor, by one part of the Conuoters: and diuerse lords of Almaine comming ouer into this land (upon the daie of the innocents in Christmasse) presented unto him letters from the archbishop of Colen, and other great lords of Almaine, testifying their consents in the choosing of him to be emperor, and withall, that it might stand with his pleasure to accept that honor. Finally, upon good deliberation had in the matter, he consented therunto: whereupon the lords that came with the message, being right glad of their answer, returned with all speed to signifye the same unto those from whom they had bene sent. The treasure of this earle Richard now elected king of Almaine, was esteemed to amount unto such a summe, that he might dispend euery day a hundred marks, for the terme of ten yeares together, not reckoning at all the reuenues which daily accreted to him of his rents in Almaine and England.

In this meane time the vnquiet Welshmen, after the death of their prince David, chose in his stead one Leolin, that was son to the same Griffin that brake his necke as he would haue escaped out of the towne of London; and herewith they began a new rebellion, either drining out such Englishmen as laie there in garlions within the castles and fortresses, or else entring into the same by some traitorous practise, they slue those which they found within them, to the great displeasure of their soveraigne lord Edward the kings eldest sonne, who couding to be reuenged of their rebellious enterprises, could not bring his purpose to passe, by reason of the vnseasonable weather and continuall raine which fell that winter, so raising the waters & setting the marshes on floods, that he could not passe with his armie.

Sporecourt, his father the king wanted monie and treasure to furnish him withall, howbeit prince Edward borrowed of his brother earle Richard foure thousand marks towards the maintenance of that war. The rebellion of the Welshmen speciallie rose by the hard dealing of sir Geoffrey de Langlie knight, the kings collector amongst them, who handled them so streightlie, that in defense of their countrie, lawes, and liberties (as they pretended) they put on armour. They toke and destroyed the lands and possessions which were great and large, of Griffin Burnet, being fled for safegard of his life unto the king of England. There were of those Welsh rebels at the point of twentie thousand men, and of them ten thousand were horsemen, the which perceiving the reason to make for their purpose, defended themselves so manfully, that they drove backe prince Edward and his armie, & so continuing the wars, did much hurt to the English marshes. Their power so increased, that at length they diuided the same in two equal parts, the better to recouer battels; and in either armie there were esteemed thirtie thousand armed men, after the manner of their countreys, of the which there were five hundred men of armes in either host, with barbed horses all covered in iron. Thus being of such puissance, they did much mischefe to the Englishmen that inhabited on the marshes, neither were the lords marchers able to resist them, although the earle of Gloucester aided the same lords all that he might.

King Henrie being hereto advertised, and with all speed Stephen Bayan, a man skilled in feats of warre, with a great number of soldiers into Wales, against the rebels, who comming into that countreie, and entring into the lands of a Welsh lord named

Scots re-
bels into
countrie.

Anno Reg. Ric.
Richard earle
of Cornwal
elected em-
peror.

1257

The great
treasure of
Richard earle
of Almaine.

The Welsh-
men chose
then a ge-
nerall, and
rebell against
the king.

The king
wanted
monie.

Sir Geffrey
de Langlie
hard dealing,
cause of the
Welshmens
rebellion.

March. Paris.
The number
of the Welsh-
armies.

The Welsh-
men diuide
their power
into two
parts.

Nic. Trevis.
Stephen
Bayan, a
soldier.

Englishmen
ouertrowne.Northwales
and South-
wales joined
together in
league.The king
passed him-
self in person
into wales.The lord
Roger Mortimer
the king's lieuten-
ant in wales
Polydor.Legat from
Rome.
Math. Paris.New order
of friers.

Parlement.

Wile Laugban, was intrapt by such ambushments as his enemies laid for him, and thereby was slaine with the more part of his armie. This ouertrowne chanced by the treason of Griffin de Brunet, who at that present revolting from the English side to his countreimen, instructed them in all things, how they might banquish their enemies. At that time, Northwales and Southwales joined in league and frendlie amitie together, which commonlie was not sene in those daies, they being for the more part at variance, the one rather seeking still how to indamage the other: but now in defense of their liberties (as they pretended) they agreed in one.

The king fore moved herewith, determined to go himselfe into Wales, that he might take woorthie punishment of those his aduersaries, that could neuer be sufficientlie chastised. Whereupon raising a great power, he passed forth, and comming into Wales, put the rebels in such feare, that they withdrew to their accustomed places of refuge, I meane the woods and marshes. The king would faine have had them forth, that he might haue punished them according to their deserts, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he sent for an armie of soldiers into Ireland, and tarried for their comming at the castell of Brecknoke, but the yeare was farre spent per his people could be gathered, so that by the aduise of his lordes he strengthened certeine castles, and so returned for that yeare into England, leaving the lord Roger Mortimer his lieutenant in Wales, to resist the rebels. But now let vs speake of other doings which chanced in the meane while that the warres thus continued and lasted betwixt England and Wales.

We shall understand, that in the Lent season, the archbishop of Spessina came as legat from the pope hither into England, with letters of procuration, to demand and receiue, and also with power, to punish such as should denie and seeme to resist, and so being here arrived with a great traine of seruants and horses, he sent forth his commandements in writing to euerie prelat, to prouide him monie by way of priuie to that of the house of S. Albons, and of the celles that belonged thereto, he had one and twentie marks, and when the monks of S. Albons came to visit him in his house, they could not be permitted to depart, but were kept as prisoners, till they had satisfied his comelous demand: for whereas they alleged that they had not brought any monie with them, he asked them whie they were such beggers, and further said, send ye then to some merchant, that will lend you monie, and so it was done: for otherwise they might not haue libertie to depart. This archbishop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (saith Matthew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie. About the same time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not known till those daies, having yet the popes autenthike bulles, which they opened shewed, so that there seemed a confusion of manie orders, as the same Matthew Paris recozde, and because they were apparelled in sackcloth, they were called sackcloth friers.

About the middell of Lent, there was a great parlement holden, to the which the maisters of the Uniuersitie of Oxford were summoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them and the bishop of Lincoln, which had them in suit about their liberties. There came to the same parlement, the earle of Gloucester, and sir John Spanell, lately returned out of Almaine, where they had been on ambassage from Richard the elect king of Almaine. Whither came also the same elect king of Almaine, and almost all the Nobilitie of the realme, so that scarce might

the citie of London receiue the number that repaired to that parlement. The king of Almaine meant to take his leaue at that time of the lordes and peres of the realme, purposing shortly after, to take his iourne towards Almaine, and to ordeine the bishop of London gouernoz of all his lands and possessions within England.

In this parlement, the lord Edmund the kings younger sonne was shewed as king of Naples and Sicill, for the obtaining of the possession of which dominions and kingdoms, his father king Henrie demanded no small subsidie and aid of monie, both of the tempozaltie and also of the spiritualtie, but namely, he required to haue the tenths of spiritual mens linings for the terme of five yeares, according to the new taxations without any deductions to be affected except necessarie expences: also, the tenths for one yeare of benefices that chanced to fall void within the said terme of five yeares. Moreover, sundrie other duties he required to haue of the spiritual men, soe to their graunce, and specially, because they knew that such tyrannie first took beginning from the pope. In the end (though les they were to consent) yet conditionallie that the king would confirme the liberties contelied in the great charter, and obserue the same throughe, now after it had bene so manie times brought out and reclaimed, they offered to giue him towards his instant necessitie two and fiftie thousand marks, to the irreuerable danger of impoverishing the church. And yet, as it is said, the king refused the gift, as that which he thought not to be sufficient.

Truelie it should seeme, that there was a great untowardlie disposition in the subjects of that time, for the helping of their king with necessarie aid of monie, towards such great charges as he had bene diuers waies occasioned to be at, since his first comming to the crowne. But because it was perceiued that he bestowed no small quantitie of his treasure to the aduancing of his kinfolke and alliance, namely strangers, and againe defraied great summes in vaine hope to obtaine the kingdoms of both the Sicils which the pope offered to him frellie inough in words, as before we haue heard, the English subjects conceived a great misliking of the whole gouernement, and namely, for that he seemed to be led and ruled by the aduise and counsell of those strangers, who being not throughe acquainted with the nature of the English people, nor fullie instructed in the lawes and customes of the realme, caused him to do manie things, that procured both to him and them much ill will, as well of the hie states as of the commons, which as occasion serued, they were readie inough to discouer, and therefore they were vertie inquisitiue, both to learne what he receiued, and also in what sort he bestowed that which he did receiue and take.

It was therefore knowne, that since he first began to waste his treasure, his charges amounted vnto the summe of 250000 marks, as the booke of accounts remaining in the hands of the clerks of his closet plainelie witnessed, and yet of all those vaine expences no great advantage was growne thereby to the king or realme, but rather disadvantage, as the most part of men then took it, and no maruell: for there was such hart-burning amongst the nobilitie, one envying an others aduancement, & repining at each others doings, that it was not possible to bring any good drift forward amongst men so far at odds together. But we will let this passe as a thing manifest inough to them that shall well consider the course of that time, and will returne to the parlement aboue mentioned.

Before the end of this solemne assemble of states, the

Math. Paris.

The lord Edmund the kings sonne.

Subsidie demanded.

The offer of spiritualtie.

The archbish.
of Cullen and
other embas-
sadors of Al-
maine.

the archbishop of Cullen with a duke, & an other bi-
shop came ouer out of Almaine, vnto their elect king
Richard, to whome they did fealtie and homage, as to
their soueraigne liege lord and gouernour, which thing
once done, he gaue to the said archbishop five hun-
dred marks to beare his charges, with a rich miter set
with stones, & furnished with plates of beaten gold;
which miter when the archbishop had set it vpon his
head; He hath (saith he) giuen a rich gift to me and to
my church, and verelie, euen as I haue put this miter
on my head, so will I set on his head the crowne
of the kingdome of Almaine; he hath mitred me,
and I will crowne him. The other lords of Almaine,
which at the same time did homage vnto earle Ri-
chard, were also presented with great and rich gifts.

Six archbish.
present at
London in
time of the
parlement.

Here is further to be noted, that there were pre-
sent at this parlement six archbishops, Canturburie,
Yorke, Dublin, Oselina, Taranto and Cullen. The
archbishop of Oselina was come to the king to set
him on dotage for the businesse about the conquest of
Naples and Sicill. At the feast of Ester next follow-
ing, the archbishop of Cullen returned into his coun-
trie, and the third day after Easter, the elect king of
Almaine toke his leaue, and departed toward War-
mouth, where he purposed to take the sea, to saile ouer
into Almaine, but by reason of contrarie winds he
was diuised to remaine there a long time, to his
great gréfe and inestimable charges before he could
passe ouer; yet finallie, about the latter end of Aprill,
he got forth to the sea, and landed at Dordrecht the
first of Maie next ensuing.

The elect k.
of Almaine
taketh his
leau of the
king his bro-
ther.

The landeth at
Dordrecht.
A synod.

About the same time, the archbishop of Canturbu-
rie called a synod of the bishops and abbats inhabi-
ting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace
of the Holie-ghost, they might forese some redresse
for reléfe of the English church, now in these late
yeares soe disquieted by new oppressions, more gre-
uous than had bene accustomed: for the king by
counsell, or rather by the whispering of some flatter-
ers and enuies to the realme, was so induced, that
he permitted certaine euill customs, as thornie hzem-
bles to increase in the fruitfull garden of pleasure,
and to choke vp the trees that brought forth fruit in
great plentie. Whereouer in this yeare, king Henrie
caused the walles of the citie of London, which were
soe decayed and destitute of turrets, to be repaired in
more samelie wise than before they had bene, at the
common charges of the citie.

Marth. Paris.

A decree made
by the pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the
pope and his cardinals (which verie diligentlie fore-
saw to advance their temporall commodities, not
much passing for other mens advantages) that eue-
rie one which should be chosen an exempt abbat,
should come to the court of Rome to be there confir-
med, and receiue the popes blessing, by which heinous
ordinance, religion was laid open to great danger,
and the church depriued of temporall prosperitie (as
saith Matthew Paris) for by this means (saith he) it
was needfull for religious men, to chuse to their
gouernour a man not religious, but rather halfe
temporall, and such a one as to whome rather Iusti-
nians lawes than Christs which conuerteth soules
should be familiar. The monks of Durham, who on-
lie with the canons of Gilsborne resisted the wicked
proceedings of the popes exactors, and stood therefore
interdicted a long time, at length, after manie alter-
cations, were absolved. Wh (saith Marth. Paris) if in
that their tribulation they might haue had fellows,
and in their constant doings aidors, how happilie had
the church of England triumphed ouer hir tormen-
tors and oppressors!

Marth. Paris
The monks
of Durham
that were ex-
communicated
are now ab-
solved.

Marth. Paris.

Vpon haue heard how Richard earle of Cornewall
being elected king of Almaine, sailed thither, where
on the Ascension day last, he was crowned king by

the archbishop of Cullen, of whom, and diuerse other
great princes of Germanie he was holden for their
lawfull king and gouernour (as in the Dutch histo-
ries you may find more largelie exprest) though o-
ther of them had chosen Alfonso king of Castile, the
which Alfonso wzote to the king of England, as his
confederate and alie, requiring aid of him against
the said Richard that was his owne brother, to the
which unreasonable request the king would in no
wise consent.

Whereouer, in this fortie one yeare of king Henries
reigne, by reason of a roll closed in gréne iwar and
found in the kings Wardrobe at Windsor, contain-
ing as it were an information against the maiors and
shiriffes of London, for oppression and wrongs done
to the communalte of the citie, the king toke great
displeasure, and caused streit inquisition to be made,
as well by Fouke Shotes, as Ward Shotes, & diuerse
other means. At length, the maiors and shiriffes, with
the chamberlaine of the citie, were discharged by
John Spanell, one of the kings iustices, afore whom
and other the kings counsell, the inquisition was ta-
ken, and then was the custodie of the citie assigned
vnto the constable of the towre, and in place of the
shiriffes were appointed Michael Conie, and John
Audrian. At length, the maiors, shiriffes and Alder-
men that were accused, perceiving the kings displea-
sure towards them, submitted themselves wholie to
his mercie, sauing to them and to all other the citi-
zens their liberties & franchises, and so in the exche-
quer chamber at Westminster afore the king, there
sitting in iudgement vpon the matter, they were
condemned to paie their fines for their offenses com-
mitted, and further, euerie of them discharged of his
ward and office. Shortly after was William Fitz
Richard by the kings commandement made maior,
and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Crapib
gate shiriffes.

The archbishop of Yorke was accused by the
popes commandement through all England, with
booke, bell and candle, that by such terror his constan-
cie might be weakened. But the archbishop (saith
Matthew Paris) informed by the example of Thomas
Becket, and by the example and doctrine of saint Co-
mund sometime his instructor, and also taught by the
faithfulnesse of blessed Robert, late bishop of Lin-
colne, despised not of comfort from heauen, in bea-
ring patientlie the popes tyrannie; neither would he
bestow the wealthie revenues of his church vpon
Italians, being vntowzie persons and strangers;
neither would he obeie and incline to the popes will
like a faint-hearted person, by leaning and setting a-
part the rigour of the law, least thereby he might seme
to result from his pastoral office, and animate the
wolfe of Rome to breake into the shepfold of the
church, whose purpose was to sucke the verie blood
quite and cleane out of euerie veine, yea to bite out
bowels and all. Which qualitie to resist in him, wolfe
experience hath taught, and the testimonie of wri-
ten verities hath shewed, among which this one for
the truth thereof is worthy to be reported euen to the
praise of the deuiler for his partie, deuile therein
compelled, and here set downe as fit for the purpose:

Non punitur sed punitur,
Non punitur sed punitur,
Non punitur sed punitur,
Eli papa punit punitur.

About the beginning of the two and fortieth yeare
of king Henries reigne, the lord James Audelle that
had bene ouer with the king of Almaine, and was
latelie returned home in company of the lord Here-
rie, came to the said king (who was then boche from his
father about the feast of saint Michael last past) un-
derstanding how the Welshmen in his absence had
burnt,

Fabian.
An informat-
on against the
lord maiors of
London.

The lord ma-
or and shir-
iffes of Lon-
don discharg-
ed.

The lord
maiors and
shiriffes that

Marth. Paris
The archbish-
op of Yorke ac-
cused.

The consti-
ble of the city
bishop of
Yorke.

The lord
Dubois war-
reth upon the
welshmen.

burnt, waisted, and destroyed his lands, possessions, and castles, which belonged unto him in the confines of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of those iniuries, and inuading them, he slue a great number of them, so reuenging the death of those his friends, seruants and tenants, whome they before had murdered. The Welshmen were not so discouraged herewith, but that they brake vpon him out of their starting-holes and places of refuge through the marches, and slaying their enemies hostles, put them backe to their power, & ceased not to do what mischeefe they could, by spoiling, killing, and burning houses and castles where they might come vnto them, and so the realme of England was daile put to losses & hinderances. For out of Wales, England was accustomed to be furnished with horses, cattell, and other things, to the great profit of both the countries. About the same time there was an ambassage sent from the king of England to the French king by the bishop of Worcester, the elect of Winchester, the abbat of Westminster, the earle of Leicester, & Hugh Bigod earle of Marthall, with Peter de Saunoy, and Robert Walron. The effect of their message was to requite restitution of those countries, lands, cities, and townes which had bene euicted out of the hands of king John and others, apertaining by right of inheritance to the king of England. These lords did their message, but as was thought, they had no towardlie answer, but rather were put off with trifling words & scoimefull fatents, so that they returned hostlie againe all of them; the abbat of Westminster onelie excepted, who remained there behind for a fuller answer, not metie to those requests exhibited on the part of the king of England, but also on the behalfe of the king of Almaine. The marches towards Wales in this season were brought almost desert, by reason of the continuall wars with the Welshmen, for what with fire & sword, neither building nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was spared, that fire & sword might bring to ruine.

The marches
of wales were
impouertised.

A great
dearth.
March, Paris.

1258

The greedie
dealing of the
Londoners to
the hurt of the
common-welth.

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in so much that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for foure and twentie shillings, whereas within two or thre yeares before, a quarter was sold at two shillings. It had bene more deere, if great store had not come out of Almaine, for in France and in Flanders it likewise failed. But there came fiftie great ships fraught with wheat and barlie, with meale and bread out of Dutchland, by the procurement of Richard king of Almaine, which greatly relieved the poore; for proclamation was made, and order taken by the king, that none of the citizens of London should buy any of that graine to laie it vp in store, whereby it might be sold at an higher price vnto the needie. But though this prouision did much ease, yet the want was great ouer all the realme. For it was certeinlie affirmed, that in thre shires within the realme, there was not found so much graine of that yeares groweth, as came ouer in those fiftie ships. The proclamation was set forth, to re-
freine the Londoners from ingrossing by that graine, and not without cause: for the wealthie citizens were euill spoken of in that season, because in time of scarcitie they would either staie such ships as fraught with vittels were comming towards the cite, and send them some other way forth; or else buy the whole, that they might sell it by retaille at their pleasure to the needie. By means of this great dearth and scarcitie, the common people were constrained to liue vpon heards & roots, and a great number of the poore people died through famine, which is the most miserable calamitie that can betide mortall men, and was well marked euen of the heathen, but notable by Ouid, who making a description of famine, setteth

his forth in most ouglie and irksome sort, intending thereby the dreafulnes of that heauie plague, saying:

*Quæstionque famem lapidoso vidit in antro,
Pinguibus & raris vellentem dentibus herbas,
Hirtus erat crinis, caua lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana siti, scabris rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent,
Ossa sub incuruis extabant arida lumbis,
Ventre erat pro ventre locus, pendere putares
Pectus & a spina tantummodo crate teneri,
Auxerat articulos macies, genuumque tumebat
Orbis, & immodico prodibant rubere tali, &c.*

Ouid. lib. 8.
Met. fab. 11.

This yeare after Easter a parlement was holden at London, in the which manie weightie matters were intreated of touching the kings causes, namelie, about the conquest of the realme of Naples, the pope hauing sent a messenger named Hurtred for the discharge of monie, which the pope had receiued of merchants, as it were to the kings use, and entred bonds for the paiement thereof. Also, whereas the king was sore disquieted for the warre which the Welshmen made against him, he asked aduise of the states, how he might proceed to seeke his iust reuenge of them, who by reason of their good hap were become verie stout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which had bene accorded betwixt them, spoiled and waisted the most part of Denbroke shire, of which iniurie the earle of Denbroke, namelie William de Valence, sore complained.

A parlement.
March, Paris.

Hurtred, a
messenger fro
the pope.

The welsh-
men spoile
Denbroke-
shire.

But whereas the king knowing him to be rich, willed him to lay out some great portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his wars, the erle toke great displeasure therewith, as though the king had made that request by the suggestion and setting on of some of the English lords, in somuch that words passed in displeasing sort betwixt him and the earles of Gloucester and Leicester, so far forth, that the earle of Denbroke called the earle of Leicester traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuenged the iniurie, and so would haue done indeed, if the king had not bene moderatoe betwixt them. Finally at this parlement the lords told the king that they might not aid him with any great summes of monie, except it should rebound to their great impouerishment: they told him also, that he had not done wiselie to enter into covenants, for the purchase of the kingdom of Naples for his sonne, without their consents.

Variance be-
twixt the earle
of Denbroke
and others.

They also declared to him, what articles it should be good for him to propound vnto the pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing the charges of the wars against Naples. But when those articles were afterwards presented to the pope, he allowed them not, & so the matter remained without any certeine assurance of the promises, which had bene and still were from time to time made to let the king on doctage. The archbishop of Yorke had his crosse taken from him by the popes commandement, but the archbishop would not yet bow his knee vnto Baill, to be-
stow the benefices of his church vpon aliens, and such as were vnto the persons, as it had bene to cast pearles vnto swine. & There came from the pope as his Nuncio, vnto king Henric, a frier minor named Mansuetus, furnished with great power and authoritie, in somuch that he toke vpon him to absolve men for changing their vovues, and to iustifie those that were excommunicated persons, false perjured, and such like. Whereupon, manie of euill disposition presumed to offend: for easinesse to purchase pardon byed boldnesse in manie, howbeit the wife seemed to laugh at such doings.

The archbi-
shop of Yorke
deprived of
his crosse.

Mansuetus
the popes
Nuncio.

The parlement still continued, till the sundaie after the Ascension day, with hard hold betwixt the king and the lords, who laid it fore to his charge, that

C. i.

he

he had not performed the promises which he made touching the obseruing of the liberties contained in the great charter. They also complained greatly of his ingenuance, in that he so much advanced the Poitouins and other strangers, to the impoverishment of himselfe and the whole realme, and further, maintained them so far forth, that they were ready to offer wrong vnto other, vpon presumption of his fauour and bearing with them, he hauing by commandement restrained that no proccesse should passe out of the chancerie against certeine of them that were his cosins, as the earle of Denbroke and others. Finally, when the lords were in doubt which way to worke for their owne safeties, they caused the parliament to be proroged, till the feast of saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxford. In the meane time the lords of the realme, as the earles of Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themselves together, because they stood in feare to be intrapped by the kings subtil sleights, and by the craftie wiles of those strangers whom he retained against them.

The parliament
proroged.

In the same yeare by the wind, which continuallie certeine months together kept northerlie, the flours, with other growing things, were so hindered, that scarcelie they appeared to anie purpose, till the most part of June was past, whereupon the hope of receiuing the fruits of the earth was quite taken away, & so vpon the great dearth that happened, a sore death and mortalitie followed, for want of necessarie food to susteine the pining bodies of the poore people. They died so thicke, that there were great pits made in churchyards to lay the dead bodies in one vpon another.

A late growth

A dearth accompanied
with a death.

Seuall archb.
of yorke departed
this life.

Marth. Paris.

About the feast of the Ascension, Seuall the archb. shoy of yorke departed this life, who constantlie had resisted the tyrannie of the court of Rome, in defense of his church, suffering in this world manie greuous tribulations, but now was removed from thence vnto the kingdome of heauen, to be crowned with the elect for his good seruings, as was then certenlie beleued. About this time, a great number of Poitouins were come into England, by reason of their alliance and cosinage to the king, the which by the kings fauour being highlye advanced, began to war proud thereof, and to require to be restored vnto such lands and liuings as before time they had possessed: namelie the kings halfe brethren, Athelmarc & Domare, that was a priest, with William, Gestrepe and Gue, these were the sonnes of Hugh le Brun earle of March, by his wife quene Isabell, the mother of king Henrie, and being come into England, they shewed themselves verie loslie & high-minded, partlie, because of their cosinage to the king, & partlie by reason of his courteous interteining of them, insomuch that forgetting themselves, they began to despise (vpon a presumptuous pride) the English nobilitie, looking still for preferment of hono: aboue all other. And succlie Domare obtained at the first a great peece of his purpose, being made by the kings gift bishop of Winchester, and by that means bare a stout post, and greatlie holpe and mainteined his other brethren.

The kings
halfe brethren.

Infamum par-
liamentum.

The English barons not well able to suffer such presumption in strangers, who seemed to haue them in derision, complained to the king, in so much that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a parliament was called (as before you haue heard) first at London, and after returned to Oxford, there to be assembled about the feast of saint Barnabe in the moneth of June. This (of some writers) is named *Infamum parlamentum*, that is to say, The mad parliament; for at this parliament (to the which the lords came with great retinues of armed

men, for the better safegard of their persons) manie things in the same yeare enacted contrarie to the kings pleasure, and his roiall prerogative. For the lords at the first determined to demand the confirmation of the ancient charter of liberties, which his father king John had granted, and he himselfe had so often promised to obserue and mainteine, significeng plainelie, that they meant to pursue their purpose and intent herein, not sparing either for losse of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutuallie giuen their faiths by ioining of hands, as the manner in such cases is accustomed. Besides the grant of the great charter, they required other things necessarie for the state of the common-wealth, to be established and enacted.

The demand
of the lords.

It was therefore first enacted, that all the Poitouins should auoid the land, together with other strangers, and that neither the king nor his sonne prince Edward should in anie secret manner aid them against the people. Moreover, that the king & his sonne should receiue an oth, to stand vnto the decrees and ordinances of that parliament, and withall speed to restore the ancient lawes and institutions of the realme, which they both did, rather constrained thereunto by feare, than of anie good will. Thus not onelie the king himselfe, but also his sonne prince Edward receiued an oth, to obserue the ordinances of that parliament. But John earle of Warren, and the kings halfe brethren, namelie the earle of Denbroke refused that oth; and likewise the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, excused himselfe by his fathers absence, without whose consent he would not receiue it, vnto whome this answer was made, that if his father would not consent to the agreement of the barons, he should not possesse one furrowe of land within this realme.

Ordinances
made.

An oth recei-
ued of the king

Also, whereas the earle of Leicester resigned the castles of Killingworth and Wigham into the kings hands, which he had latelie receiued by his gift, and newlie repaired, the earle of Denbroke and his other brethren swore daupelie, that they would for no mans pleasure giue ouer such castles, rents, and wardships of theirs, as they had of the kings gift. But the earle of Leicester told the earle of Denbroke flatlie and plainlie, that he should either render them vp, or else he should be sure to lose his head. This saleng was confirmed by the generall voices of all other the barons, because it was a speciall article concluded amongst other in that parliament. The kings halfe brethren, perceiuing which waie the world went, stood in doubt of themselves, and secretlie thereupon departing from Oxford, first withdrew vnto Winchester, where Domare, one of the same brethren was bishop, through whose support, and by reason of the strength of such castles as he held, they trusted to be in more safetie: but finally, perceiuing themselves not to be so out of danger, with the barons minded to pursue them, about the eighteenth daie of June they departed the realme with a great number of other of their countreimen; and amongst those, William de saint German the kings caruer was one.

The earle of
Leicester
threateneth
the earle of
Denbroke.

The kings
halfe brethren
shift about.

They depart
the realme.

Henrie Montfort, sonne to the earle of Leicester, vnderstanding of their departure out of the realme, followed; and hearing that they were arrived at Wallogne, he landed in those parts, & by such friendship as he found there amongst those that bare good will vnto his father, he got together a power, and after a manner besieged the Poitouins within Wallogne, layeng watch for them in such sort, both by sea and land, that there was no waie left for them to escape. When they saw themselves in that danger, they sent a messenger with all post hast to the French king, requiring his safe conduct, to passe scilicet through his

Henrie Montfort
pursueth
the kinges
brethren.

They sent
to the French
king.

Richard
Gray cap-
taine of Do-
ner castell,
and lord
warren of
the poys.

Mat. V. vest.

Four and
twentie go-
vernours.

The abuses
of these go-
vernours.

M. Pal. in
Vig.

Fabian.

Contention
between the
earles of Lei-
cester and
Glocester.

The lords
came to the
Guildhall to
have their or-
dinances con-
firmed.

his realme, as they trusted he would be content to grant unto such, as for refuge and safegard of life should repaire unto him for comfort. The French king courteously granted their request, and so they were in safetie permitted to passe quietly through the countrie. In the meane while one Richard Gray, chateleine of Dover castell, a right ballant man and a faithfull, suffered no man to passe that waie by searched, according to that which he had in commandment: whereupon he toke & seized into his hands a great portion of treasure, which was brought thither to be transported over to the Poitouins that were fled out of the realme. Also, there was found a great quantitie of treasure in the new temple at London, which they had gathered & hoarded by there, which also was seized to the kings use.

But now to returne unto the doings in the parlement holden at Driford. It was ordeined (as some write) that the king should chosse twelve persons of the realme, and the communalte of the land should chosse other twelve, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might take in charge the gouernance of the realme vpon them, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, and see for the safe keeping of the castels which belonged to the crowne. These foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the realme, began to order all things at their pleasure, in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chiefe to their owne aduantages, as well in prouiding escheats and wards for their sonnes and kinsfolkes, as also in bestowing patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift at their pleasures, so that these prouiders seemed to prouide all for themselves, in so much that neither king nor Christ could receiue ought amongst them: and as for iustice they regarded nothing lesse, their minds were so rauished with desire of priuat wealth, which was so hunteth after, being in place of magistracie, he must needs neglect the law and courte of equitie, and therefore this counsell is good which a good writer giueth in this behalfe, saying;

*Similia vult esse aliquis non vtile querat,
Iusticia est multis laudata, domestica paucis.*

There be that write, how there were but twelue of these gouernours chosen; whose names were as follooweth. First, the archbishop of Cantuarbie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke and marshall of England, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford, the earles of Warwick and Arundell, sir John Spansell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Saunoy, sir James Audley, and sir Peter de Mountfort. To these was authoritie onelie giuen to punish and correct all such as offended in breaking of any the ordinances at this parlement established.

It was not long after the finishing of this parlement, but that strife and variance began to kindle betweene the king and the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, by reason of such officers as the said earles had removed, and put others in their romes: among the which John Spansell was discharged of his office, and sir Hugh Bigod, brother to earle Marshall, admitted in his roome. Also because the foresaid gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinances established at Driford, they thought to make their part as strong as was possible for them to doe, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feast of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Westminster, the earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, and diuerse other came to the Guildhall of London, where the maior and al-

dermen, with the commons of the citie were assembled, and there the lords shewed the instrument of writing sealed with the kings seale, and with the seales of his sonne prince Edward, and of manie other lords of the land, containing the articles of those ordinances which had bene concluded at Driford, willing the maior and aldermen to set also thereon to their common seale of the citie. The maior and aldermen vpon aduise amongst them taken, required respite till they might know the kings pleasure therein, but the lords were so earnest in the matter, and made such instance, that no respite could be had; so that in the end the common seale of the citie was put to that writing, and the maior with diuerse of the citie sworne to mainteine the same, their allegiance saued to the king, with their liberties and franchises, according to the accustomed manner.

Vpon the ninth day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse places of the citie, that none of the kings takers should take any thing within the citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of wine, which the king accustomed had of cuerie ship coming from Burdeaur, paying but 40 shillings for the tun. By meanes of this proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the citie and liberties of the same, except readie paiement were made in hand, which vse continued not long. Whereupon the king held a parlement at Westminster, and another at Winchester, or else proroged and removed the same thither. Also sir Hugh Bigod lord chiefe iustice, with Roger Turkeley, and other called Itinerarij, kept the terme for places at saint Sauours: for you must vnderstand, that in those daies they were kept in diuerse places of the realme, which now are holden altogether at Westminster, and iudges ordeined to keepe a circuit, as now they keepe the assises in time of vacation. The foresaid iudges sitting on that maner at saint Sauours, punished bailiffes, and other officers verie extremelie, which were conuict afore them for diuerse trespasses, and speciallie for taking of merchandises otherwise than law gaue them. After this, the same sir Hugh came vnto the Guildhall, and there sat in iudgement, and kept places without order of law; yea contrarie to the liberties of the citie, he punished bakers for lacke of true size, by the tumbrell; where before they were punished by the pillorie, & manie other things he vsed after such manner, more by will than god order of law.

There was a bruite raised (whether of truth or otherwise we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poitouins had practised to poison the most part of the English nobilitie. Indeed diuers of them were greivoully tormented with a certeine disease of swelling and breaking out, some died, and othersome verie hardlie escaped, of which number the earle of Gloucester was one, who laie sicke a long time at Sunning a place besides Reading. At length he recovered: but his brother William died of the same disease, and vpon his death-bed laid the fault to one Walter Scotenie, as the occasioner of his death, which afterwards cost the said Walter his life. For although he was one of the chiefe councillors, and steward also to the said earle of Gloucester, yet being had in suspicion, and thereupon apprehended and charged with that crime, when in the yeare next following in June he came to be arreigned at Winchester, and put himselfe to be tried by a iurie, the same pronounced him guiltie: and when those that were impeached vpon that iurie were asked by the iudges how they vnderstood that he should be guiltie, they answered, because that where the said Walter was neuer indebted, that they could heare of, either to William de Halence, or to any of his brethren, they were fullie certified that he had late receiued no

A proclama-
tion against
purueiers.

A parlement.

The iustices
sit at S. Sa-
uours.

Bailiffes and
other officers
punished.

Bakers pun-
ished.

March. Paris.
The Poitou-
ins suspected
to haue poi-
soned the Eng-
lish lords.

Walter Sco-
tonie arreig-
ned and con-
demned.

He suffereth.

A late harvest

Dearth of
corne increaseth.

Fastes & processions blessed.

Richard
Grap lord
warden of
the ports.
Crisotus the
popes Nuncio
returneth
home.

Matth. Paris.
The lord of
Bedwellie
daine.
Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris
not well affected
towards
the gouernment
of the
realme as it
then stood.

Godfrey de
Binton arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

small sum of monie of the said W. de Valence to possion both his maister and other of the English nobilitie as was to be thought, sith there was no other apparent cause why he should receiue such a gift at the hands of their enemye the said William de Valence, and so was the said Walter executed at Winchester aforesaid.

The harvest was verie late this peare, so that the most part of the corne rotted on the ground, and that which at length was got in, remained yet abroad till after Alhallowentide, so intemperate was the weather, with excessive wet and raine beyond all measure. Hereupon the dearth so increased, that even those which had of late releued other, were in danger to starue themselves. Finalle solempne fasts and general processions were made in diuerse places of the realme to appease Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their praiers were heard, for the weather partlie amended, and by reason the same serued to get in some such corne as was not lost, the price thereof in the market fell halfe in halfe. A good and memorable motiue, that in such extremitie as are about the reach of man to redresse, we should by and by haue recourse to him that can giue a remedie against euerie casualtie. For

Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus.

Richard Grap the chancellaine of Douer looking diligentlie vnto his charge, toke a thousand marks which the bishop of Winchester had sent thither to haue bene transported ouer into France. Crisotus the popes Nuncio perceiuing the trouble that was like to insue within the realme would no longer tarie, but wiselie departed and got him home. Herewith certeine wise personages were sent to Rome on the part of the king and baronage, to informe the pope in that state the realme stood, and to giue him to vnderstand how greuoulie the people had bene handled by the practise of certeine Romane prelates promoted in this land.

This peare nere to Carmardin Patrke of Chauston lord of Bedwellie, Hugh de Wium, and diuerse other both hoximen and footmen were slaine through treason by the Welshmen: yet it should appeare by Mathew Paris that the Englishmen procured this mischefe to light on their owne heads, through their disoiall dealing. For where they were come to the place to talke of an agreement, some of the marchers supposing they had bene too strong for the Welshmen, perswaded the said lord of Bedwellie to assaile them vpon the sudden, in hope to haue destroyed them all: but in the end the Englishmen were distressed through the valiance of Dauid one of the sonnes of the great Leolin and other capteines of the Welsh nation.ouertheleesse Mathew Westminster saith byiekie, that the Englishmen were treasonable slaine: so that it seemeth that Mathew Paris speaketh rather of an affection and good will which he bare to the Welsh proceedings in those daies, than otherwise.

For who so marketh the course of his historie, shall perceiue that he had no good liking of the state in those daies, neither concerning the ecclesiasticall nor temporall policie, in somuch that he sticketh not to commend the Welshmen greatlie for their holding together, against the oppression (as he meaneth it) of the English gouernement, and no doubt there was cause that moued him to such misliking, namelie the often painments and collections of monie by the popes agents, and other such misorders as daillie were permitted or rather maintained to the impoverishing of both estates spirituall and temporall.

Godfrey de Binton was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, about the feast of Chyismasse last pass, and so returned from thence home to

his cure. There was an ordinance made about this time, for punishment to be had of the extortion of shuffes, so that aswell the receiuer as the giuer of shuffes was punishable. Which law if it were now executed vpon all officers & occupiers whatlocuer, there would not be so much wealth and substance, so great riches and treasure raked vp together in the possession of some few men, as the old sage saieing importeth,

Quisquis ditatur rapidos miluos imitatur.

The bishops of Worcester and Lincoln, with the earles of Rosfolke and Leicester, were sent ouer in ambassage vnto a councell holden at Cambray, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms of England and France, and also the empire; but because the French king looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the same king came not, he also staid at home, and so no conclusion followed at that assemble.

Jone countesse of Denbroke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demanded hir right of dower, in such lands as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length she had to the value of five hundred marks assigned hir of the same lands, notwithstanding hir heritage amounted to the sum of a thousand marks and above of yearelie reuenues, but for that she thought not aid hir husband with part thereof, the one halfe was thought sufficient for hir maintenance. About Advent next ensuing, she went ouer vnto hir husband, either for the desire

she had to intoe his personall presence, or for that she thought hirselfe not well dealt with, to be abridged of those reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne. In the first night of December, there chanced a marvellous fore tempest of lightning and thunder, with mightie winds and raine, as a token and signe of the troubles that after followed, the moze noted, for that thunder in the winter season is not commonlie heard of. Guy de Rochford a Poitouin, to whom about two peares before the king had giuen

the castell of Rochester, was now banished the realme, and depriued of all that he held in this land. About this season there rose great variance amongst the scholers of Oxford being of sundrie countries, as Scottisshmen, Welshmen, Northern men, and Southern men: who fell so farre at square, that they raised baners one against an other, and fought together, in somuch that diuerse were slaine, and manie hurt on both parties.

The Welshmen this peare notwithstanding their god successe had in these late wars, considered with themselves, that if the barons of England did once iointe in one knot of friendship, they would with maine force easilie subdue them, therefore to preuent that which might chance vnto them by stubborne resistance, they made suit to be receiued into the kings peace, offering to giue vnto him the summe of foure thousand markes, and to his sonne the lord Edward three hundred markes, and to the quene two hundred markes. Yet the king would not accept those offers, and so the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certeine time. The Welshmen in the meane season attempted not any exploit, but rather sate still in hope to come at length to some reasonable agreement. The monks of Winchester meaning to prouide themselves of a bishop, now that Athelmare alias Odomare the kings halfe brother was banished the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings chancellor, in hope that the king would be contented with his election, and so he was, but yet conditionallie, that if the pope would allow his said halfe brother for bishop, then should the other giue place.

About the feast of S. Hilarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richard of Armaine meant to returne into England, there were sent ouer vnto him of Armaine.

An ordinance against extortion.

Anno Regni Ambassadors sent to the councell at Cambray.

Jone countesse of Denbroke.

A great tempest of lightning and thunder.

Guy de Rochford banished.

Variance and debate between the scholers of Oxford.

The Welshmen sought to agree with the king.

Henrie de Wingham elected bishop.

1259 Ambassadors sent to the king of Armaine.

his protestation to their demand.

He changed his purpose and cometh over into England.

He receiveth an oth not to infringe the statutes of Wchyd.

Parliament.

A peace concluded upon betwixt the kings of England & France

him the bishop of Worcester, the abbat of saint Edmundsburie. Peter de Sauop, and John Hanfell, as ambassadours from the baronage and communality of the realme, to require of him an oth, to stand unto and obeie the ordinances of the late parlement holden at Wrenford. When the said ambassadours came before his presence, and declared to him the effect of their message, he beheld them with a sterne loke, and frowning countenance, saing (and binding it with an oth) that he would neither be swozne, no; keepe any such ordinances as had bene made without his consent; neither would he make them of counsell how long his purpose was to staie within the realme, which the ambassadours required also to understand. Hereinto he further added, that he had no pere in England, for he was the sonne of the deceased king, and brother of the king that now reigned, and also earle of Cornewall, and therefore if the barons of England ment to reforme the state of the kingdome, their due tie had bene first to haue sent for him, and not to haue proceeded so presumptuously in such a weightie cause, without his presence or consent. When one of the ambassadours was about to haue made answer somewhat roundlie, and also nippingtie unto this speech uttered by the king of Almaine, he was staied by one of his associates. And so the ambassadours understanding his mind, returned with all convenient speed.

The king of Almaine had assembled a great host of men on the further side the sea, meaning with all expedition to haue passed hither into England: but when he had advertisement given that there was a powder raised in England, and bestowed both by sea and land to resist him, he changed his purpose by advice of his friends, so that he consented to receiue such manner of oth as the barons required, and here with taking the sea, he arrived at Douer on saint Julians daie with his owne household-servants, bringing with him no traine of strangers, except onelie two earles of Almaine, which brought with them but onelie three knights, and he himselfe had but eight knights: his brother king Henrie was ready to receiue him, and brought him from Douer unto Canturburie, for neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelousie, least they should be about to breake the ordinances which were concluded. On the morowe after, the king of Almaine receiued the oth in the presence of Richard earle of Gloucester and others, within the chapter house of Canturburie. And on the day of the Purification of our lady, the two kings with their queenes and a great number of noble personages made their entrie and passage into the citie of London.

In the octaves of the said Purification, the parliament began at London, to the which came the earle of Leicester from the parts of beyond the sea, where he had for a certeine time remained. There came also an ambassadour from the French king, one that was deane of Burges, and so there was an earnest treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France, which on the day of saint Valentine was accorded and put in articles, with condition that the same should remaine firme and stable, if the kings would assent to that which had bene talked of and agreed upon by their speciall and Solemne agents. For the further perfecting of this agreement and final peace betwixt the kings of England and France, about the beginning of April, the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, John Hanfell, Peter de Sauop, and Robert Walerane were sent over into France, having also with them letters of credence, to conclude in all matters as had bene talked of by their agents. But when the countesse of

Leicester would not consent to quite claime and release his right in such parcels of Normandie as he longed to hir, which king Henrie had covenanted with the realme to resigne unto the French king. The earle of Gloucester fell at words with the earle of Leicester, about the stubborne demeanour which his wife shewed in that matter, and so by reason that either of them stood at defiance with the other (although by means of friends they staied from further inconvenience) they returned backe without concluding any thing in that thereabout they were sent.

About the same time there was a certeine mansion house by waie of deuotion giuen unto the friers that are called preachers within the towne of Dunstable, so that certeine of them thrusting themselves in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoiance of the prior and convent of Dunstable, & as it were by the example of the other order called minors (which in the last preceding yeare, at saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke had practised the like matter against the willes of the abbat and convent there) they began to build verie sumptuous houses, so that in the eyes of the beholders such chargeable workes of building, so suddenlie advanced by them that professed voluntarie pouertie, caused no small wonder. The said friers building them a church with all speed, and setting vp an altar, immediatlie began to celebrate diuine seruice, not once staing for the purchase of any licence. And so building from day to day, they obtained great aid of such as inhabited nere unto them, of whom the prior and convent ought to haue receiued the reuenues that were now conuerted to be imployed on the said friers towards their maintenance. Thus by how much more their house increased, by so much more did the prior and convent decrease in substance and possessions: for the rents which they were accustomed to receiue of the messuages and houses giuen to the friers, were lost, and likewise the offerings (which were wont to come to their hands) now these friers being newlie entred by occasion of their preachings, vsurped to themselves.

Richard Craie constable of the castell of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports was this yeare removed by the lord cheefe iustice Hugh Bigod, who took into his owne hands the custodie of the said castell and ports. The cause whie the said Richard Craie was discharged, we find to haue fallen out by this means. He suffered a frier minor called Malascho, comming from the pope (because he had the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staing him, nor warning the lords of his comming, contrarie (as it was interpreted) unto the articles of their prouisions enacted at Wrenford. This frier indeed was sent from the pope to haue restored Athilmarus or Odomarus (as some write him) the kings halfe brother, unto the possessions of the bishopricke of Winchester, to the which he had bene long before elected. But the lords were so bent against him, that upon such suggestions as they laid forth, Malascho refrained from doing that which he had in commandement, and returned to make report what he understood, so that Odomarus was now as farre from his purpose as before.

About the feast of saint Michael, the bishop of Bangor was sent from Leolin prince of Wales unto the king of England, to make offer on the behalfe of the said Leolin and other the lords of Wales, of firste one thousand pounds of siluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king and them, and that they might come to Chester, and there haue their matters heard and determined, as in time past they had bene accustomed. But what answer at his returne was giuen to this bishop by the king and his nobles, it is vncertaine.

The countesse of Leicester.

Contention betwixt the earles of Gloucester and Leicester.

The friers preachers began to inhabit at Dunstable.

The monks hindered by the coming of the friers.

Richard Cray discharged of his office of lord warden, walscho a frier sent from the pope.

The bishop of Bangor sent to the prince of Wales to king Henrie. The welshmen offer to resort unto Chester.

Anno Reg. 44.
Parliament.

The Statutes
of Orenford
read, and the
bishops of
the same de-
nounced ac-
cursed.

Escuage
granted.

Knights fees
how manie
were then in
England.

Fabian.
A folkemote.

The king as-
keth licence to
passe the seas.

Math. West.
The king sail-
eth ouer into
France.

1260
The compoun-
deth all differ-
ences with
the French k.

Polydor.
N. Trivet.
Wil. Rikang.

Math. West.

Dissentien be-
twixt prince
Edward and
the earle of
Glocester.

teine. In the fortie and fourth yere of king Henries reigne, the firste following the feast of Simon and Jude, in a parlement holden at Westminister, were read in presence of all the lords and commons, the acts and ordinances made in the parlement holden at Orenford, with certeine other articles by the gouernours thereunto added and annexed. After the reading wherof the archbishop of Canturburie being reuelled with his suffragans to the number of nine bishops, besides abbats and others, denounced all them accursed that attempted in word or deed to breake the said statutes, or anie of them. In the same parlement was granted to the king a talke called scutagium, or escuage, that is to sale, fortie shillings of euerie knights fee throughout England, the which extended to a great summe of monie. For as diuerse writers do agree, there were in England at that time in possession of the spiritualtie and tempozaltie beyond fortie thousand knights fees, but almost halfe of them were in spiritual mens hands.

Upon the first day of Nouember the king came unto Paules, where by his commandement was the folkemote court assembled, and the king (according to the former ordinances made) asked licence of the communalitie of the citie to passe the sea, and promised there in the presence of a great multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bigod his chiefe iustice, to be good and gracious lord vnto the citie, and to mainteine the liberties thereof unhurt. Herewith the people for ioy made a great shout. The eight day of Nouember he rode through the citie towards the sea side, and vpon the thirteenth daie of Nouember, he toke the sea at Douer and arriued at Whitland, and so from thence he rode vnto Paris, where of the French king he was most honorable receiued. The cause of his going ouer was chiefele to conclude some assured peace with the French king, that he should not need to doubt any foren enemies, if he should come to haue warre with his owne people, whereof he saw great likelihoods, and therefore he made such agreement with king Lewis (as in the French historie more at large appeareth) which (to be short) I here omit.

This one thing is here to be noted, that besides the monie which king Henrie had in hand, amounting to the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes for his resignation then made vnto France, Anjou and Maine, it was accorded, that he should receiue yearelie in name of a tribute the sum of ten thousand crownes. Others write that he had three hundred thousand pounds of small Turon monie, which he receiued in readie payment, and was promised restitution of lands to the value of twentie thousand pounds of yearelie rent: and that after the decease of the French king, that then was, the countie of Poitou should returne vnto the English dominion. Some write that immediatlie after king Henrie had concluded his agreement, he began to repent himselfe thereof, and would neuer receiue penie of the monie, nor leaue out in his stile the title of duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that such an agreement was at point to haue bene concluded, or at the leastwise was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with hands and seales, as it ought to haue bene, if they had gone through with it.

In the meane time that king Henrie was thus occupied in France, dissentien fell in England betwixt prince Edward and Richard earle of Glocester, for the appealing wherof a parlement was called at Westminister, to the which the lords came with great companies, and speciallie the said prince and earle. They intended to haue lodged within the citie: but the maiors going vnto the bishop of Worcester,

to sir Hugh Bigod, and to sir Phillip Basset (vnto whom, and to the archbishop of Canturburie, the king had committed the rule of the land in his absence) required to know their pleasure herein. Wherupon they thought it good to haue the aduise of Richard the king of Almaine, and thereupon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the said prince nor earle nor anie of their partakers should come within the citie, the gates wherof were by the maiors appointment closed and kept with watch and ward both day and night. Some after also, for the more safegard of the citie, the gates were by the maiors appointment closed and kept with diligent watch and ward both day and night. Some after also for the more safegard of the said citie, and sure keeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the said sir Hugh and sir Phillip came and lodged in the citie with their companies, and such other as they would assigne, to strengthen the citie if need required. Wherby their proud bent consent to withstand so foule a mischief as sedition might haue bred in the citie, deserueth high commendation, for it was the next waie to preserve the state thereof against all occasions of ruine, to unite hearts and hands in so sweet an harmonie, which the law of nature teacheth men to do, and as by this sage sentence is insinuated and giuen to vnderstand,

*Manu manum lauat & digitum digitum,
Vir virum & ciuitas seruat ciuitatem.*

Shortly after, the king returned out of France, and about the feast of St. Sparke came to London, and lodged in the bishops palace. And because of certeine rumors that were spread abroad sounding to some euill meaning, which prince Edward should haue against his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men in armes being strangers, whomebeit he brought them not into the citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parts of Surrie, notwithstanding being entred the citie, he so kept the gates and entrie, that none was permitted to enter, but such as came in by his sufferance. The earle of Glocester by his appointment also was lodged within the citie, and the prince in the palace at Westminister. Shortly after by the kings commandement he removed to St. Johns, & all the other lords were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaine removed againe to Westminister. In which time a direction was taken betwixt the said parties, and a new assemble and parlement assigned to be kept in the quindene of St. John Baptist, and after deferred or proroged till the feast of saint Edward, at the which time all things were pacified a while, but so as the earle of Glocester was put beside the rowe which he had amongst other the peers, and so then he joined in friendship with the earle of Leicester, as it were by way of confederacie against the residue, and yet in this last contention, the said earle of Leicester toke part with the prince against the earle of Glocester.

This yere the lord William de Beauchampe the elder deceased. The lord Edward the kings sonne, with a faire companie of knights and other men of armes, passed the seas to exercise himselfe in iusts, but he himselfe and his men were euill intreated in manie places, so that they lost horse, armour, and all other things to his great grieve and disliking (as may be esteemed) yet (as some write) he returned home with victorie in the iusts. This yere at Leithburie, a Jew falling by chance into a lake vpon the saturday, in reuerence of his sabbath would not suffer any man to plucke him forth, wherof the earle of Glocester being aduertised, thought the christians should do as much reuerence to their sabbath which is sundaie, and therefore would suffer no man to go about to take him forth that day, and so lieng still till

Prince Edward and the earle of Glocester are not suffered to come within the citie of London.

The king returned into England.

The earle of Glocester confederated himselfe with the earle of Leicester.

Chr. Dand.

Math. West.

A Jew at Leithburie fell into a lake.

till mondaie, he was there found dead.
 Divers noble men departed this life in this peare,
 as the earle of Albemarle, the lord William Beauchampe, Stephen de Longespex lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, and Roger de Turkeby one of the kings chiefe counsellors and iustices of the land, William de Kirkham bishop of Durham, and John de Crake hales treasurer of England, a spirituall man, but rich beyond measure: also Henrie de Ba another of the kings iustices of the bench. In the 45 peare of king
 10 Henries reigne, Alexander king of Scotland came to London anon after the feast of S. Edward, with a faire companie of Scottisment, and shortly after his wife the quene of Scots came thither also. Whereafter king Henrie kept a roiall feast at Westminster, where he made to the number of foure score knights, amongst whom, John sonne to the earle of Britaine, who had married the ladie Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. Shortly after was sir Hugh Spenser made lord chiefe iustice.

After Christmasse the king comming into the towne of London, fortified it greatlie, & caused the gates of the citie to be warded, sending forth commandement to his lords that they should come to the towne, there to hold a parlement; but they denied flatlie so to do, sending him word that if it pleased him, they would come to Westminster, where usually the parlement had bene kept, and not to any other place, whereupon there rose dissention betwixt him and the barons. After the feast of the Purification, at a folkemote holden at Pauls crosse (where the king was present in person, with the king of Almaine, the archbishop of Cantuarbie, and diuerse other of the nobles) commandement was giuen to the maior, that euerie strippling of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, should before his alderman be swoorne to be true to the king and his heires kings of England, and that the gates of the citie should be kept with armed men, as befoze by the king of Romans was deuised.

About Easter the barons of the land with consent of the peeres, discharged sir Hugh Spenser of his office of chiefe iustice, and placed in his roome sir Philip Basset without the kings assent, he being not made priue thereunto. Whereupon a new occasion of displeasure was ministered to kindle debate betwixt the king and his lords, but by the policie of the king of Almaine and some prelates, the matter was quietted for a time, till after at Walloventide next ensuing, which was the 46 peare of H. Henries reigne. At that time the barons toke vpon them to discharge such iuriffes as the king had elected & named gardians of the countries and shires; and in their places put other iuriffes, and besides that would not suffer the iudice which the king had admitted, to do his office in keeping his circuit, but appointed such to do it, as it pleased them, that he laboured by all means to him possible about the disanulling of the ordinances made at Oxford, and vpon the second fundate in Lent, he caused to be read at Pauls crosse a bull, obtained of pope Urbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other bull before purchased of his predecessor pope Alexander, for the absolving of the king, and all other that were subiecte to the maintenance of the articles agreed vpon at Oxford. This absolution he caused to be shewed through the realmes of England, Wales & Ireland, giuing streight charge that if any person were found that would disobey this absolution, the same should be committed to prison, there to remaine till the kings pleasure were further knowen.

Suerlie the most part of those peeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hand,

perceiuing the enomitie that dallie grew of so manifold heads and gouernours, were minded of themselves to dissolve those provisions and ordinances so made at Oxford, in somuch that there were but five which stiffele stood in defense of the same, that is to saie, the bishop of Worcester, and the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, with Henrie Spenser, and Peter de Pontfort, the which by no meanes could be brought to confesse that they might with a safe conscience go contrarie to those ordinances which they had confirmed with their solemne oth, notwithstanding the popes dispensation; whereas the same oth was rather a bond of iniquitie (as saith Math. Westminster) deuised to conspire against Christ and his annointed, that is to saie, their naturall liege lord and lawfull king, than any godlie oth aduiseable taken, or necessarie to be receiued of god meaning subjects, yea and of such a friuolous oth it is said, that

In aqua scribitur & in puluere exaratur.

In June the king of Almaine toke shipping and sailed ouer into Dutchland, and king Henrie at a folkemote holden at Pauls crosse the fundate after S. Peters day, had licence to saile into France, and the morrow after he departed from London towards the sea side, with the quene and other lords, his two sonnes prince Edward and the earle of Lancaster being at that present in Guen. When he had bene a season in France, he went vnto Bourdeaur, and there fell sicke of a feuer quartane, by occasion whereof he taried in those parties till S. Nicholas tide next following. There were few that went ouer with him that escaped free without the same disease, so that in manner all his companie were taken and sore handled therewith. Hauie died thereof to the number of threescore, and amongst them as chiefe were these, Baldouine de Lisle earle of Deuonshire, Ingram de Percie, and William de Beauchampe.

In this peare died Richard the Clare earle of Gloucester, and his sonne sir Gilbert de Clare was earle after him, vnto whom his father gaue great charge that he should mainteine the ordinances of Oxford. In the 47 peare of king Henries reigne, by reason that a Jew had wounded a christian man at London within Colechurch, in the ward of cheap, not onelie the said Jew was slaine by other christians that followed him home to his house, but also manie other Jewes were robbed and slaine in that furie and rage of the people. The Welshmen with their prince Leolin made wars against the men and tenants of Roger de Mortimer; and toke two of his castels (the one called Benet) and rased them both to the ground. The said Roger being sore grieved therewith, got such assistance as he could of other lords there in the marches, and watching the Welshmen at aduantage, distressed diuerse companies of them, sometime three hundred, sometime foure hundred, and other whiles five hundred. But at one time he lost three hundred of his footmen that were entred the countie, and so victored that they could make no shift to escape.

Vpon the euen of S. Thomas the apostle, the king landed at Dinard, and came to London the Wednesday before the twelfe day of Christmas. In this peare the frost began about S. Nicholas date, and continued for the space of a moneth and more, so extreme, that the Thames was frozen, so that men passed ouer on horsebacke. The same winter the kings little hall at Westminster, with manie other houses thereunto adioining, was consumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings seruants. Variance rose betwixt the citizens of London, and the constable of the towne, for that contrarie to the liberties of the citie he toke certeine ships passing by the towne with wheat and other vittells into the towne, making

nois pernicious to a common-wealth.

The king of Almaine goeth ouer into Germanie.

The king having licence passeth ouer into France.

He falleth sick of a feuer quartane.

Death of noblemen.

The earle of Gloucester departeth this life.

Anno Reg. 47. Jewes slaine.

Math. Westm. The Welshmen warre against & lord Mortimer a tenants.

He seeketh his reuenge against thm.

Fabian. 1263 The Thames frozen.

Variance betwixt the citizens of London and the constable of the towne.

Math. Westm. Death of Henrie.

Each rather.

Math. West. Anno Reg. 45. The king of Scots cometh to London.

1261 Chro. Dun.

Fabian. A folkemote holden at Pauls crosse.

Another to be true to the king.

The lord Spenser discharged of his office.

Anno Reg. 46. The presumption of the barons against the king.

1262 A bull read at Pauls crosse.

Math. West. A king gouern.

making the price thereof himselfe. The matter was had before sir Philip Basset lord chiefe iustice and others, who upon the sight and hearing of all such evidences and priviledges as could be brought forth for the advantage of both the parties, took order that the constable should when he lacked provision of graine or vittels, come into the market holden within the citie, and there to haue wheat two pence in a quarter within the maiors price, and other vittels after the same rate.

Math. West.
Prince Edward goeth against the welshmen.

The archb. of Canturburie goeth to Rome.

Fabian.

The lord maior of London sworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice bursteth out.

The barons raise people.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dun.

Prince Edward taketh monie out of the treasure of the temple.

Mari. lib. 11.
Hor. lib. car. 3.
ode 24.

The Londoners rob the house of the lord Gray.

Prince Edward the kings sonne returning from the parts beyond the sea, went with a great power (as well of Englishmen as strangers) against the welshmen towards Snowdon hills: but the enemies withdrawing themselves to their strengths within the woods and mounteines, he could not much indamage them, whereupon after he had fortified certeine castles in those parts, with men, munition, and vittels, he returned being sent for backe of his father. The archbishop of Canturburie foreseeing the trouble that was like to issue betwixt the king and his barons, got licence of the king to go unto Rome, about such businesse as he faimed to haue to doe with the pope, and so departed the land, and kept him away till the trouble was appeased. Upon Apollonies fundaie, at a folkemote holden at Panles crosse, before sir Philip Basset and other of the kings counsell, the maior of London was sworne to be true to the king, and to his heires kings of England, and upon the morrow at the Guildhall euery alderman in presence of the maior took the same oth. And upon the fundaie following, euery inhabitant within the citie, of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, before his alderman in his ward was netolie charged with the like oth.

Then began the displeasure betwene the king and his barons to appeare, which had bene long kept secret, diuers of whom assembling together in the marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the seale of sir Roger Clifford, beseeching him to haue in remembrance his oth and manifold promises made for the obseruing of the statutes ordeined at Orford. But although this letter was indited and written verie effectually, yet receiued they no answer from the king, who minded in no wise to obserue the same statutes, as by euident tokens it was most apparant. Whereupon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpose to passe. The king and the queene for their more safegard got them into the towne of London, and prince Edward laie at Clerkenwell, but in such necessitie and discredit for monie, that neither had they any store to furnish their wants, neither was there any man that would trust them with a groat.

Prince Edward not able to abide such dishonor, in the feast of the apostle Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, and certeine others, went to the new temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treasure-house, as if he meant to see his mothers iewels, that were laid by there, to be safely kept, he entred into the house, and breaking the coffers of certeine persons that had likewise brought their monie thither, to haue it in more safetie, he took away from thence the value of 1000 pounds.

*o quantum cogit egestas
Magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
Quid sit & facere & pati
Virtutisque viam deserit ardua.*

The citizens of London were so offended herewith that they rose in armour against him and other of the kings counsell, in somuch that they assailed the lodging of the lord John Gray without Ludgate, and took out of his stables 32 horses, and such other

things as they might laie hold vpon, keeping such sure that the lord Gray himselfe was forced to flee beyond Fleetbridge. The like rule they kept at the house of John de Passeleu.

John Mansell departing forth of the towne to the Thames, with the countesse de Lisle, and other ladies that were strangers borne, sailed into France, and landed at Whiffand, where the said Mansell hearing that the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the barons was in those parts, he caused the lord Ingram de Fines to staie him as prisoner, and so he remained, till king Henrie upon the agreement betwixt him and the barons, found meanes to get him released, and so then he returned into England.

But now touching the barons, they proceeded in their businesse which they had in hand with all earnest diligence, of whome these were the chiefe that undertooke this matter: young Humfre de Boun, the lord Henrie son to the king of Almaine, Henrie Spensford, Hugh Spenser, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Richard Gray, John Kos, William Parmion, Henrie Hastings, Waimon le Strange, John Fitz John, Godfrey Lucie, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leiboine, John Hesse, Roger de Clifford, John de Waus, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacie, and Robert Wepont, the which with one generall consent choosed for their chiefe captains and generall gouernours, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Gilbert of Clare earle of Gloucester, and Robert Ferris earle of Darbie, and John earle of Warren. On the kings part these persons are named to stand with him against the other. First, Roger Wigod erle of Hereford, Hugh Wigod lord chiefe iustice, Philip Basset, William de Valence, Gestepe de Lucignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Waleran, John Mansell, Gestepe Langley, John Gray, William Latimer, Henrie Bertie, and manie other. The barons notwithstanding hauing assembled their powers, resolved to go through with their purpose.

The first enterprise they made was at Hereford, where they took the bishop of that see named John Berton, and as manie of his canons as were strangers borne. After this they took sir Wathet de Bezailes shiriffe of Gloucester, a stranger borne, and keeping on their waie towards London with banners displayed, so manie as came within their reach, whom they knew to be against the maintenance of the statutes of Orford, they spoiled them of their houses, robbed them of their goods, and imprisoned their bodies, hauing no regard whether they were spirituall men or temporall. In diuerse of the kings castles they placed such captains and soldiers as they thought convenient, and displaced others whom they either knew or suspected to be aduersaries to their purpose.

About midsummer when they were nere to London, they sent a letter to the maior and aldermen vnder the seale of the earle of Leicester, willing to understand whether they would obserue the acts and statutes established at Orford, or else aid and aduise such persons as meant the breach of the same. And herewith they sent vnto them a copie of those articles, with a promise, that if any of them were prejudiciall, or in any wise hurtfull to the realme and common wealth, that then the same by the aduise of discreet persons should be amended and reformed. The maior bare this letter, and the copie of the articles vnto the king, who in this meane tyme remained in the towne of London, together with the queene and the king of Almaine, latelie returned out of Almaine, also his sonne prince Edward, and manie other of his counsell. The king asked of the maior what he thought of those articles: who made such answer as the king

John Mansell
fleeth into
France.

The barons
that rose
against the
king.

Their chief
captains.

The barons
that took part
with the king.

Risanger ne
teth this
1264.

The barons
make havoc

learned

The diligence
of the lord ma-
ior of London.

The misde-
meanor of
several persons
towards the
queen.

Chron. Dunst.

Manh. West.

Chron. Dunst.
Bishops tra-
vel to make
peace.

Strangers
have the cas-
tell of Wind-
sore.

The great
disorder in
the citie of
London.

Abington.

seemed well pleased therewith, and so permitted the mayor to returne againe into the citie, who took much paine in keeping the citie in good quiet now in that dangerous time.

All such the inhabitants as were strangers bozne, and suspected to favour either of the parties, were banished the citie, but within a while after, prince Edward set them or the most part of them in offices within the castell of Windsor. On the saturday next after the translation of saint Benet, as the queene would have passed by water from the tower into Windsor, a sort of lewd naughtypacks got them to the bridge, making a noise at hir, and crying; Downe the witch, theye downe stones, cudgels, darts, and other things at hir, so that she escaped in great danger of hir person, fled to Lambeth, and though feare to be further pursued, landed there, and so she staid till the mayor of London with much ado appeasing the furie of the people, repaired to the queene and brought hir backe againe in safetie unto the tower. And (as some write) because the king would not suffer hir to enter againe into the tower, the mayor conveyed hir unto the bishop of Londons house by Pauls, and there lodged hir.

The barons in this meane time having got the citie of Worcester and Bridgenorth, with other places, were come into the south parts, to the end that they might win the castell of Dover, and find some meanes to set the lord Henrie (sonne to the king of Almaine that was prisoner beyond the seas) at libertie. In the meane time the bishops of Lincolne, London and Chester, travelled betwixt the king and barons for a peace; but the barons would not agree, except that the king and queene would first cause the lord Henrie to be set at libertie, and deliver into their hands the castles of Windsor, Dover, and other fortresses, and send awaie all the strangers, and take such order that the provisions of Drenford might be observed, as well by the king as others.

The king although these conditions seemed verie hard and displeasing to his mind, yet was he driven to such an extremitie that he granted to accept them, and so an agreement was made and had betwixt him and the lords. But now all the difficultie was to appease the lord Edward, and to remove the strangers which he had placed in the castell of Windsor, which they had not onelie fortified, but also in manner destroyed the towne, and done much hurt in the countie round about them. Where were to the number of an hundred knights or men of armes (as I may call them) beside a great number of other men of warre. But now after that the king had agreed to the peace, the barons entered the citie on the sunday before st. Margarets daie; and shortly after the king came to Westminster with the queene, and those of his counsell. And immediatlie hereupon, by consent of the king and the barons, sir Hugh Spenser was made chiefe iustice and keeper of the tower. During the time that the lords remained in London, manie robberies and riots were done within the citie, and small redresse had in correcting the offenders, they were so bozne out and maintained by their maisters and others.

The commons of the citie were farre out of order, for in the assemblies and courts, as well at Guildhall as in other places, the matters and iudgement of things went by the voices of the simple and undiscerned multitude, so that the substantiall and worshipfull citizens were not regarded. The barons on the morrow following the feast of saint James, departed from London toward Windsor, in which meane while prince Edward was gone to Wyke, and there thinking himselfe to be out of danger, by mishap there rose variance betwixt the citizens & his men,

so that the whole citie revolted from him, and prepared to besiege him in the castell, not doubting but easilie to win it. When he saw how the world went, he sent to the bishop of Worcester that was of the barons side, promising that he would agree with the barons, if he would helpe to deliver him out of the Wyke mens hands. The bishop taking his promise conveyed him forth in safetie toward the court; but when he came nere unto Windsor, he turned thither, greatlie to the misliking of the bishop: yet neverthelesse when the barons came forward to besiege that castle, the lord Edward met them not farre from Kingston, offering them conditions of peace. Some write that he was staled and not suffered to returne againe to Windsor, after he had ended his talke with the barons: but howsoever it was, the castell was surrendered, with condition that those that were within it should safelie depart, and so they did; and were conveyed to the sea by Humfrey de Bohun the younger. About the same time, Leolin prince of Wales destroyed the lands of prince Edward in Cheshire, and the marches thereabouts. The two castles of Wilsard and Cannoc he took and destroyed, being two verie faire fortresses.

About the feast of the Ascension of our lord, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which all the nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present; and then the citie of London, and the cinque ports joined in league as confederats with the barons; but the king plainlie protested before all the assemblee, that by the statutes and provisions (as they termed them) made at Drenford, he was much deceived. For contrarie to that which the barons had promised, he felt himselfe rather charged with more debt than ante thing released: and therefore sith he had obtained of the pope an absolution of the oath both for himselfe and his people, his request was to be restored unto his former estate of all such prerogatives as in time past he had enjoyed. The barons on the other side stricelie maintained, that they could not with safe consciences go against their oath, and therefore they meant to stand in defense of the articles aforesaid even so long as they had a daie to live.

Thus whilste both parts kept so farre from all hope of agreement, and were now in point to have departed in sunder, through mediation of some bishops that were present a peace was concluded, and the parties so agreed, that all matters in controuersie touching the articles, provisions, and statutes made at Drenford should be ordered and iudged by the French king, whom they chose as arbitrator betwixt them. Hereupon, on the thirtieth of September, both the king and queene, with their sonnes, and diuerse other of the nobles of this land, took shipping, and sailed over to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a parlement, with a great number of the nobles and peeres of France. The earle of Leicester also with diuerse of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the end upon due examination, and orderlie hearing of the whole processe of all their controuersies, gaue expresse sentence, that all and euerie of the said statutes and ordinances devised at Drenford, should be from thenceforth utterly void, and all bonds and promises made by king Henrie, or ante other for performance of them, should likewise be annulled, forsworne, and clearelie cancelled.

The barons highlie displeased herewith, refused to stand to the French kings award herein, because he had iudged altogether on the kings side. Whereupon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feast of st. Edward,

Nic. Treuer.

A parlement.

Abington.

The kings
protestation
against the
articles at
Drenford.

The matter
put to the
French king.

The French
king giveth
sentence
against the
barons.

Anno Reg. 8.

March. Westm.

The lords
that revolted
to the king.

Chron. Dun.

Abington.

1264

The king go-
eth againe over
to the French
king.

Fabian.

Nic. Trivet.
Castles got-
ten by prince
Edward.wo:cestre
taken.

Edward, the king and the barons effones met at London, holding a new parliament at Westmin-ster, but no good could be done. Then when the king of Almaine and prince Edward, with others of the kings counsell saw that by rapine, oppression, and ex-tortion praused by the barons against the kings sub-jects, as well spirituall as temporall, the state of the realme and the kings honour was much decayed, and brought in manner unto bitter ruine, they proce-
10 red the king to withdraw secretly from Westmin-ster unto Windsor castell, of which his sonne prince Edward had gotten the possession by a traitre. From Windsor he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Oxford, having a great power with him.

At his being at Oxford there came unto him the lord Henrie, son to the king of Almaine, John earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leiboine, Hatmond le Strange, and John de Clare, which had re-
20 volted from the barons to the kings side; John Gifford also did the like: but he shortly after returned to the barons part againe. The kings sonne the lord Edward had procured them thus to revolt, promit-ting to euerie of them in reward by his charter of grant fiftie pounds lands to aid the king his father and him against the barons.

After this the king went to Winchester, and from
thence came backe unto Reading, and then he mar-
ched forth with his armie unto Dover, where he could
not be suffered to come into the castell, being kept
out by the lord Richard Gray that was capitaine
there. Whereupon he returned to London, where the
barons againe were entred, through favour of the
commoners, against the will of the chiefe citizens,
and here they fell effones to treat of agreement, but
their talke profited nothing. And so in the Christmasse
weeke the king, with his sonne prince Edward and
diuerse other of the counsell sailed over againe into
France, and went to Amiens, where they found the
French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Al-
so for the barons, Peter de Pontford, and other were
sent thither as commissioners, and as some write, at
that present, to wit on the 24 daie of Januarie, the
French king sitting in iudgement, pronounced his
definitive sentence on the behalfe of king Henrie a-
gainst the barons: but whether he gaue that sentence
now, or the yeare before, the barons iudged him verie
parciall, and therefore meant not to stand unto his
arbitrement therein.

The king having ended his businesse with the
French king, returned into England, and came to
London the morrow after S. Valentines day. And
about seven or eight daies after, the lord Edward
his eldest sonne returned also, and hearing that the
barons were gone to the marches of Wales (where
joining with the Welshmen, they had begun to
make warre against the kings friends, and namelie
against his lieutenant Roger lord Mortimer, whome
they had besieged in the castell of Wigmore) the lord
Edward thereupon, with such power as he could get
together, marched thitherwards to raise their siege:
but the lord Mortimer perceluing himselfe in dan-
ger, fled privilie out of the castell, and got to Hereford,
whither the prince was come. The barons enforced
their strength in such wise that they won the castell.
Prince Edward on the other side took the castles of
Haic and Huntington that belonged unto the earle
of Hereford young Henrie de Mon.

The castell of Brecknock was also deliuered into
his hands, which he betooke to the keeping of the lord
Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto
belonging. Robert earle of Darbie that took part
with the barons, besieged the citie of Worcester, and
toke it by the old castell, sacked the citizens goods, and

constrained the Jewes to be baptised. The citie of
Glocester also was taken by the barons: but prince
Edward following them and reparing the bridge o-
ver Seuerne, which the barons had broken downe af-
ter they were come over, he entred the castell of Glo-
cester with his people. The next day by procurement
of Walter bishop of Worcester, a truce was taken
betwixt prince Edward and the barons that had ta-
ken the towne, during the which truce the barons left
the towne, and the burgeses submitted themselves
unto prince Edward: and so he having the castell
and towne in his hands, imprisoned manie of the
burgeses, & fined the towne at the summe of a thou-
sand pounds. Then he drew towards his father li-
ving at Oxford, or at Woodstocke, gathering people to-
gether on ech hand.

In the meane time the lords drew towards Lon-
don, and the new assurance by writing indented was
made betwixt the communitie of the citie and the
barons, without consent of any of the rulers of the
citie. The commoners herewith appointed of them-
selves two capteins, which they named constables of
the citie, that is to saie, Thomas Piwelston & Ste-
phan Bokerell, by whose commandement and tolling
of the great bell of Pauls all the citie was warned
to be readie in harnesse, to attend upon the said two
capteins. About the beginning of Lent the consta-
ble of the towne sir Hugh Spenser, with the said two
capteins, and a great multitude of the citizens and o-
thers went to Whitleworth; and there spoiled the ma-
30 jour place of the king of Almaine, and then set it on
fire, and destroyed the water milles, and other com-
modities which he there had. This deed was the cause
(as some haue iudged) of the warre that after ensued.
For where before this time the said king of Almaine
had bene, by reason of the alliance betwixt him
and the earle of Glocester, continuallie an intreator
for peace, he was now euer after this time an bitter
enemie unto the barons, and unto their side, so farre
as laie in his power.

The king hearing of this riotous act, and being
informed that Peter de Pontford was at Por-
thampton, assembling people to strengthen the ba-
rons part, he got together such men of warre as he
could from all places, and so he had with him his bro-
ther Richard king of Almaine, his eldest sonne the
lord Edward, William de Valence his halfe bro-
ther on the mothers side, & John Comin of Ward in
Scotland with a great number of Scots, John Bal-
lioll lord of Gallowaie, Robert Buns lord of An-
nandale, Roger Clifford, Philip Garnion, John
Clare, John Leiboine, Henrie Percie, Philip Bal-
set, and Roger Mortimer.

Thus the king having these Noble men about
him, with his armie sped him towards Portthamp-
ton, and coming thither toke the towne by force,
slew diuerse, and toke prisoners Peter Pontford,
and Simon Pontford the earle of Leicesters son,
William Ferries, Baldwin Wake, with Nicholas
his brother, Berengarius de Waterwille, Hugh
Cuburn, Robert Butentlein, Adam of Petomarch,
Robert Petwton, Philip Dubie, Crimbald Daunce-
saet, Roger Beltram, Thomas Panell, and diuerse
other, to the number of 80 knights (or as Matthew
Westminster hath 15 barons, and 60 knights) besides
a great number of esquires and burgeses, the which
were beset abroad in sundrie prisons. The towne
(as some write) was taken by this meanes. Whilist
diuerse of the capteins within were talking with the
king on the one side of the towne towards the me-
dowes, the lord Philip Basset approached the walles
nere unto the monastrie of S. Andreto, and there
with his people having spades, mattocks, and other
instruments provided for the purpose, undermined a
great

March. Westm.
The case of
Glocester
couered, and
put to fire.The com-
moners of the
citie of Lon-
don agree
with the
barons.
R. Fabian.The maner
of the citie
spoiled.The chiefe
cause that led
the king of Al-
maine to fight
against the
barons.The lords
that followed
the king.Portthamp-
ton taken by the
king.

great paine of the wall, and reuerfed the same into ditch, making such a breach, that forie horsemen might enter afloat. Some put the blame in such monks of the abbey as were strangers, as though they should prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howsoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies hands.

Scholars
fight against
the king.

This also is to be remembred, that where by reason of variance, which had chanced that yere betwixt the scholars of Wyford and the townesmen, a great number of the same scholars were withdrauen to Northampton and there studied. They had raised a banner to fight in defense of the towne against the king, and did more hurt to the assailants than anie other band; whereupon the king threatned to hang them all, and so had he done indeed, if by the perswasion of his counsell he had not altered his purpose, doubting to procure the hatred of their friends, if the execution should haue bene so rigorously prosecuted against them: for there were amongst them manie young gentlemen of god houses and noble parentage. Thus was the towne of Northampton taken on a saturday being Passion sundaye euen, and the morrow after the date of St. Ambrose which is the first of Aprill. On the monday following, the king led his armie towards Leicester, where the burgesses receiued him into the towne at his coming thither. From thence he marched to Nottingham, burning and wasting the houses and manors of the barons and other of his enimies, and speciallie those that belonged to the earle of Leicester. Here he also gathered more people, and so increased his power: in so much that diuerse noblemen, as Roger Clifford, Henrie Percie, Richard Gray, Philip Basset, Richard Sward, and Hubert earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in their companions, reuolted incontinently to the kings side.

Some write
that John de
Balliol and
Robert de
Sains, and
Peter de
Bains, came
to him here
and not before
Mar. VVest.
The castell of
Cotburie de-
faced.

The castell of
Warwike
taken.

The castell of
Warwike
rased.
The Jewes
are killed.

Rocheſter
besieged.

N. Triuer.
Mar. VVest.

He sent his sonne prince Edward into Darbieſhire and Staffordſhire with a strong power, where he wasted the manours and possessions of Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, and namelie he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Tutburie. Whereſoeuer the kings armie, or that which his sonne prince Edward led, chanced to come, there followed spoiling, burning and killing. The barons on the other side sate not still, for the lord John Gifford, with others that were appointed by the earle of Leicester to keepe Killingworth castell (which was furnished with all things necessarie, maruellouslie, and with such strange kind of engines as had not bene lightlie heard of nor ſene in these parts) toke by a policie the castell of Warwike, and William Mauduit earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it; and leading them to Killingworth, there comitted them to prison. The cause was, for that they suspected him that he would take part with the king against them. The castell of Warwike they rased downe, least the kings people should take it for their refuge. In the Passion weeke the Jewes that inhabited in London being detected of treason, which they had deuised against the barons and citizens, were slaine almost all the whole number of them, and great riches found in their houses, which were taken and caried awaie by those that ranſacked the same houses.

After Easter the erle of Leicester, hauing London at his commandement, went to Rocheſter and besieged that cite, but the capteine thereof John earle of Warren did manfullie resist the enimies; till the king aduertised thereof, with the power of the marches of the north parts and other came and remoued the siege. This done, he left a conuenient garrison within the cite to defend it, and coming to Tunbridge, wan the castell, and taking the countesse of Gloucester that was within it, permitted hir to de-

part. This done, he repaired to the sea side towards France, to staie there till his brethren, Gesefrey and Guie, the sonnes of the earle of March should arrive with some band of souldiers, for whom he had now sent and reuoked into the realme, being latelie before banished by the Nobles, as before yee haue heard. They thortlie after landed, whereupon the king hauing his power increased, came to Lewes, and pight downe his field not farre from that towne.

The kinges
halfe brethren
come out of
France to
his aid.
The king in-
campeth at
Lewes.

In the end of Aprill the barons hearing where the king was, departed from London with a great multitude of the citizens, whom they placed in the bantward, and marched forth towards the king, and coming nere to the place where he was lodged, set downe their tents, and incamped themselues a little beside him. Either here or by the waie as they came forward, the barons deuised a letter, and sent it vnto the king, conteining an excuse of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towards him, and the wealth of the realme; and here with accused those that were about him, and with will counsell misinformed him, both against them, against the publike wealth of the land, and his owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of Maie, and subscribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part doe here insue, but yet not all; Sir Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester and high steward of England, Sir Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, Robert Ferrers earle of Darbie, Hugh Spenser lord chiefe iustice, & Henrie Montfort sonne and heire to the earle of Leicester, Richard Grey, Henrie Hastings, John Fitz John, Robert de Cespont, John Gmule, Robert Kops, William Garmion, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lusce, John de Welle, William de Mountchenſie, with other. The king answered this letter, in charging them with rebellion, and mouing of open war against him, to the great disquieting of the realme. Also he laid vnto their charge, the burning of the manours, houses and places of his nobles and counsellors; and herewith desired them by the same answer, which was dated at Lewes aforesaid on the twelfth of Maie.

The barons
send a letter
to the king.

The answer
to the barons.

He desired
them.

Also the king of Romanes, and prince Edward sent their defiance to the barons at the same time in writing vnder their seales, for that the barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with misleading the king with untrue informations and sinister counsell. Thus as they wrot to and fro such nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten and laid aside, so that they prepared to battell. The king had indeed the greater number of armed men, but manie of them were vnfaithfull, and cared not greatlie though the losse fell to his side, and so whilest they went to it without order, & vnadvisedlie, they fought at aduenture, & continued but faintly. His capteines made three battells of their armie, the lord Edward led the foreward, and with him William de Valence earle of Denbroke, and John de Warren erle of Surrey and Suffex. In the second, the lord of Almaine, with his sonne Henrie were chertaines. The third the king gouerned himselfe.

Mar. West.

N. Triuer.
The ordering
of the battells.

The barons diuided their host into foure battells, the first was vnder the gouernment of the lord Henrie de Montfort and others. The second was led by the lord Gilbert de Clare, the lord John Fitz John, and the lord William de Mountchenſie. The third, in which the Londoners were placed, the lord Nicholas de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Sir Simon Montfort earle of Leicester himselfe, and one Thomas de Peuckston. Thus being ordered, on the fourteenth of Maie being Wednesday, they ioined in fight, and at the first encounter, the lord Hen-

The battels
ioine.

rie

Chron. Durst.

Prince Edward pursued the Londoners.

rie de Hastings, the lord Geoffrey de Lucie, & Humfrey de Bohun the younger were wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beaten backe: for prince Edward so fiercely assailed them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated them indeed above all other, namely for that of late they had misused his mother, reviling hir, and throwing hurt and stones at hir, when she passed the bridge (as before ye have heard) which wrong and abuse by them committed was peradventure on their parts forgotten, but of prince Edward (as it seemeth) remembered, for

Pulsere qui ledit, sed lesus marmore scribit.

Hereupon prince Edward now to be revenged of them, after they began to flee, most eagerly following them, chased & slue them by heaps. But whilst he separated himselfe by such earnest following of the Londoners to farre from the residue of the kings armie, he was the onelie cause of the losse of that field: for the earle of Leicester, perceiving that the prince with the chiefest force of the kings armie was thus gone after the Londoners (of whom he made no great account) he exhorted his people to shew their valiance at that instant, and so comming upon his adversaries with great courage, in a moment put them to flight. There were taken the king of Almaine, the lords John de Burgh and Philip Bastet with all other the chiefest that were about the king, but the king himselfe retired with those few about him that were left, into the priorie of Lewes, and other there were that withdrew into the castell. The barons pursuing them, entered the towne, and toke of slue so manie as they found within the castell and priorie. At length, prince Edward returned from the chase of the Londoners, whom he had pursued for the space of foure miles, and finding the field lost, began a new battell: but the earle of Surrie, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, having with them three hundred armed men, straightwaies fled unto the castell of Pevensey. Prince Edward then perceiving slaughter to be made on each hand, call about the towne, and with his companie got into the priorie to his father.

In the meane time the barons gave assault to the castell, but they within valiantlie defended themselves, with whose hardie doings prince Edward incouraged, gathered his people together againe, and meant to give battell; but the subtil head of the earle of Leicester beguiled them all, for he caused certaine friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt them, which comming to the king and to the prince his sonne, declared that the barons, to avoid that more chistian blood should not be spilt, would be contented to have the matter put in compromise of indifferent persons; but if it were so, that the king and his sonne would needs stand to the uttermost trial of battell, they would not faile but strike off the heads of the king of Almaine and other prisoners, which they would set upon the ends of their speares in stead of standards.

The king and his people having the respect of pittie before their eyes, changed their purposed intent to fight, and falling to a parle (which continued for the most part of all the night next following) at length it was agreed upon, that the French king with three prelates and three other noble men of the temporalitie, should chuse forth and name two noble men of France, which comming into England should take a third person to them whom they thought good, and they three should have the hearing of all controuersies betwixt the king and the barons, and what order so ever they took therein, the same should stand, and be received for a perfect conclusion and stable decree. This agreement was confirmed, and prince Edward and Henrie sonne to the king of Almaine were ap-

pointed to remaine as hostages with the barons,

¶ Other write otherwise of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not onelie the king of Romans, but also king Henrie himselfe, having his owne horse thrust through on both sides, was taken, and likewise his sonne prince Edward with other on their side, to the number of five and twentie barons and bannerets: and that moreover, there died on the kings side that day in the battell and chase, six thousand and five hundred men, as Polydor noteth: howbeit, Richard Southwell saith, there died on both parts onlie 3400. But Math. Westminster writeth, that as the report went, there died five thousand on both sides, and amongst other, these he nameth as chiefe, William de Wilton one of the kings iudices, & the lord Fouke Fitz Warren a baron that toke the kings part. On the barons side, the lord Rafe Beringander a baron also, and William Blunt the earles standardbearer. Of them that were taken on the kings side, beside such as before are recited, we finde these names, Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, William lord Bardolf, Robert lord of Tatshale, Roger lord Somerie, Henrie lord Percie, John de Balioll, Robert de Buis, and John Comin, with other barons of Scotland, having lost all their footmen whom they had brought with them to the kings aid.

Moreover, it should appeare by some writers, that the king being thus in captiuitie, was constrained to make a new grant, that the statutes of Oxford should stand in force, and if any were thought unreasonable, the same should be reformed by foure noble men of the realme of France, two of the spiritualtie and two of the temporalitie. And if those foure could not agree, then the earle of Artois and the duke of Burgoigne should be iudges in the matter. ¶ But if either those or the other were appointed to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the successe of the battell is true; for if both the king and his sonne had bene taken prisoners in the field, the barons would stierlie have constrained him to have consented to the obseruance of the statutes, without putting the same in compromise, to be altered at the discretion of any arbitrators, and namelie strangers.

But howsoever it was, on the tuesday before the Ascension day, peace was proclaimed in London, betwixt the king and the barons; and whereas the king either by constraint for safeguard of himselfe or his friends, either upon assurance of the barons promise, committed himselfe unto the companie of the same barons, at their comming with him to London they went from this last agreement, and forthwith devised other ordinances as thus. They ordeined, that two earles and a bishop, which being elected out by the communalitie, should chuse to them nine other persons, and of these, three of them should still remaine about the king, and by their order and the other nine, all things should be governed both in the court and in the realme. They constrained the king and his sonne prince Edward (menacing to depose the one, and to keepe the other in perpetuall prison) to consent and agree to this last ordinance: and so the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester were ordeined there the chiefe rulers, and letters sent with all speed unto the cardinal Sabienus the popes legat, and to the king of France, to signifie to them, that the compromise agreed upon at Lewes was bitterlie renoked, and that a new peace in frendlie wise was concluded.

But although the bishops of London, Winchester, and Worcester instantly required the said legat, that he would helpe to further the same peace, yet he sore rebuked them, in that they would give their consent, so much to abase and bying under the kings roiall power. And because he might not be suffered to enter

The kings part put to the worse. Math. Westm. Nic. Triuet.

Math. Paris.

Seven hundred hath Abington. Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.

Friers laboured to treat a peace.

An agreement taken. Math. West.

March. West. London taken on the kings side.

Fabian. N. Triuet. March. West.

Peace proclaimed.

A new bond of the barons.

enter the realme, he first cited them to appeare before him at Bullongne. And whereas they seemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both suspended the said three bishops, and excommunicated the said earles of Leicester and Gloucester, and their complices, with the citie of London, and the cinque ports: but the foresaid bishops, earles and barons, feigning to make their appeales to the popes consistorie, or if need were, unto a generall councell and so forth, though indeed trusting more to the temporal sword, than fearing the spiritual, they did not forbear to saie and heare diuine seruice in churches and else-where, as before they had done, till the coming of the cardinall Beothone.

The capteines and men of warre, whom the king had left at Lunbydye, immediatlie vpon the agreement concluded betwixt the king and the barons, were commanded by the k. to depart, & repaire euerie man to his home; but they fearing the malice of their enemies, would not breake in sunder, but keeping together, went trait to Wyke, and there remained, till the lord Edward the kings sonne was escaped out of captiuitie. But this is to be remembered, that before their departure from Lunbydye, when by report of William de Sale, who escaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they understood how the matter had passed on both sides, and that the Londoners being chased out of the field, were lodged at Croydon, about the euening tide they came thither, and assailing them in their lodgings, slew manye, and won a great spoile. The earle of Leicester and the barons hauing the rule of the king and realme in their hands, sought to oppresse all such as they knew to be against them, and not to like of their proceedings; namely, the northerne lords, and those of the marches of Wales, as the lord Spottimer and others: but fearing herewithin wilfull, they used things with small discretion, which at length brought them to confusion. For the four sonnes of the earle of Leicester, Henrie, Guie, Simon, and another Henrie, which had serued right worthilie indeed on the daie of the battell, began to waire so proud, that in comparison of themselves, they despised all others.

The lords of the marches of Wales, as Roger de Spottimer, James de Audelle, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiboine, Haimon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had escaped from the battell at Lewes, began to make against them that had thus usurped the rule of the land, vnder colour of hauing the king in their hands. The earle of Leicester aduertised hereof, joined in league with Leolin prince of Wales, and coming with the king into those parts, entered into the castell of Hereford, into the which he remoued the lord Edward from Dover, where he was first kept in ward, after he had yielded himselfe at Lewes. After this, the earle of Leicester recovered the castell of Waie, and waiking the lands and manours of the lord Spottimer, constrained Hugh Spottimer to yield himselfe, so that his castell called Richar, and other his possessions, were committed to the keeping of the lord John Fitz John. Robert de Ferrers earle of Warbie, with a great puissance of horsemen and footmen came to Chester, in fauour of the earle of Leicester, against whome although William de Couche, and Dauid brother to the prince of Wales, taking the contrarie part with the lord James Audelle and other, came to encounter, yet they durst not abide him, but fled, and lost an hundred of their men.

In the meane time, the earle of Leicester proceeding in his businesse, won the castell of Ludlow, and after marching towards Spontgomerie, whither the lords Roger de Spottimer, and James Audelle

were withdrawne, he constrained them at length to a feigned agreement, so that they gaue hostages, promising to come to the next parliament that was appointed to be holden, where they were banished the land for a twelue moneths, and all the castles on the marches, in marche from Wyke to Chester, were deliuered to the earle. After this (as by Nicholas Trivet it appeareth) there was a great assemble of men of warre made out of all parts of the realme, to resist such strangers as the quene (remaining in the parts beyond the seas) had got together, meaning to send them into England to aid the king against the barons, and for that purpose had caused a great number of ships to be brought into the haven of Dam. But now that the king was in the barons hands, and that such a multitude of horsemen and footmen were assembled on Warham-doune (as a man would not haue thought had bene possible to haue found within the whole realme) to resist the landing of those strangers, the said strangers were sent home againe, without hauing done any pleasure to the quene, other than spent hir monie. The king held his Christmas at Woodstoke, and the earle of Leicester, who seemed then to rule the whole realme, kept his Christmas at Billington.

After this, a parlement was holden at London in the octaves of saint Hilarie, and many things were concluded, covenants accorded, and othes taken for performance by the k. and his sonne prince Edward, which shortly after came to little effect. Yet prince Edward, and Henrie the sonne and heire of the king of Almaine, which had bene kept as pledges about the terme of nine moneths and odd daies, were in the Lent following set at libertie, vpon assurance made, that the said prince Edward should remaine in the kings court, and not depart from thence without licence of the king and certeine of the barons. He was also constrained to giue vnto the earle of Leicester the countie of Salantime of Chester, before he might obtaine to haue so much libertie. Betwene Easter and Whitsuntide, the earles of Leicester and Gloucester fell at variance, through the presumptuous demeanour of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, and also because the earle of Leicester would not deliuer the king of Almaine and other prisoners vnto the earle of Gloucester, requiring to haue the custodie of them, because he had taken them in the battell at Lewes.

The earle of Gloucester, perceiving himselfe not well liked, secretly entered into confederacie with the lord Spottimer, and other of the marches: whereupon the earle of Leicester hauing thereof some inbelling, came to Hereford, in purpose to haue taken the earle of Gloucester, and to haue put him in safe keeping, as latelie before he had serued the earle of Warbie. But by the practise of the lord Spottimer, shortly after the lord Edward or prince Edward (whether he list to call him) assaileng abroad in the fields an horse or two, such as he should see at fusts and tozies, which were appointed to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courser, which the said lord Spottimer had sent to him; and bidding the lord Robert Wals and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his keepers) farewell, he galloped from them, and could not be overtaken of them that pursued him, till at length he came to the lord Spottimer, who with a great troope of men was come forth of his castell of Wigmore to receiue him. This was on the thirte daie in Whitsuntide.

About the same time, the earle of Warren, with William de Valence earle of Penbroke, the kings halfe brother, and others, who (as we haue heard) fled from the battell at Lewes, were now returned into the realme, landing first in Southwales with a power

The lords Spottimer and Audelle banished.

An armie lodged on Warham-doune.

Math. West. 1265 Chr. Dunstab.

Abington.

Prince Edward escaped away. Math. West.

Math. West.

N. Trivet.

The Londoners spoiled at Croydon.

Math. West.

The earle of Warbie cometh to Chester with 10 thousand men.

power of crossbowes and other men of warre, the which hearing that the lord Edward was thus escaped out of captivite, came to Ludlow, and there joined with him, and so likewise did the earle of Gloucester. Now after they had commyned together, and were made friends and confederats, they caused all the bridges to be broken, that the enemies should not come to oppresse them, till they had assembled all their forces, and passing forward towards Gloucester, won the citie, and still came people unto them from all sides, namelic those lords and capitains, which all the time since the battell of Lewes had laine in Wythflote. After this they came to Worcester, and entered there also. When the earle of Leicester was hereof advertised (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the king, and ruled all things in the court) he sent in all hast unto his sonne Simon de Montfort to raise a power of men, the which accordingly assembled to him much people, and coming with the same unto Winchester, won the citie by surrender, spoiled it, and slew the more part of the Jews that inhabited there. Then he laid siege to the castell, but hearing a feined rumor that prince Edward was coming thither with his power, he departed from thence with his companie, and went to Killingworth.

On the last day of Julie, prince Edward with his host came to Killingworth aforesaid, and there fighting with the said Simon de Montfort and his armie, with little slaughter discomfited the same, and took prisoners the erle of Oxford, the lords William de Montchenise, Adam de Sebmarch, Baldovine Wake, and Hugh Beuill, with diuerse others: the lord Simon himselfe fled into the castell, and so escaped. In this meane while the earle of Leicester having raised his power, came to the castell of Spionmouth, which the earle of Gloucester had latelie taken and fortified: but they that were within it being driven to yeld, it was now rased downe to the ground. This done, the earle of Leicester entring into Glamorganshire, and joining his power with the prince of Wales, wasted and burned the lands of the said earle of Gloucester: but hearing what his adversaries went about in other places, he returned from thence, and came forward towards the said prince Edward, who likewise made towards him, and at Cuesham they met on the first day of August, where was fought a verie fierce and cruell battell betwixt the parties.

¶ Some write, that the earle of Leicester placed king Henrie in the front of his battell, whom he had there with him as captiue, and had arraied him in his owne cote-armour, that if fortune went against him, whilst the enemies should be earnest to take the king bearing the semblance of the cheefe captaine, he might himselfe escape: but king Henrie, when they came to joine, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby he escaped the danger of death, for being knowne of them he was saured. The Welshmen which in great numbers the earle of Leicester had there on his side, at the first onset fled and ran awaie; which their demeranz, when the earle saw, he exhorted those that were about him to plaie the men, and so rushing forth into the prease of his enemies, he was inclosed about and slaine, together with his sonne Henrie. Whereupon, his death being knowne, his people took them to flight as men utterly discomfited. There died in that battell about 4000 men (as Polydor saith). But Richard Southwell saith, there were killed of knights or rather men of armes 180, and of peomen or rather demilances 220, of Welshmen 5000, and of such footmen as were of the earle of Leicesters owne retinue 2000, so that there died in all to the number of ten thousand men, as the same Southwell affirmeth. Among whom

of noblemen, these are reckoned: Hugh Spenser lord cheefe justice, the lord Hase Basset, the lord Peter de Spontfort, the lord John Beauchampe, sir William Forke, the lord Thomas de Herlie, the lord Walter de Creppings, Guie de Baskell a Frenchman, the lord William de Spandevill, the lord Roger de John, the lord Robert de Regoz, and others.

This ruine fell to the barons by the discord which was springing latelie before, betwixt the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, through the insolencie and pride of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, who (as I said before) despising other of the nobilitie, and forgetting in the meane time the nature of lawe and untrained noblesse, wherof it is said and wisely remembered, that

Nobilitas morum plus or minus quam gentium;

spake many reprochfull words by the said earle of Gloucester, and used him in such unkind sort, that he upon displeasure thereof, had not onlie procured the escape of prince Edward, but joined with him in aid, against the said earle of Leicester; and other of the barons, to the utter confusion, both of them and of the cause. The bodie of the same earle was shamefullie abused & cut in peeces, his head and his private members were cut off, and fastened on either side of his nose, and presented unto the wife of the lord Roger Spontimer.

The people conceived an opinion, that this earle being thus slaine, fighting in defense of the liberties of the realme, & performance of his oath, as they take it, died a martyr: which by the hated holinesse of his passed life and miracles ascribed to him after his death, was greatlie confirmed in the next age. But the feare of the kings displeasure staied the people from hastily honouring him as a saint at this time, where otherwise they were inclined greatlie thereto, reputing him for no lesse in their conscience, as in secret talke they would not sicke to utter. There were wounded & taken, besides the other that were slaine at that battell of Cuesham, Guie de Spontfort, the earle of Leicesters sonne, the lords John Fitz John, Henrie de Bassings, Humfrie de Bohun the younger, John de Bekie, Peter de Spontfort the younger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The king being delivred out of his adversaries hands, and likewise the king of Romans, went unto Warwick, and there increasing his power, determined to pursue his enemies.

But first, about the Statutie of our ladie was a parlement holden at Westminster, where the statutes of Oxford were cleerlie repealed. Also, all such as had favoured the barons, and were as then either in prison or abroad, should be disherited. It was also ordeined at this parlement, that the wealthy citizens of London should be cast into prison, and that the citie should be deprived of hir liberties. Also, that the stulps and cheins, wherewith the streets were fenced, should be had awaie, because that the citizens had aided the earle of Leicester against the king and his realme. All this was done, for the cheefe citizens were committed to ward within the castle of Westminster, till they had paid no small summes of monie for their fines. The liberties of the citie were suspended, and the towne of London was made stronger by the stulps and cheins which were brought into it out of the citie. Moreover, because Simon de Spontfort might not agree with the king, being come to this parlement upon assurance, he was restored to the castle of Killingworth.

After this, in the feast of the translation of S. Edward, a parlement was holden at Westminster, and the sentence of disheriting the kings adversaries was pronounced against them, whose lands the king forthwith gave unto his trustie fabrics, where he thought good. Some of the disherited men rede-

The earle of Leicesters sonne raiseth an armie, the which went to Winchester.

The armie of the earle of Leicesters sonne is discomfited.

N. Triuer.

The castell of Spionmouth taken.

The battell of Cuesham.

Polydor.

The welshmen fled.

The earle of Leicester slaine.

The earle of Leicester's sonne being thus slain, the barons to confusion.

Polydor.

March. Wals.

A parliament at Winchester.

A parliament at Westminster.

Erl Ferrers

Fabian.
Anno Reg. 50.
The citie of
London sub-
mitted hir-
selfe to the k.The London-
ners put to
their fine.
Cardinall
Dhobone the
popes legat.
Fabian.One Dthon
made gardian
of the citie of
London.

Math. West.

Nic. Trewe.
The legat
holdeth a spe-
nod at Port-
hampton.Matt. West.
This suspen-
sion was pro-
nounced in a
council hold-
en by the
said cardinall
at Pauls as
Fabian saith.
Math. West.

med their possessions, with a portion of monie, in
name of a fine. Other of them flocking together, got
them into the woods and desert places, where keeping
them out of sight as outlaws, they lived by spoiles
and robberies. The chiefe of them was Robert erle
of Ferrers, who neuertheless was restored to his
lands, but yet with condition, that if afterwards he
fell into the like crime, he should forfeit his earldome
for ever. The Londoners with much ado, at length,
obtained pardon of the king. The maior and alder-
men of the citie were glad to submit themselves,
though the commons, without consideration of the
great perill which they were in, would haue stood
still at defiance with the king, and defended the citie
against him. It was no maruell though they were of
diuerse and contrarie opinions, for in those daies, the
citie was inhabited with manie and sundrie nations
which then were admitted for citizens. At length, by
on their submission, the king took them to mercie,
upon their fine, which was seized at twentie thousand
marks.

About Alhallotwentie, cardinall Dthobone came
from the pope into England as his legat, to helpe
towards some agreement to be had betwixt the king
and his barons. He was committed to prison (as
some write) by the Londoners, for that he spake a-
gainst their doings, when they shut their gates a-
gainst the king; but he was shortly released as
should appeare. On the first day of Nouember in the
fiftieth yeare of his reigne, king Henric came to
Westminster, and shortly after, he gaue alwaie the
number of thre score houses, with the household stuffe
in the same contained, so that the owners were com-
pelled to redeeme them againe of those his seruants,
to whome he had giuen the said houses, together with
all such lands, goods and cattels, as the same citizens
had within any part of England. Then was one cal-
led sir Dthon made custos or gardian of the citie,
who was also comestable of the towre, he chose to be
bailliffes, and to be acceptable to the kings vse,
John Adrian, and Walter Henric, citizens of the
same citie. The king also took pledges of the best
mens sonnes of the citie, which pledges he caused to
be put in the towre, and there kept at the costs of
their parents. ¶ The king by aduise of his counsell
ordained, that within euerie shire of the reline, there
should be a capteine or lieutenant appointed with ne-
cessarie allowance of the king for his charges, the
which, with the assistance of the shiriffe, should punish
and kepe downe the wicked outrage of theues and
robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were
sprong up in great numbers, and growen to excee-
ding great boldnesse; but now, through feare of de-
serued punishment, they began to ceasse from their
accustomed rapine, and the kings power came a-
gaine in estimation, so that peace after a manner
tooke new root and increase.

Upon S. Nicholas euen, the king departed from
Westminster, towards Portsmouth, where the
cardinall Dthobone held a synod, and according to
that he had in commandement, pronounced all the
kings aduersaries accursed, and namelie all the bi-
shops which had aided the barons against the king,
in time of the late warres, of whome afterward he
absolued the most part. But John bishop of Winche-
ster, Henric bishop of London, and Stephan bishop
of Chichester were sent to Rome, to purchase their
absolution of pope Clement the fourth, as well for o-
ther points of disobedience, as chiefe for that, where
the queene had procured a curse of pope Urbane the
fourth, that was predecessor to this Clement, to ac-
curse all the barons and their supporters, which war-
red against the king his husband: the said bishops to
whome the commission was sent to denounce that

curse for feare of the barons deferred the execution.
Walter bishop of Worcester, chancing to fall sick
at that time, died about the beginning of Februarie,
confessing first, that he had grauouly erred, in
maintaining the side of the erle of Leicester against
the king, and therefore directed his letters to the
popes legat, requiring to be absolved, which his peti-
tion the legat granted. Whereupon, in this counsell at
Portsmouth, there was published by the cardinall
a grant, made to the king by the pope, of the dismes
of the english church for one whole yeare then next
insuing.

A little before the kings departure from London
now in this last time, he ordained sir John Linde
knight, and maister John Walden cleerke, to be
gardians of the citie and towre, by the names of se-
neshals or stewards: but such earnest suit was
made to the king, to obtaine a perfect pardon for
the Londoners, that at length after the aforesaid
seneshals had taken suerties for the payment of their
fine, the k. caused his charter of pardon to be made
vnder his broad seale, and sent it vnto them, wherein
all former trespasses committed by them in the last
warres was clerelie pardoned; certeine persons,
whose bodies and goods were giuen vnto his eldest
sonne Edward, excepted out of the same pardon. This
charter was dated at Portsmouth, the tenth day of
Januarie, in the fiftieth yere of king Henrics reigne.
Then also were discharged the foresaid seneshals, and
the citizens of themselves chose for maior, William
Fitz Richard; and for shiriffs, Thomas de la Fount,
and Gregorie de Rochelle.

Whilist the king late at Portsmouth, the lord
Simon de Montfort put himselfe vpon the dowre
and order of the legat Dthobone, and was therefore
permitted to be at large in the kings court: but at
the kings comming to London, he suddenly depar-
ted out of the court, and rode to Winchelsie, where
he associated himselfe with rousers, and after some
pices taken, departed from them, and went into
France, where he offered his seruice to the french
king, and was receiued. Thus saith Matthew West-
minster, and other. But Polydor saith, that by Dtho-
bons means, he was reconciled to the kings fauour;
and thereupon to auoid occasion of further displea-
sure, he commanded, that the castell of Killingworth
should be restored vnto the king, which the capteine
refused to deliuer, having fortified it with all man-
ner of provision, and things necessarie to defend a
siege.

The wardens of the cinque ports, which during
the time of the barons warre had done manie robe-
ries on the sea, as well against the Englishmen as
other, were at length reconciled to the king, who was
faine to agree with them vpon such conditions as
they thought good, because at that time (as the comon
saying went) they had the dominion of the sea in their
owne hands. But in some writers we find it thus re-
corded, that when certeine prisoners which were kept
by the barons of the cinque ports in the castell of
Douer, heard how all things prospered on the kings
side, they got possession of a tower within the same
castell, and took vpon them to defend it against their
keepers; whereof when aduertisement was giuen to
the king and to his sonne the lord Edward, they ha-
sted forth to come & succour their friends. The keepers
of the castell, perceiving themselves beset with their
enemies, sent to the king for peace, who granting
them pardon of life and limme, with horse, armour
and other such necessities, the castell was yielded vn-
to his hands. From thence, prince Edward depar-
ting, visited the sea coasts, punishing diuerse of the in-
habitants within the precinct of the cinque ports, and
putting them in feare, receiued diuerse to the king
his

N. Triuce.

The London-
ners pardoned.I 2 6 6
Fabian.Simon de
Montfort.Math. West.
Polydor.Fabian.
The war-
dens of the
cinque ports re-
conciled to
the king.
Math. West.

Dunelm.

Douer castell
deliuered to
the king.

D. D. g.

his

Winchelsea
soon by force.

March. Westm.
The Isle of
Orholme.

Abington.
Lincolne
taken.
N. Triuer.

Killingworth
castell fortifi-
ed against
the king.

The kings
pursuant had
his hand cut
off.

Adam Cur-
don.

March. Westm.

The battell of
Chesterfield.

Eueriden.

his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelsea onelic made countenance to resist him, but prince Edward with valiant assaults entred the towne, in which entrie much guiltie blood was spilt, but yet the multitude by commandment of prince Edward was spared. And thus having wonne the towne, he commanded that from thenceforth they should abstaine from piracies, which they had before time greatlie vsed. Thus were the seas made quiet, and those of the cinque ports brought to the kings peace, and throughlie reconciled.

In this meane while diuerse of the disherited gentlemen, sore repining at the sentence and order given against them, had taken the Isle of Orholme in Lincolneshire, whither a great number of euill doers immediatlie resorted, and began to do mischief in all the countries next adioining. They toke and sacked the citie of Lincolne, spoiled the Jewes, and slew manie of them, entred their synagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length prince Edward, or (as other saie) his brother earle Edmund, was sent against them, who compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obserue, they receiued an oth shortly after at London, but neuertheless were as faine ready to breake and renounce the same, and began a new boile in sundrie parts of the realme. Diuerse of them fortified the castell of Killingworth, providing themselves of all things necessarie for defence out of the countries adioining. The king aduertised hereof, sent vnto them a pursuant, commanding them to cease fro such rebellious attempts, but the messenger had one of his hands cut off, and so with a contemptuous answer was sent back againe.

Prince Edward in passing through the forest of Aulton, got sight of sir Adam Curdon one of the disherited men, with whome he coped and toke him prisoner with his owne hand, yet sauing him, and pardoning the offense of rebellion, in respect of the ballancie which he tried by prowe to rest in him: but his soldiers and complices being there taken, he caused to be hanged vpon trees within the same forest. Robert earle Ferrers contrarie to his oth of late receiued, accompanied with the lord d'Euille and others, did much hurt by way of open war against the kings friends in the north parts. Against whom the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Albaine was sent with a great power: the which comming to Chesterfield fell vpon his enemies in such wise on the sudden, that they had not time to arme themselves, and so were distressed and overcome.

Yet the lord John d'Euille brake out, and incurtrung with sir Gilbert Hansard, ouerthrew him, and escaped out of danger. Great slaughter was made on ech hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and gentlemen sought to get out of perill by flight. The earle of Darbie got into a church, but he was descryed by a woman, and so was taken. There were manie other also taken: & amongst them the lord Baldwine Wake, and sir John de la Haie with much paine escaped. This battell was foughten about the midd of Maie, or vpon Whitson eue, as the Chronicle of Dunstable saith. Those that escaped, as the lord John d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but assembling themselves together in companies, keeping within woods and other desert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much mischief. On the ninth of August they toke the Isle of Elic, and so strengthened it, that they held it a long time after, spoiling and robbing the countries round about them, as Suffolke, Suffolke, and Cambridgeshire.

The bishop of Elic had undertaken to keepe the Isle to the kings vse, but being now distressed thereof, he got him awaie, and fell to cursing them that were thus entred against his will, but they learned to

pasle lile vpon his thundering excommunications.

On the 16 of December, they came to the citie of Norwich, and spoiling it, toke manie of the localthe citizens, and ransomed them at great summes of monie. The lord Henrie Hastings and Simon de Patellull, with diuerse others, got them into the castell of Killingworth, and daile went forth at their pleasures, spoiling and waiking the townes about them, or causing them to fine with them to be spared.

And this they forced not to do, although the lord Edmund the kings sonne laie in Warwike, to cut them short of such their licentious doings. The king therefore menting to haue the said castels of Killingworth by force, began his siege about the same vpon the euen of S. John Baptists. But the lord Henrie Hastings, the capteine of that castell, and other his complices defended it so stronglie, that though the king enforced his power to the uttermost to win it of them, yet could he not anie thing puenale, till at length bittels began to faile them within, and then vpon the euen of saint Thomas the apostle before Christmasse, the lord Henrie Hastings deliuered the said castell into the kings haues, vpon condition that he and all other should haue life and limme, horse and armour, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this siege had continued from the 26 of June vnto the 20 day of December.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the siege, there were within the castell a thousand and seven hundred armed men, and eight score women, beside lackies and cofferers. Here is also to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie before Killingworth, by the aduise of the kings counsell, and of the legat Athobone, there were twelue peeres appointed and chosen forth, which should deuise and make ordinances touching the state of the realme, and the disherited persons, who according to their commission, ordeined certeine ppositions, the which are contained within the statute intituled Dictum de Killingworth. The king after that the castell of Killingworth was deliuered to his hand, lest therein his sonne Edmund, and went himselfe to Couentre or (as other haue) to Oxford, and there held his Christmasse. Shortly after comming to Westmister he held a parlement there, studing to set a quietnesse in all matters and controuersies depending betwixt him and the barons. In this parlement sentence was given against earle Ferrers for the forfeiture of his earledome: then was Edmund the kings yonger sonne put in possession both of the earledome of Darbie and Leicester.

On the first of Februarie being sundaie, the king came to S. Edmundsburie, and staid there till the two and twentieth of the same moneth, set forthward that day towards Cambridge, where he laie with his armie, the better to bide them that kept the Isle of Elic against him. He laie there all the Lent season. And in the meane tme the earle of Gloucester taking great displeasure, for that he might not haue his will, as well for the banishing of strangers, as for re-stitution to be made vnto the disherited men of their lands, he began a new surre, and assembling a great power in the marches of Wales came nere vnto London, pretending at the first as though he had come to aid the king, at length he got licence of the maior and citizens to passe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, and thither came to him shortly sir John d'Euille, by Southerie side, bringing with him a great companie.

The maior caused the bridge and water side to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euerie night was the water bridge drawne vp: but within a while the earle used the matter so, that

Forwich
lacked.

Chron. Des.

The siege of
Killingworth
castell began
neth.
The lord
Hastings.

Anno Reg.

Killingworth
castell deli-
uered to the k.

Dictum de
Killingworth
Abington.
March. Westm.

1267
A parliament
at westm-
ster.

Earle for-
wers dispo-
sed.

The earle of
Gloucester
with an armie
commeth to
London.

The legat
admonisheth
the earle of
Glocester to
obey the king.

The legat &
other meane to
defend the to-
wer against
the earle of
Glocester.

The citizens
of London in
oppose chose
new officers.

Prisoners set
at libertie.

The legat ac-
cuseth & trou-
blers of the
kings peace.

The king laie
at Cambridge

Ramsley.

The king maketh
hard shute
for monie to
hire soldiers
& men of war
to assaile him.

The king remo-
veth towards
Winchese.

that he was permitted to lodge within the citie with certeine of his men, by reason whereof, he drew more and more of his people into the citie, so that in the end he was master of the citie, and in Easter make took the keies of the bridge into his hands. The legat coming forth of the towre, repaired to the church of S. Paule, under a colour to preach the crosse, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his words to the earle of Glocester, admonishing him to obey the king as he was bound by his allegiance. And further, whereas the earle had given commandement that no viduals should be suffered to be brought into the tower where the popes legat was lodged, he thought himselfe well used in that behalfe, with he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the earle seemed to give small regard to his words, he got him secretly againe into the tower, with certeine noble men the kings friends, meaning to defend it unto the uttermost of their powers.

There entered also into the tower a great number of Jewes with their wives and children, unto whom one ward of the tower was committed to defend, which they did in that necessitie verie stoutlie. Panie of the citizens fearing a new insurrection, avoided out of the citie, whose goods the earle seized into his owne use, or suffered his men to spoile the same at their pleasures. The most part of all the commons of the citie took part with the earle, and in a tumult got them to the Guildhall, and there chose for their maiors or custos of the citie, Richard de Colworthe knight, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton and Roger Parthall, discharging the old maiors and sherriffes of their offices. Divers aldermen were committed to prison, and their goods sequestred, and much part thereof spoiled. Also all such persons as were prisoners in Belegate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other prison about the citie, for the quarrell of the barons warre, were set at libertie.

The legat perceiuing such disorder, accursed generally all such as thus troubled the kings peace, threatening themselves enemies to the king and the realme. He also interdicted all the churches within the citie and about it, licencing onlie diuine service to be said in houses of religion, and without ringing of any bell or singing: and whilist service was in hand, he appointed the church doores to be shut, because none of them that stood accursed, should enter and be present.

The king in the meane time laie at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries, which were daily attempted by them that held the Isle of Elie against him, of whom at one time he distressed a certeine number at Ramsley. And because now after that the earle was thus come to London, another companie of them brake out to rob and spoile, and were stopped by the kings power from entering into the Isle againe, they repaired straight to London, doing mischief inough by the waie.

The earle of Glocester greatly encouraged by their assistance, fell in hand to assaile the tower, with in the which the popes legat, Whobone, and diuerse other were inclosed, taking vpon them to defend it against the earle and all his puissance. The king vpon the first newes of the earle of Glocester his commotion, engaged the shippes of saints, and other iewels and reliques of the church of Westminster vnto certeine merchants for great summes of monie, with the which sending into France and Scotland, he retained men of warre to come to his aid. Here vpon his sonne prince Edward came to his succour vnto Cambridge, bringing thither with him thirtie thousand able men out of the north parts, Scots and other. The king then leauing a convenient number to defend Cambridge, marched from thence toward

Winchese. After his coming thither, his armie daily increased. The earle of Glocester and his complices, began to feare the matter, and sent to him for peace which could not be granted: where vpon they appointed to giue him battell vpon Houndslow heath. The king coming thither in the morning, found no man there to resist him, and therefore, after he had staied there a certeine space, he marched forth and came to Stratford, where he was lodged in the abbrie: his host incamped and laie at Ham and thereabouts.

This chanced about thre weekes after Easter. The souldiers which laie in London and in Southwarke, did much hurt about in the countrie of Southerie, & else where. They also spoiled the towne of Westminster, and the parish church there: but the monks and the goods belonging to the abbete they touched not, but made hauocke in the kings palace, drinking vp & destroying his wine, breaking the glasse windowes, and defacing the buildings most disorderlie, yea scarce forbearing to set the house on fire. Also there were of them that brake vp & robbed certeine houses in London, of the which misgouerned persons there were foure taken, that wore the cognisance of the earle of Darbie, whom the earle of Glocester caused to be put in saches, and so shrowne into the Thames.

As the king thus laie at Stratford, there came vnto him from the parts of beyond the sea, the earle of Bullongne, and S. Paule, with two hundred men of armes, and their suit of other souldiers. Also there arriued in the Thames a fleet of great vessels fraught with Calcoins, and laie afore the tower, abiding the kings pleasure. The earle of Glocester had caused bulwarks and barbicans to be made betwixt the tower and the citie, and also in sundrie places where need required ditches and trenches were cast, so that the citie was stronglie fortified. Howbeit now that the said earle and his complices perceiued themselves in manner as besieged, they sought for peace. And by mediation of the king of Almaine, the lord Philip Basset and the legat Whobone, the same was granted, the ordinance of Billingtonworth in euerie condition obserued. The Londoners were pardoned of their trespasses for receiuing the earle, though they were constrained to paie a thousand marks to the king of Romans, in recompense of the hurts done to him in burning of his house at Whitechurche.

Whilist the earle of Glocester kept the citie of London against the king, one Henrie de Suderesh, steward to the said earle, departing from London, came to the manour house of Gestepe saint Leger at Offeld, which he burnt, and turning from thence came to Bickhill. The lord Reigold Graie that held of the knights part, aduertised hercof, followed him with his retinue of men of warre, and coming vpon his enimie at vnwares, took the said Henrie, and slue thirtie of the chiefest of his companie, some he took, howbeit manie escaped. But now to our purpose. By this agreement concluded betwixt the king & the earle of Glocester, he also accepted to his grace the lord John Cineley, the lord Nicholas de Segraue, the lord William Parmion, the lord Richard de Graie, the lord John Fitz John, and the lord Gilbert de Lucie, with others: so that all parts of the realme were quieted, saving that those in the Isle of Elie would not submit themselves: yet at length by mediation of prince Edward they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortresses and defenses within that Isle by them made, were plucked downe and destroyed.

But it appeareth by other writers, that immediately after the agreement concluded betwixt the earle of Glocester, prince Edward the kings sonne, by setting

The king
cometh to
Stratford.
Fabian.

Math. Westm.

Westminster
spoiled.

Souldiers
sacked and thra-
wen into the
Thames.

The earles of
Bullongne &
S. Paule.
A fleet of Cal-
coins come to
the kings aid.

Abington.
A peace con-
cluded.

The London-
ners pardoned

Chron. Dun.
Suderesh.

The lord
Graie.

Euerden.

ting two:men in hand to make a causse throughe the ferns with bowes and hurdels, entred upon them that kept the Ile of Elle, so that manie of them got out, and fled to London unto the said earle of Gloucester, and other their complices. The residue submitted themselves, as the lord Wake, Simon Montfort the younger, the Dechees and other, upon condition to be pardoned of life and member: and further, that prince Edward should be a meane to his father to recieve them into favour. But by other it may rather seeme, that some of them kept and defended themselves within that Ile, till after the agreement made betwixt the king and the earle of Gloucester. By order of which agreement there were foure bishops and eight lords chosen forth, which had bene first nominated at Couentrie, to order and prescribe betwixt the king and the disherited men a forme of peace and redemption of their lands. And so in the feast of All saints, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and that euerie man should paie for his ransome for redemning his offense against the king.

Anno Reg. 52.

A parliament at Warleborough.

In the octaues of S. Martine, the king held a parliament at Warleborough, where the liberties contained in the booke called Magna charta were confirmed, and also diuerse other good and wholesome ordinances concerning the state of the common-wealth were established and enacted. ¶ In the moneth of Aprill there chanced great thunder, tempestuous raine, and floods, occasioned by the same, verie soze & horrible, continuing for the space of fiftene daies together. The legat Othobone, after he had in the synods holden at Northampton and London, deuised and made manie orders and rules for churchmen, and leuied amongst them great summes of monie, finally in the moneth of Iulie, he toke leaue of the king and returned to Rome, where after the deccasse of Innocent the first, about the yeare of our Lord 1276 he was chosen pope, and named Adrian the first, living not past 50 daies after. He went so nere hand to search out things at his going auaite, that he had inrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and toke the note with him to Rome.

Abington.

Prince Edward receiveth the crosse.

Fabian. A fraie in London betwene the goldsmiths and tailors.

Prince Edward the kings sonne, and diuerse other great lords of England before this legats departure out of the realme, receiued the crosse at his hands in Northampton on Epiphonias day, meaning thowth after according to promise there made, to go into the holie land to warre against Gods enimies. In this yeare fell great variance betwene the corporations or fellowshipes of the goldsmiths and tailors within the citie of London, whereunto euill words flowing from the tong gaue originall, for so that one evening there were assembled to the number of fise hundred in the streets in armour, and running together made a foule fraie, so that manie were wounded and some slaine. But the shiriffes hearing thereof, came & parted them, with assistance of other trades, and sent diuerse of them being taken unto prison, of the which there were arreigned to the number of thirtie, and thirtene of them condemned and hanged.

Anno Reg. 53. Theames frozen.

1260

In the fiftie & thirde yeare of king Henries reigne, there was such an exceeding great frost, beginning at saint Andrews tide, and continuing till it was nere candlemasse, that the Thames from the bidge upwards was so hard frozen, that men and beastes passed ouer on feet from Lambeth to Westminster, and so westward in diuerse places vp to Kingston. Also merchandize was brought from Sandwich and other places unto London by land. For the ships by reason of the yce could not enter the Thames. ¶ And about the feast of S. Medass, which falleth on the 6 of

February, fell so great abundance of raine, that the Thames rose so high, as it had not done at any time before, to remembrance of men then living; so that the cellars and vaults in London by the water side were drowned, and much merchandize marred & lost.

About S. Georges day there was a parliament holden at London, for the appealing of a controuersie depending betwixt prince Edward the kings son and the earle of Gloucester: at the which parliament were present almost all the prelates and peeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compromise, into the hands of the king of Almaine, undertaking to be ordered by him high and low touching all controuersies: and likewise for the tourne to be made into the holie land, but the king of Almaine did little in the matter to any great effect. ¶ In the beginning of Lent the king came to his sonne prince Edward the rule of the citie of London, with all the reuenues and profits thereto belonging. After which gift, the said prince made sir Hugh Fitz Othon constable of the towne and custos of the citie of London. ¶ Upon the ninth day of Aprill, Edmund the kings sonne, surnamed Crouchbacke, married at Westminster Auelina the daughter of the earle of Armarle. Prince Edward commanded the citizens of London to present unto him six citizens, of the which number he might nominate two shiriffes, and so appointed William de Hadstocke and Anketill de Alberne, which were two of the accomptants as their predecessours had bene.

In those daies a new custome or toll was used to be paid, which prince Edward let to farme unto certeine strangers, for the summe of twentie marks by yeare. Wherefore the citizens being grieved therewith, bought it of him for two hundred marks. Also this yeare there was granted to the king towards his tourne by him purposed into the holie land, the twentieth partie of euerie mans moueable goods throughout the realme of the late sex, and of the spiritualtie was granted by the assent of pope Gregorie the tenth, three times to be gathered within the terme of three yeares. This yeare the kings sonne the lord Edward obtained a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, so that the citizens did then chose unto them a maior and two shiriffes, which shiriffes by vertue of the same charter, had their office to farme, in maner as before time was accustomed: sauing that where they paid afore but three hundred and fiftie pounds, they paid now foure hundred and fiftie pounds. After which confirmation granted and passed vnder the kings broad seale, they chose for their maior, John Arian, and for shiriffes Walter Potter and John Tallow, the which were presented the 16 day of Iulie unto the king at Westminster by his sonne prince Edward, and there admitted and sworn. Then was sir Hugh Fitz Othon discharged of the rule of the citie. The citizens of their owne freewill gaue unto the king an hundred marks, and to his sonne prince Edward fise hundred marks: There was no great disorder attempted this yeare to the disquieting of the realme, sauing that certeine of the disherited gentlemen that belonged to the earle of Darbie, withdrew unto the forrest of the Deake in Darbithire, and there making their abode, spoiled and wasted the countries next adioining.

In the moneth of Maie, prince Edward the kings sonne set forthward on his tourne towards the holie land, and taking the sea at Dover, passed ouer into France, and came to Burdeaur, where he staid a while, and after went to Agues Hostes, and there toke shipping, first sailing (as some write) unto Tunis, where the christian armie, which letes the French king as then deccassed had brought thither, was

Abington. A parliament holden at London.

Prince Edward appointeth the mayors and shiriffes of London.

Anno reg. 52.

The liberties of the citie confirmed.

The rent of the farms of the shiriffes of London increased.

Chron. Dist.

Anno Reg. 54.

1270

Will. Rufus. Prince Edward setteth forthward towards the holie land.

Math. West.
The king sick

was readie to depart, and so prince Edward, with the new french king Lewes and other princes passed over into Sicill, where he sojourned for the winter time. In this yeare the king was vexed with a grievous sickness: and the Irishmen in rebellion slew a great sort of Englishmen, as well magistrats, as officers in that countrie.

Anno Reg. 55.
1271

Prince Edward
arrived
at Acres.
Abingdon.

Arfacide, of
some named
Sallam.

Prince Edward
is traitorously
wounded.

When the spring of the yeare began to approach, prince Edward espies the sea, and finally arrived at Acres with a thousand chosen men of warre, though there be writers that affirme, how there arrived with him of sundrie countreies five thousand horsemen, and double the same number of footmen. But amongst those that went out of England with him, these we find as principall, John de Britaine, John de Glesie, Peter de Granton, and Robert de Buse, besides other. Of his noble chivalrie there attibuted, we shall find a briefe note in the description of the holy land, and therefore here we omit the same. Howbeit this is to be remembred, that whilest the lord Edward sojourned there in the cite of Acres, he was in great danger to have bene slaine by treason: for a traitorous Saracen of that generation which are called Arfacides, and lately retained by the same lord Edward, and become verie familiar with him, found means one day as he sat in his chamber, to give him three wounds, which suerlie had cost him his life, but that one of the princes chamberlains staied the traitors hand, and somewhat brake the strokes, till other servants came to the rescue, and slue him there in the place.

Port Japha.

The generation
of the Ar-
facide, or Sal-
lam.

Anno Reg. 56.

1272
Nic. Trivet.
Math. West.
The decease
of the king of
Samaue.

His Que.

There be that write, how prince Edward himselfe, perceiuing the traitor to strike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: and as the Saracen offered to haue striken againe, he thrust him backe to the ground with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wrested the knife from him, and thrusting him into the bellie, so killed him, though in struggling with him, he was hurt againe a little in the forehead: and his servants withall comming to helpe him, one of them that was his musician, got up a tressill and stroke out the bzaines of the traitor, as he laie dead on the ground, and was blamed of his maister for striking him, after he saw him once dead before his face, as he might perceiue him to be. Some write, that this traitor was sent from the great admerall of Japha, on message to the prince Edward, and had bene with him diuerse times before, & now making countenance to take forth letters, got forth his knife, and attempted so to haue wrought his feat. Whatsoeuer the men was, the prince was in great danger, by reason of the enuened knife wherewith he was wounded, so that it was long yer he could be perfectlie whole. These Saracens called Arfacides, are a wicked generation of men, infected with such a superstitious opinion, that they beleue heauenlie blisse is purchased of them, if they can by any means slea one of the enemies of their religion, & suffer themselves for that fact the most cruell death that may be deuised. Prince Edward, after he was whole and recovered of his wounds, perceiuing that no such aid came into those parts out of chysendome, as was looked for, toke a truce with the enemies of our faith, and returned towards England, as hereafter shall be shewed.

On the fourth nones of Aprill (as some saie) or in the moneth of February (as other write) in the six and fiftieth yeare of H. Henries reigne at Berkhamstead, died Richard king of Almaine and earle of Cornewall, and was buried in the abbey of Hailles which he himselfe had founded: he was a worthy prince, and stood his brother king Henrie in great stead, in handling matters both in peace and warre. He left behind him issue begotten of his wife Sanela two

sonnes, Edmund and Henrie. This Edmund was he that brought the blood of Hails out of Germanie: for as he was there upon a time with his father, it chanced that as he was beholding the reliques, and other precious monuments of the ancient emperors, he espied a box of gold: by the inscription wherof he perceiued (as the opinion of men then gaue) that therein was contained a portion of the blood of our saviour.

He therefore, being desirous to haue some part thereof, so intreated him that had the keeping of it, that he obtained his desire, and brought it over with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof after his fathers deceasse in the abbey of Hailles, as it were to adorne and enrich the same, because that therein both his father and mother were buried; and the other two parts he did reserve in his owne custody, till at length moued upon such deuotion as was then vsed, he founded an abbey a little from his manour of Berkhamstead: which abbey was named Althung, in the which he placed monks of the order of Bonhommes, being the first that euer had bene sene of that order here in England. And herewith he also assigned the two other parts of that blood to the same abbey. Whereupon followed great resort of people to those two places, induced thereunto by a certaine blind deuotion.

Henrie the brother of this Edmund, and sonne to the foresaid king of Almaine, as he returned from Affrike, where he had bene with prince Edward, was slaine at Aiterbo in Italie (whither he was come about businesse which he had to doe with the pope) by the hand of Guie de Montfort, the sonne of Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester, in reuenge of the same Simons death. This murder was committed afore the high altar, as the same Henrie knelled there to heare diuine seruice. The foresaid Guie upon that murder committed, fled vnto his father in law, the earle of Angulare, then gouernour of Tuskain. There was at Aiterbo the same time Philip king of France, returning homewards from the iourne which his father made into Affrike, where he died. Also Charles king of Sicill was there present, whome the said Guie then serued. Both those kings were put in much blame, for that the murder and wilfull escape was done and suffered in their presence and no pursuit made after the murder. Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, when he had ruled the sea leauen and thirtie yeares, departed this life: and after his deceasse, about two yeares or more, was one Robert Kilwarbie appointed in his place by pope Gregorie, which Robert was the six and fortieth archbishop that had gouerned the see of Canturburie.

About the moneth of June there fell great debate and discord betwixt the monks of Roswich and the citizens there; which increased so farre, that at length the citizens with great violence assaulted the monastrie, fired the gates, and forced the fire so with red and drie wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to that abbey were cleane burned, wasted, and destroyed, so that nothing was preserved except one little chapell. The king hearing of this riot, rode to Roswich, and causing inquirie to be made thereof, thirtie young men of the cite were condemned, hanged and burnt, to the great griefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the priour of the place was the occasion of all that mischief, who had got together armed men, and toke vpon him to kepe the belfrate and church by force of armes: but the priour was well inough bozne out, and defended by the bishop of Roswich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maister of the mischief, though hands were not laid vpon him nor his adherents: perhaps for

Edmund erle
of Cornewall.

The blood of
Hails.

Althung ab-
bey built.
Bonhommes.

The H. Hen-
rie sonne to
the K. of Al-
maine murder-
ed in Italie.

Robert Kil-
warbie archb.
of Canturburie

A frate be-
twixt the
monks and
citizens of
Roswich.

Thirtie of the
citizens of
Roswich han-
ged and burnt.

fear,

fear, peradventure for fauour; & no maruell though
the lesse faultie lost their liues as most guiltie, for

varius venator ad vrfes

*Accedit, rufos conseruat filua leones,
Debilibus robusta nocent, & grandia paruis,
Ales fulminiger timidus iufte stat olores,
Accipiter lanat turdos molleſq; columbas,
Perſicolor coluber rarus miſerofq; lacertus,
Inuit muſcas tranſmittit aranea vefpas.*

The king returning by ſaint Edmundsburie, after
he had done his deuotions to S. Edmunds thyrine,
began to waie ſomewhat craſie: but after hauing a
littie recovered his health, he called a counsell there,
wherein he went about to haue taken order for the
punishment of rebels: but his ſickneſſe againe re-
newing, he brake by the aſſembly, and with all ſped
haſted to London. Prince Edward vpon his returne
out of the hollie land came to Chalons in Burgogne,
& at the request of the earle he did attempt with his
companye to hold a iuſtes and tournie againſt the
ſaid earle & all other commers; And though through
diſdaine and ſpite there was homie plaie thewed,
vpon purpoſe to put the Engliſhmen to the ſoile & re-
proch; yet by high valiantie prince Edward and his
companye bare themſelues ſo worthilie, that in the
end the aduerſaries were well beaten, and conſtrai-
ned to leaue the hono: of that enterpiſe to the ſaid
prince Edward and his partakers. After this, he kept
on his iourne till he came vnto Paris, where he was
honourable receiued of the French king, and from
thence he went to Burdeaux, and there remained
till after his fathers death.

Anno Reg. 57.

King Henrie
departeth this
life.

The earle of
Gloceſter.

The iſſue of
king Henrie
the third.

This propoſi-
on of booke.

This condi-
tion

In this meane time king Henrie, being returned
to London from ſaint Edmundsburie (as befoze we
haue heard) his ſickneſſe ſo increaſed vpon him, that
finallie he departed at Weſtmiſter on the ſixteenth
day of November, in the yeare of our ſauour 1272.
after he had liued threſcore and ſiue yeares, and reig-
ned ſiftie and ſix yeares, and ſeauen and twentie
daies. A little befoze his death, when he perceiued
that he could no longer liue, he cauſed the earle of
Gloceſter to come befoze him, and to be netulie
ſworne to keepe the peace of the land, to the beho-
fe of his ſonne prince Edward. His bodie was buried
at Weſtmiſter. He had iſſue by his wiſe quene E-
liano: two ſonnes, the ſoreſaid Edward, prince of
Wales, that ſucceeded him; and Edmund earle of
Lancaſter, by ſome autho:rs ſurnamed Crouchbacke,
though (as other affirme) vntulie; that this Edmund
was the elder brother: but becauſe he was a deſor-
med perſon, therefore his yonger brother Edward
was preferred to the kingdome, which was deuifed
of purpoſe to conueie a right to king Henrie the
fourth, which fetched the deſcent from the ſaid Ed-
mund, and by force vſurped and held the crowne, as
after it may appeare. Moreover, king Henrie had
thre daughters by the ſaid Eliano:, as Margaret
married to Alexander king of Scots, Beatrice whom
the duke of Britaine had to wiſe, and Catharine
which died befoze ſhe was mariable.

He was of bodie well caſt and ſtrong, of a god ſta-
ture in height, well fauoured of face, with the lid of
one of his eyes comming downe, ſo as it almoſt co-
uered the apple of the ſame eye. Of nature he was
courteous, and of ſtomach rather noble than ſtout; a
devout prince and liberall towards the poze and nee-
die. Yet he wanted not diſpraiſe in ſome points,
namelie for that in ordering of things and weightie
affaires, he vſed ſmall conſideration. He was alſo

noted to be a great taker of monie by leaſes, ſares,
and ſubſidies: but therevnto he was enforced by ne-
ceſſitie, to beate the charges of wuarre and other pub-
like affaires, than of any couetous mind or purpoſe
to ſerue his owne turne. What captiues of hono-
ur among the nobilitie liued in his time, it may appeare
by the courſe of the hiſto:ie of his age.

Of ſundry learned men theſe we find mentioned
in maſter Bales centuries and others. Walter of
10 Couentrie an hiſto:ographe: Radulphus Niger
that wrote both hiſto:ies and other treatiſes, Cerna-
ſius de Helkelie, Albiſcius of London, Robert Cur-
ſon a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and hu-
maine letters, ſo that comming to the court of Rome
he there grew in ſuch eſtimation, that he became a
cardinall, of whom we find this recorded by Matthew
Weſtmiſter and Matthew Paris. [At the taking of
Damiate, a citie in Aegypt, there was with Belagi-
us, the cardinall of Alba, the popes legat, maſter Ro-
20 bert Curſon an Engliſhman a moſt famous clerke,
bozne of a noble houſe, and cardinall of the church of
Rome. Theſe are reported to flouriſh in the daies both
of king John and king Henrie his ſonne.

In the ſaid kings time alſo there liued other lear-
ned men, as theſe; Hugh Kirkelſed, Richard of Cle,
Peter Henham, John Giles or de Sando Egidio
an excellent phyſician, Caducan a Welſhman
bozne and biſhop of Bangor, Alexander a ſingular
learned man that wrote diuerſe and manie treatiſes
aſwell in diuinitie as philoſophie and humanitie,
30 both in verſe and proſe; alſo Stephan Langton, that
for his ſingular knowledge was made high chancel-
lor of the vniuerſitie of Paris, and at length was ad-
mitted archbiſhop of Canturburie, againſt the will
of king John, in which quarell ſo great trouble inſu-
ed, as befoze we haue partlie heard; Raſe Coggeſhall
alſo liued in king Henries daies, that wrote the ap-
pendix vnto the chronicle of Raſe Niger, he was
abbat of Coggeſhall abbey in Eſſex, whereof he
40 toke his ſurname; William Lanthome, Peter of
S. Saulo:, a canon of the houſe called S. Saulo:,
or of the trinitie by London; Alexander Hailes a fri-
er of the order of the minors, who wrote manie trea-
tiſes in diuinitie; Richard ſurnamed Medicus a moſt
learned phyſician, and no leſſe expert in philoſophie
and the mathematical. There be alſo remembred by
maſter Bale, Radulfe the earle of Cheſter, the third
and laſt of that name, who hauing great knowledge
and vnderſtanding in the lawes of this land, compl-
50 led a booke of the ſame lawes, as a witneſſe of his
great ſkill therein: Alexander Wendocke biſhop of
Cheſter, John Blund, Edmund Rich, Robert Rich,
Henrie Bacon, that excellent lawier, who wrote the
booke commonlie called Bacon after his name, in-
tituled *De conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*; Richard ſurna-
med Theologus, Walter de Cucham, Raſe Freſ-
bozne, Laurence Somercote, brother as it is thought
to Robert Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the
Romane church; Nicholas Fernham a phyſician,
60 Robert Bacon a notable diuine, Simon Langton,
brother to the archbiſhop of Canturburie Stephan
Langton; Richard Fiſaker, Simon Stokes, John
of Kent or Bantianus, William Shirwood, Michael
Blaupaine, John Godard, Vincent of Couentrie,
Alberike Aer, Richard Wich, John Baſing alſo de
Baſingſtoke, Roger Waltham, William Sening-
ham, Robert Croſſed that learned biſhop of Lin-
colne, whoſe memo:ie amongſt the learned will re-
maine vntill the world laſteth.

Thus farre Henrie the third.

Edward



Edward the first, surnamed Long- shanks, the eldest sonne of Henrie the third.

1272
Anno Reg. 1.

Edward, the first of that name after the conquest, began his reigne over this kingdom of England, the 16 day of Nouember, in the yeere of the world, 5239, of our Lord 1272, of the Barons 814, after the conquest 206, the veneration of the empire after the decesse of Frederike the second as yet induring (though shortlie after in the yeare next following, Radulfe of Habsburge was elected emperor) in the third yeare of Philip the third then reigning in France, and Alexander the third then liuing in gouernement of the Scottis kingdome.

Math. West.
A new scale
made.

Chro. Dun.

Math. Westm.

1273

Cuy de Pontfort
for excom-
municated.

This Edward the first, when his father died, being about the age of 35 yeares, was as then in the holie land, or rather in his iourneie homewards: but wheresoever he was at that present, the nobles of the land, after his father was departed this life, assembled at the new temple in London, and causing a new seale to be made, they ordeined faithfull ministers and officers, which should haue the treasure in keeping, and the administration of iustice for the maintenance of peace and tranquillitie within the land, and on the 22 day of Nouember he was proclaimed king. Who after he had remained a time in the holie land, and perceived himselfe destitute of such aid as he looked for at the hands both of the Christians and Tartarians, he left in the citie of Acon certeinne stipendiary souldiers, and taking the sea sailed homewards, arriving first in Sicill, where, of Charles king of that land he was honorablie receiued and conueied, till he came vnto Ciuita vecchia in Italie, where pope Gregorie as then laie with his court, of whom (as of his old friend that had been with him in the holie land) he obtained that earle Aldebrandino Rosso, and Cuy of Pontfort, that had murdered the lord Henrie, eldest sonne to Richard king of Almaine, might be sent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged himselfe, but Cuy de Pontfort was excommunicated, as a violator of the church, a murderer and a traitor, so as he was disherited euen vnto the fourth generation, till he had reconciled himselfe to the church, as he was intreated.

After this, it is wonderfull to remember with what great honor king Edward was receiued of the cities, as he passed through Tuscaine and Lumbardie. At his coming ouer the mounteins at Chalon in Burgundie, he was at a iusts and toirne, which then was there holden by the Frenchmen against the Englishmen, the honor whereof remained with the Englishmen. In this toirne the fight of the footmen was great: for the Englishmen being fore provoked, due manie of the French footmen, but because they were but rascals, no great accompt was made of them, for they were vnarmed, gaping for the spoile of them that were ouerthrowen. King Edward passing

forth, came to the French court, where of his cosine germane king Philip he was iustlie receiued. Here king Edward, doing homage to the French king for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France, passed into Guien.

A tenth was granted of the cleargie to the king and to his brother Edmund earle of Leicester and Lancaster by the popes appointment for two yeares, a chapleine of the pope a Gascoigne boine named Reimond being sent into England for that purpose, who gaue part vnto them, and part thereof he kept to himselfe towards his charges, but the most part was referred to the popes disposing. Whilest the king remained in Gascoigne, he had somewhat to do against certeinne rebels, as Gaston de Berne, and other that were revolted from him. The castles belonging to the said Gaston he subdued, but his person he could not meet with. Finaltie, after he had set things in order aswell in Guien as in other places in the parts of beyond the seas, he basted homewards, and came to London on the second day of August, where he was receiued with all ioy that might be deuised. The streets were hanged with rich cloths of silke, arras, and tapestrie, the aldermen and burgeses of the citie shew out of their windowes handfuls of gold and siluer, to signifye the great gladnesse which they had conceiued of his safe returne: the conduits ran plentifullie with white wine and red, that ech creature might drinke his fill. Upon the 19 day of August in this second yeare of his reigne he was crowned at Westminster, together with his wife queene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Killwarbie archbishop of Cantuarburie.

At this coronation were present Alexander king of Scots, and John earle of Britaine, with their wiues that were sisters to King Edward. The king of Scots did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had done to other kings of England ancesours to this king Edward. At the sollemnitie of this coronation there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) five hundred great hollies by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornewall, Gloucester, Pembroke, Warren, & others, as they were alighted fro their backs. On St. Nicholas euen there chanced such an earthquake with lightning and thunder, and therewithall the appearing of the burning drake, and a blasing starre called a comet, that the people were brought into no small feare vpon consideration thereof. But now to the point of the historie.

King Edward at the first like a prudent prince chose the wisest and worthiest men to be of his council, & to purchase the loue of his subiects, whose minds were somewhat offended towards his father (by reason that he refused to keepe promise with them touching the restitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) king Edward shewed himselfe so gentle towards all

Anno Reg. 2.
Math. Westm.
A disine granted to the king & his brother.

1274

Nic. Treust.
King Edward his re-
turne home.

Math. West.

Caxton.

de gras

1275
Anno Reg.3.

The parliament.
The statutes
of Westminster.
The prince of
Wales Leolin.

degrees of men, that he seemed to exceed the reasonable bounds of courteous humanitie, much more than became his roiall estate. After this, he reformed divers lawes and statutes, and devised some new ordinances, greatlie for the wealth of the realme. He held his first parlement at Westminster, where the ordinances were made, called the statutes of Westminster the first.

To this parlement was Leolin the prince of Wales summoned to come and do his homage, having bene requested first to come to the kings coronation, but he refused; and now having summons to come to this parlement, he excused himselfe, affirming that he durst not come for feare of certeine noblemen that late in wait for his life, requiring to have pledges delivered for his safe coming and going, the kings sonne, and Gilbert earle of Gloucester, with Robert Burnell the lord chancellor. The king was greatlie offended with such a presumptuous demand, but passed it over, till after the end of the parlement, then repairing to Chester he sent certayne messengers to the said Leolin, requiring of him to come & do his homage, but he still delayed time, so that in the end the king raised an armie, meaning to recover that by force, which otherwise he could not obtaine by quiet meanes. ¶ This yere the people paid a fifteenth to the king of all their temporall goods, which was said to be granted first to his father.

The king cometh to Chester.

March, Westm.
Bretton bishop of Hereford departeth this life.

It rained blood.

1276
Anno Reg.4.

The earle of Montforts daughter appointed wife to the prince of Wales taken.

Leolin prince of Wales beginneth to make wars.
March, West.

The same yere departed this life John Bretton bishop of Hereford, who being verie expert in the lawes of the land, compiled a booke of them called Le Bretton. The 11 of September, a generall earthquake chanced betwixt the first houre and the thirde of the same daie, the church of S. Michael on the hill without Claffenburie, was therewith throtwne down to the ground. After this, it rained blood in the countrie of Wales, as a prodigious evill token to that nation, with whose blood thortlie after that region was in manie places moistened and stained. For as it chanced thortlie after, Leolin the sonne of Griffin came to have the government of Wales, who partlie to raise new seditions in England, and partlie to purchase him friendship and alliance in France, sent unto king Philip, requiring of him that he might have in marriage the ladie Cleane daughter to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, the which together with his mother and brother Emerike, remained as banished persons in France. The French king granted his request, and sent him under the conduct of his said brother to be conveyed into Wales unto Leolin, who had promised to marrie him. But per they approached to Wales, at the Ile of Hille both the brother & sister were taken by foure ships of Wiltshire, the owners whereof that so toke them, sent them unto king Edward. When Leolin understood that his wife was taken from him by the waie as he was comming, he was not a little wroth, and incontinently began to make warre upon king Edwards subjects that bordered nere unto Wales, killing the people, spoiling their goods, and burning by their townes and houses on each side.

Wherewith the king of England was so moved, that although the said Leolin made sute for peace, and offered no small sum of monie to have the daughter of the earle of Leicester his fianced wife delivered to him, yet would not the king by any meanes consent to that marriage, nor receive any monie of him, except he would ressoe unto the right owners such lands as he had invaded and got into his possession, and further repaire such castles as he had destroyed. Whereupon grew no small grudge betwixt the Welshmen and Englishmen, so that to repress the invasion of the enemies in the parts towards

Wiltshire, Mountgomerie and Chester, the king sent three hundred men in armes on horsebacke. In the quindene of Easter, the king departing from Westminster, hastied towards Wales with a mightie power, and caused the courts of the exchequer and of his bench to remove unto Shrewesburie, that they might be nere unto him, making forward with all convenient speed to come to the aid and succour of his liege people.

10 Whereupon entring into Wales he toke the castell of Rutland, and sent into West Wales a valiant captain named Paine de Camureys, who with fire and sword wasted that countrie, so that the people offering themselves to the kings peace, delivered unto the said Paine the castell of Stridewie with the countrie adjoining. Then Leolin the prince of Wales, perceiving that he was not able to resist the kings power, and knowing that if he did attempt the conflict against him the danger would rebound to himselfe & his traine, did as thold verie counsellors,

Peruigili cura semper meditare futura,

and therefore made suit for peace, in so much that finally it was agreed, that commissioners for both parts should talke concerning certeine articles, and whatsoever they concluded, aswell the king as the said Leolin should hold the same for firme and stable. The king appointed one of his commissioners, to wit, the lord Robert de Tiptoft, to take an oth for him, & authorised the said Robert, Anthony Beke, and frer William de Southampton, prior provinciall of the friers preachers, commissioners, nominated on his behalfe, to receive the like oth of the said Leolin. Which Leolin appointed commissioners for his part, Euder ap Cdeuemet, and Grono ap Helin, the which commissioners with good deliberation concluded upon certeine points and articles, of which the principall were as followeth.

1 First, that the said Leolin should set at libertie all prisoners which he held in captivite for the king of Englands cause, frelie and without all challenge.

2 Secondlie, that to have peace and the kings of Englands favour, he should give unto the said king fiftie thousand pounds sterling, the daies of the payment whereof to rest in the kings will and pleasure.

3 Thirddie, that the land of the foure cantreds with out all contradiction should remaine for ever to the king and his heires, with all lands conquered by the king and his people, the Ile of Anglesey excepted, which Ile was granted to the prince, so that he should paie for the same yerialie the summe of one thousand marks, and five thousand marks for an income. Provided, that if the prince chanced to die without issue, then the said Ile to reuert againe into the kings hands.

4 Fourthlie, that the prince shall come to Kothelan or Kothland (as it is commonlie called) there to do fealtie to the king, and before his comming thither, he should be absolved and have the interdiction of his lands released, and at his being at Kothelan, a daie shall be appointed him by the king for his comming to London, there to do his homage. Whereupon was order taken for his safe conduct, aswell in his comming to Kothelan, as to London. There be that write that he was appointed to come unto London, at the feast of the nativite of our Lord.

5 Fiftie, it was couenanted, that all the homages of Wales should remaine to the king, except onelie of five barons which inhabited nere unto the castell of Snowdon: for otherwisse the said Leolin could not conveniently call himselfe prince, except he had some barons under him.

6 Sixtie, that he should receive the title and name of prince so long as he lived, and after his deceasse the homages of those five barons should reuert to the king

March, Westm.
The castle of Rutland taken.
Anno Reg. 1277.
The castle of Stridewie.
Leolin sueth for peace.

N. Triet.
Commissioners appointed.

king and to his heirs forever.

7
N. Triet.
David & Leo-
lina brother
married to.

Seventhly the king granted unto the said Leolin, the lands that belonged to his brother David, for term of the said Leolin's life, and in recompense thereof was consented to satisfy the said David with other lands in some other place, the which offer the de- cease of the said Leolin, the said David should revert to the king and his heirs.

Tooth to be
received.

For the assurance of which articles and covenants the prince delivered for hostages, ten persons of the best in Wales, which he could get, without imprisonment, differing in order of delivery, and of every canted twenty persons, of the best and most sufficient, to be chosen by such as the king shall send thither perrelie, & shall from yere to yere be sworn upon the evangelists, in presence of the bailiffs of the said Leolin, that whensoever the prince shall breake any of these articles, and upon a conviction doth not reforme himselfe, they shall make him, and in all things, being unto him open enemies, shall beare him deathlie hostilitie.

Leolin's be-
shen.David rewar-
ded by king
Edward.David prefer-
red in marriageThe article
concerning
Dwen,

Whereas this, the prince shall (as farre as in him may lie) pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in prison, Owen and Robert (the) the third named David, escaping his hands, fled into England, and remained many yeres with king Edward, who receiving him into his service, made him knight in this warre, and gave unto him a castell at Denbigh in Wales, with lands to the yerelie value of a thousand marks, in recompense of those possessions which he ought to have had in Anglesey, the which (as before is said) the king granted unto Leolin for terme of his life, and after his decesse to revert unto the king and to his heirs. Moreover, he preferred David to the marriage of a tollie widow, that was daughter to the earle of Warbie.

As concerning Owen, through the kings favour he was delivered out of prison, by force of the articles concluded at this present by the commissioners, under this forme and maner: that upon his being set at libertie, certeine persons appointed by the king should make offer to him, to chole whether he would first compound with his brother, and thereupon come to the king, and beseech him to allow the composition, or else to put himselfe under the safe keeping of the king, till according to the lawes and customes of Wales, in the place where he did transgresse, iudgement should be given of the matter: and if he were acquit, then might he demand his heritage if he thought it so expedient: and which of these two waies he should chole, the same should be made firme and stable in the kings presence.

All these articles, with other additions, were accorded by the said commissioners at Aberconweie, on the tuesday before the feast of S. Martine, in the yere 1277, and letters of confirmation made thereof by the king, dated at Rutland on the tenth daie of November, in the fift yere of his reigne. Also the said Leolin, by the name of Leolin ap Griffin prince of Wales, with letters under his seale, confirmed the abovesaid articles on his behalfe, for the releasing of his right to the foure cantreds and other things that should remaine to the king, which letters bare date at Aberconweie, on the foresaid tuesday in the said yere 1277. Also he released to the said Leolin, the said summe of fiftie thousand pounds, and the said summe of a thousand marks yerelie to be paid for the Ile of Anglesey, as by his letters dated at Rutland on the said 10 daie of November in the said fift yere of his reigne more at large it appereth. Where- theise by his letters dated at Rutland, on the said eleventh of the said month of November, it is evident that he received of the said Leolin the summe of two thousand marks sterling, by the hands of Thomas

Beke keeper of his wardrobe.

Moreover, the king in the west part of Wales built at the same time a castle at Llanperduaur, to keepe under the rebellious attempts of the Welchmen. King Edward gave in marriage by waies of restitution to the fore-remembered Leolin, prince of Wales the earle of Leicesters daughter, which was taken (as ye have heard) at the Ile of Sullis. He also bare all the charges of the feast at the daie of the marriage, and honored the same with the presence of himselfe and the queene. A subsidy of the twentieth part of every mans goods was granted to the king, for waies his charges sustained in the Welsh warres. Moreover, in the first yere of his reigne, Edward held a parlement at Glocester, in the which were cer- teine acts and statutes made for the wealth and good government of the realme, which unto this daie are called the statutes of Glocester. Alexander king of Septs came into England, to common with Edward, of matters touching his kingdome of Scotland. Shortly after king Edward went over into France, and there received certeine townes that were restored to him, but not the moite of those that were promised to his father, when he released his title unto the dutchie of Normandie.

Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Cantuarbie, was by pope Nicholas advanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and made bishop of Portua, so that he went to Rome, and gave over the archbishopricke of Cantuarbie, to the which through the popes grant frier John Beckham was admitted archbishop. This yere there was inquirie made in London for such as had clipped, washed, & counterfaieted the kings coine, whereupon the Jewes of the citie and divers goldsmiths that kept the exchange of silver were indicted, and after to the number of two hundred foure score and seuentene persons were condemned, and in divers places put to execution. There were but 3 Englishmen among them, all the residue were Jewes, but diverse christians that were participants with them in their offenses were put to their fines, and not without iust cause.

About the same time the king removed all such shiriffes as were either priests or strangers, and in their places appointed knights to be shiriffes, that were of the same countrie where their offices laie. Moreover, about this season king Edward builded the castell of Flint, and fortified the castell of Rutland and others, placing garrisons of Englishmen in the same to defend the countrie, and to keepe the Welchmen under obedience. But Leolin so smallie regarded all covenants made, and benefits received, that shortly after, upon the death of his late married wife, being summoned to come to a parlement holden by king Edward, he disdaind to obeie, and upon a verie spite began to make new warre to the Englishmen, in wasting and destroying the countrie: notwithstanding king Edward had so manie waies done him good, and had given him iust cause of thankfulnessse, which is the common reward of benefits, and which little recompense who so neglecteth to make, being but a little lip-labour,

Non est laudari dignus, nec dignus amari.

But being put in feare with the kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armes aside, and began entones to require peace, which the king hold the second time did not denie to grant; because he would not lose time to warre with the mounteins, woods and marshes, the places of refuge for Welchmen in those daies, when they wanted power to abide battell and keepe the felos. About the same time the king gave unto David the brother of Leolin the lordship of Frodeham in Cheshire, and made him knight. Moreover, in this yere the king held a parlement,

The castell of
Llanperduaur
built.Anno. Reg. 6.
1278Leolin's wife
restored to his
husband.Statutes of
Glocester.The archbish.
of York being
made cardinal
resigneth his
archbishoprickeJohn Beck-
ham archbish.
of York.
Chippers of
monie.Anno Reg. 7.
Nic. Triet.

Chron. Dunst.

The castles of
Flint & Rut-
land built.

1279

Leolin beginneth
new war

The statute
of Spoye-
maine.

A synod at
Reading.

The kings
coine amend-
ed.

Anno Reg. 8.
1280
N. Truer,
Polydor,
Abington.
A thift to get
monie.

Disinances
for monie.

ment, in which the statute of Spoytaine was establiſhed.

Frier John Peckham, whome the pope had alreadie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 47 in number that had gouerned the said see, came this yeare ouer into England to supplie the roome. ¶ Also Walter Gifford archbishop of Poike departed this life, in whose place succeeded William Wickham, the 37 archbishop there. The archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at Reading about the latter end of Julie, wherin he renewed the constitutions of the generall counsell, as thus: That no ecclesiasticall person should haue above one benefice to the which belonged cure of soules; and againe, that all those that were promoted to any ecclesiasticall living, should receiue the order of priesthood within one yeare after his being promoted thereunto.

In this yeare the king tooke order for the amending of his monie and coine, which in that season was foliie clipped, washed, and counterfeited by those naughty men the Jewes, and other, as before you haue partlie heard. The king therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie sent forth commandement to all the shiriffes within the land, that such monie as was counterfeited, clipped or washed, should not be currant from thenceforth: and furthermore he sent of his owne treasure, good monie and not clipped, vnto certeine cities and towines in the realme, that exchange might be made with the same till new monie were stamped. About the thirde daie of August, the first exchange was made of the new monie of pence and farthings; but yet the old monie went all this yeare together with the new, and then was the old coine generallie forbidden, and commandement given by publike proclamation, that from thenceforth it should no moze be allowed for currant. Herewith also halfpence, which had bene stamped in the meane time, began to come abroad the same day in which the old monie was thus prohibited.

The lord Roger Spoytiner kept a great feast at Billingworth, with iusts and triumphs of an hundred knights and as manie ladies, to the which resorted lords, knights, & gentlemen from diuerse countries and lands, to shew proofe of their valiance in the practise of warlike feats and exercises. In the meane season king Edward standing in need of monie, deuised a new thift to serue his turne, as this: namely that whereas he was chiefe lord of many lordships, manours, possessions and tenements, he well vnderstood, that partlie by length and proces of time, and partlie by casualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, manie mens euidences, as their charters, deeds, copies and other writings were lost, washed, and made awaie, he therefore vnder colour to put the statute of *(Quo warrant)* in execution, which was ordeined this yeare in the parlement holden at Gloucester in August last past (as some write) did now command by publike proclamation, that all such as held any lands or tenements of him, should come and shew by what right and title they held the same, that by such meanes their possessions might returne vnto him, by escheat as chiefe lord of the same, and so to be sold or redeemed againe at his hands.

This was thought to be so soze a proclamation, as that a more greuous had not lightlie bene heard of. When in euerie place made complaint and shewed themselves greivouslie offended, so that the king by meanes thereof came in great hatred of his people: but the meane sort of men, though they stood in defence of their right, yet it auailed them but little, because they had no euidence to shew, so that they were constrained to be quiet with losse, rather than to strine against the stream. Manie were thus called to answer, till at length the lord John Warren earle

of Surrie, a man greatlie beloved of the people, perceiving the king to haue cast his net for a price, and that there was not one who should hate against him; determined to stand against those so bitter and cruell proceedings. And the next day being called afore the iustices about this matter, he appeared, and being asked by what right he held his lands, suddenly drawing forth an old rustie sword; By this instrument (said he) doe I hold my lands; and by the same I intend to defende them. Our antecessors comming into this realme with William the Conquerour, conquered their lands with the sword; and with the same will I defende them from all those that shall be about to take them from me; he did not make a conquest of this realme alone; our progenitors were with him as participantes and helpers.

The king vnderstanding into what hatred of his people by this meanes he was taken, and thus fore desirous to auoid ciuill dissention and fear that might thereby insue, he lett off his baguyn practise: so that the thing which generallie should haue touched and bene hurtfull to all men, was now suddentlie staied by the manhood and couragious stoutnesse onlie of one man, the foresaid earle, who in his rare act of defendinge common equitie against the mightie authoritie (who spared not to offer extreme intencie) shewed himselfe a verie true and naturall branch of nobilitie,

cupit quæ grandia semper,

vilis contemnit, quæ sursum tendere ut ignis

Nititur, et summam penetrat velut ardea nubes.

The archbishop of Canturburie held another synod at Lambeth, in the which he receiued and confirmed the orders and constitutions decreed and established by the legats Elio and Eubone, in counsels by them kept here within this realme, adding diuerse other of his owne: & in the same counsell he went about to aduocate certeine liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of patronages and the kings prohibitions *In placitis de capitali*, and such like, which seemed mortallie to touch the spiritualtie. But the king by some in that counsell withstood the archbishop openlie, and with menaces staied him from concluding any thing that might prejudice his totall libertie and prerogatiue. King Edward held a parlement at London, in the which he demanded a sixteenth of the cleargie, which litle before he had got of the temporaltie. The archbishop of Poike was content at the first to grant this sixteenth to be paid of the cleargie within his diocesse in two yeares; but the archbishop of Canturburie held off, and required respite till the next parlement to be holden after Easter, and then he granted vnto the king the sixteenth of all his cleargie for three yeares, that in some point he might be different from the archbishop of Poike.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the feast of the round table was kept at Marlborough with great and sumptuous triumph. Whilste these things were in doing, David brother to Leolin prince of Wales, forgetting the great benefitts which he had receiued at the hands of king Edward, became his aduersarie, and caused his said brother the prince of Wales with a great number of other noble men of that countrie to rebell: and to incourage them the sooner to attempt the warre, he began the first exploit himselfe, taking the said lord Roger Clifford (a right worthy and famous knight) in his castell of Halwardine, vpon Palme Sundaye, the said lord being in no doubt of any such matter. Diuerse knights and other that were in the same castell at that time, and made resistance, were slaine.

After this the foresaid David returned to his brother the prince, and therewith assembling an armie, they went both together and besieged the castell of Rutland.

The earle of
Surrie.

Lambeth.

A parliament.

The archbishop
of Poike.

The archbishop
of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 9.

1281

The feast of
the round
table at
Marlborough.

David the
brother of
Leolin rebell-
eth, and be-
comes a
common enemy.

The lord
Clifford
taken.

The earle of
Gloucester
taken.

Kutland. King Edward at the same time being in the parts about Salisburie, where he kept his Easter at the Cites, sent out commissioners to leaue an armie, and commanded such men of warre as he had then in a readinesse, to hast forth to the rescue of the castell of Kutland. And in the meane time, the castell of Lamberdenaur was taken by Rice ap Ihalgone and Griffith ap Iheridoc. Also diuerse other castells were taken by other of the Welsh nobilitie. Whereafter, about this time by the labour and suit of John the archbishop of Canturburie, Emeriche de Pontfort, which had bene retained in prison (such that he was first taken together with his sister at the Isle of Hille by the Welshmen) was now set at libertie and permitted to returne into France. The said archbishop of Canturburie was sent into Wales to perswade Leolin and his brother with the other rebels unto peace and quietnesse, but returning into England, without bringing anie thing to passe, he denounced them accursed.

The king hasted forth to come to the rescue of his people, whereupon Leolin and his brother David retired with their people to Snowdon hilles, and fortified the castell there with a strong garrison of men. The king entring into Wales, when he heard that his enemies were withdrawne into the mountaine, passed forth till he came nere unto them, where he pitched downe his field, and the next day causing his horsemen to issue forth of the campe, filled all the plaines which compasse the foot of those hilles (aswell on the east side as toward the south) with the same horsemen, and herewith placed his footmen moze aloft on the side of the hilles in couert: this done he prouoked his enemy to come forth to fight, but when he saw this would not be, then that he might stop them from all places of refuge, he caused his ships to take the Isle of Anglesey, because the Welshmen used to flee thither oftentimes for their safeguard, in the which enterprise the mariners of the cinque ports bare themselves right manfullie.

After this, joining certeine vessels together, he caused a bidge to be made in the riuer of Peneth, into the which an other small riuer falleth that riseth at the roots of those hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enemies from lodging on the further side of that riuer. This bidge containing some for threescore armed men to passe afloat, was made over the riuer of Sient, by the which men saile into the Isle, which by the course of the sea ebbeeth and floweth euerie twelue houres. But so it came to passe, that before the bidge was well boided ouer, whilst the king yet remained at Aberconwaie, diuerse of the English nobilitie, to the number of seauen bannerets with three hundred armed men rashly passed ouer, and as they surueied the foot of the mountaine, the tide began to come in so swiftilie, that where the Englishmen were aduanced a good prettie waie from the water side, they could not now get backe againe to the bidge which as yet was not fallie made by.

The Welshmen perceiuing this, came downe beside the mountaine, and assailed the Englishmen verie fiercelie, and with their great multitude so oppressed them, that for feare the Englishmen were detruen to take the water, and so by reason they were laden with armour, manie of them were drowned: and amongst other, that famous knight sir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, sir William Lindsey, and two gentlemen of good account that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then bishop of Bath. There perished in all (as some saie) thirtene knights, seuentene young gentlemen, and to the number of two hundred footmen. Yet sir William Latimer, as god had would, escaped, and diuerse other. This mishance happened on S. Leonards day.

In this meane time in another part of the countrie the earle of Gloucester with an armie, made soe warre to the Welshmen, and nere unto the towne called Lantlaware, fought a soe battell with them, in the which manie of the Welshmen being slaine, the earle lost also siue knights vpon his partie, as William Valence the younger, being one of that number, who was the kings cousine. The earle of Gloucester then departing from thence, Leolin the prince of Wales entered into the countrie of Cardigan and Stradwre, destroying the lands of Rice ap Iheridoc, which now held with the king against the said prince. At length, prince Leolin going towards the land of Buellth with a small companie, left his maine armie behind him aloft vpon the top of the mountaine, nere to the water called Waie, and he had set a number of his people to keepe the bidge of Dretwin: and so the Welshmen kept on the one side, and the Englishmen on the other, of whom were capitains the lord John Gifford and the lord Edmund Mortimer, the which perceiuing the Welshmen that were readie to defend the bidge, and a great host of them vpon the top of the mountaine, they consulted together what they were best to do.

At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Malewaine they drew on the one hand alongst the riuer, where was a ford passable in deed, though not without danger: but yet the Englishmen by the conduct of the same Helias, got ouer by the same ford, so that it bare the name long after of Helias way. And so the Welshmen that kept the bidge (perceiuing the Englishmen to be got ouer unto that side) fled, whereupon the residue of the English armie passed ouer at the bidge, whereof rose a great noise, which Leolin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the first he could not be brought to thinke that by any possible means the Englishmen were got ouer to that side of the water. But yet perceiuing it to be true, he drew backe toward the height of the mountaine againe, neuertheless being discovered by one Stephan de Franketon, named by some writers Sward, he was so narrowly pursued of the same Stephan, that he was overtaken and slaine.

Stephan not knowing whome he had slaine, returned to the host, the which was now mounting by the hill to ioine with the Welsh armie that stood still looking for the returne of their prince Leolin (though in vaine) yet they manfullie abode by their tackle, discharging plentie of arrowes and darts at the Englishmen as they came by towards them. The English archers which were mingled amongst the horsemen, paid them home againe with their shot, so that finally the English horsemen, winning the top of the hill, slue manie of them standing skoutlie at defiance, and put the residue to flight. Stephan Sward that had slaine Leolin, after the victorie was attained, rode to the dead bodie which he had slaine in the beginning of the battell, and vpon being taken of him perceiued who he was, of which god had the Englishmen were verie iollull. His head was herewith cut off, which the lord Edmund Mortimer toke with him into Kutland (where the king as then was lodged) unto whome he presented it: and the king sent it into London, appointing that there should be an ynic crowne set vpon it, in token that he was a prince, and so being adorned, a horseman carried it vpon the end of his staffe through Cheapside, holding it as he rode on height, that all men might see it, till he came to the tower, where it was plight by aloft vpon one of the highest turrets, remaining there a long time after.

Thus was the prophesie fulfilled, which was told

C. f.

The earle of Gloucester made warre on the Welshmen

Anno Reg. 11.

Leolin inuaded the kings friends.

The lord Gifford and Mortimer.

Helias Malewaine.

Prince Leolin slaine by Stephan de Franketon.

Leolins head presented to the king.

The prophesie fulfilled.

The death of
the Scottish
king.

Rich South.

Anno Reg. 14.
Fibian,
Thomas Dileston a
citizen of
London.The death of
other
citizens
of London.

foze is shewed) in the third yeare of king Henrie, was in this yeare fullie finished.

The nineteenth of March, died Alexander king of Scotland, by a fall which he caught as he ran a stirring horse: he left no issue behind him, nor any certaine knowne heire to succede him, by reason whereof ensued great harme to that reime (as in the Scottish historie may more at large appeare.) The manner of whose death (as in Richard Southwell I find it reported) I haue thought good breadie to touch, for that in recitall thereof, he somewhat disagreeeth from the Scottish historie. There went (saith he) a common speech through Scotland all this yeare, before the kings death, that on the same nineteenth of March the daie of iudgement should be: whereupon, as the said king sat at dinner in the castell of Edinburgh, hauing a dish of excellent good lampreies before him, he sent part thereof to one of the lords that sat at some other table not far from him, and willed him by the gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and haue in mind that this was the day of doome. The lord sent him thanks againe, and praised the messenger to tell the king merrie, at if this were the daie of doome, they should rise to iudgement speedilie with their belies filled with good meats and drinks. After they had dined, and the night began to draw on, he took his horse, and onlie accompanied with three gentlemen, would needs ride to Kingome, where the queene his new wife then late, and before he could get vnto Innerkenin, it was darke night, so that he took there two guides to lead him the waie: but they had not ridden past two miles, but that the guides had quite lost the waie, so that they were driuen to giue their horses libertie to beat it out themselves.

Herewithall the king being seuered from his companie, how he ruled his horse it is hard to saie, but downe he was throtone, and immediatlie died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, either headlong downe one of the cliffes or otherwise, and thus he came to his end, on a mondate, being saint Cathberts euen the nineteenth of March (as before is noted) after he had reigned six & thirtie yeares and nine moneths, as the same Southwell saith; who also (contrarie to that which Hector Boetius writeth) affirmeth, that the same daie was so tempestuous with wind, snow, haile and raine, that he and manie other that then liued and felt it, durst not vncouer their faces, in going abroad against the bitter northerne wind, that drove the snow and sleet most vehementlie vpon them. And although that such fowle weather might haue staied him from taking his iournie in that sort, yet he made no account thereof, as he that was accustomed to ride as well in fowle weather as faire, and spared neither for tempest, waters, nor craggie rocks, thicke nor thin; for all was one to him, oftentimes taking his iournie in disguised apparell, accompanied onlie with one seruant. But to returne vnto the doings in England.

In this yeare the king took escuage, fortie shillings of euerie knights fee, towards the charges of his last wars in Wales. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, at the which were made the statutes called *Addamenta Gloucestrie*, or rather the statutes of Westminster the second. In the fourteenth yeare of king Edward, a citizen of London named Thomas Dileston, who in time of the barons warres had bene a great doer, to stir the people against king Henrie, was now accused, that he with other should go about to make new disturbance within the cite: whereof inquirie being made and had before sir Rafe Standish, then custos or gardian of the cite, the said Dileston and other, to the number of fiftie, were banished the cite for euer. ¶ Also, whereas of old time before this season, the merchant strangers

were used to be lodged within the dwelling houses of the citizens of London, and sold all their merchandize by procuration of their hosts, for the which their said hosts had a certaine allowance, after the rate of euerie pound: now it was ordeined, that the said merchant strangers might take houses to hire, for to inhabit therein, & for stowage of their wares, & no citizen to intermeddle with them or their wares: by reason whereof they used manie decreits, both in uttering counterfeit wares, and also vniust weights. Moreover, much of those wares, which they should haue waied at the R. beame, they weighed at home within their houses, to the hinderance of the kings custome. Whereupon search being made vpon a sudden, and their weights found and proued false, twentie of the said strangers were arrested and sent to the towe, and their weights burnt, destroyed and broken to peces in Westcheape, on thursdaie before the feast of Simon and Jude. Finally, the said merchants were deliuered, being put to a fine of a thousand pounds, after soze and hard imprisonment.

The Jewes in one night were generally apprehended, and put in prison through all the parts of England, and so kept in durance, till they had fined at the kings pleasure. ¶ It is reported that the commons of England granted to the king, the fifth part of their moueables, to haue the Jewes banished out of the land: but the Jewes, to put the Englishmen from their purpose, gaue to the king great summes of monie, whereby they tarried yet a while longer. King Edward went ouer into France vpon the five and twentieth of Maie, passing through Picardie vnto Amiens, and there the French king, to do him honor, was readie to receiue him. Here king Edward did homage vnto the French king, for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France. And after, he was also present at a parlement, which the said French king held at Paris, in the which he obtained manie things for the liberties of his said lands, as then by diuerse waies wrongfullie oppressed, though such grant continued not long in force. After Whitsuntide, king Edward departed from Paris and went into Gascoigne, together with his wife queene Elianor, who was with him in all his iournie.

This yeare the king went into Aragon, where his authoritie auailed much, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragon and Naples; whereby Charles king of Naples was then set at libertie, vpon certaine contracts or covenants passed and agreed betwixt them. ¶ The kings mother queene Elianor this yeare forsoke the world, and took vpon hir the habit of a nunne at Ambresburie; but yet she still retained and inioied hir dower by the popes authoritie and dispensation. About this time a squire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, set fire on the merchants bothes, at St. Butolphes faire; and whilst the merchants were about to quench the fire, the said squire and his complices set vpon the said merchants, slue manie of them, and robbed them of their goods. In this yeare fell variance betwixt the lord Daine Tiptoft, wardeine of certeine castles in Wales, and a Welch knight called sir Rics ap Iheridoc, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwixt them, and men slaine on both sides, to the great disturbance of the countrie.

The cause of this warre rose chiefe, for that the said lord Tiptoft, and the lord Alane Blunknet, the kings steward in Wales, would haue constrained the said Rics to appeare at counties and hundredes, as the vse in other parts of Wales then was, contrarie to such libertie as he had obtained of the king as he pretended. But when the king wrote vnto the same Rics, requiring him to keepe the peace, till his returne (at what time he promised to reforme all

A new order
for merchant
strangers.Strangers
committed to
the towe.

1286

Nic. Triuet.
The king
passeth ouer
into France.Anno Reg. 15.
1287

Rich. South.

By now faire
robbed.Variance be-
twixt the lord
Daine Tipt-
tost, and Rics
ap Iheridoc.

C.ij.

things

N. Treuer.

things in due and reasonable order) Kees having alreadie put armour upon his backe, would not now incline to any peace, but to reuenge his cause, assembled a great multitude of Welshmen, with whose helpe he burnt & destroyed manie townes in Wales, so that the K. being then beyond the seas, sent to the earle of Cornewall, whom in his absence he had appointed his lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to send an armie into Wales, to resist the malice and riotous attempts of the Welshmen. The earle shortly thereupon prepared an armie, and went with the same into Wales, or as other write the bishop of Ely, the lord prior of S. Johns, the earle of Gloucester, and diuerse barons of the land went thither, and chasing the said Kees, dispersed his armie, and ouerthrow and rased his castels, but by undermining and reuering the wals at the castell of Drudlan, with the fall therof, the baron Stafford, and the lord William de Spontchenie, with manie other knights and esquiers, were oppressed and byused to death. ¶ This yere, the king at Blankfote in Galcoigne, took vpon him the crosse, purposing eslones to make a iourne against Gods enemies.

Chron. Dunst.

In the winter of this yere great floods chanced, by reason of the exceeding abundance of raine that fell: and the sea alongst the northeast coasts from Humber to Parmouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the same by the space of thre or foure leagues in breadth (as the author of the Chronicle of Dunstable affirmeth) ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning by men and cattell that could not auoid the danger by the sudden comming in thereof, namelie, about Parmouth, Dunwich, and Cippeswich. Likewise in the West land of Lincolnshire it did passing great hurt, bringing all the countrie into water. This chanced in the berie night of the beginning of this yere, to wit, in the feast of the circumcision of our Lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, where it did much harme, namelie about Parmouth.

Anno Reg. 16.

1288

Chron. Dunst.

Nic. Treuer.

O wonder by thunder!

Ri. Southwell.

Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
N. Treuer.

This yere, and likewise the yere last past, was such plenty of graine, that wheat was sold in some places of this land for twentie pence a quarter, and in some places for sirtene pence, and pease for thurthe pence a quarter. The summer this yere exceeded in heat, so that men thorough the intemperate excess thereof died in diuers places. ¶ It chanced in Galcoigne, that as the king & queene sate in their chamber vpon a bed talking together, the thunder-bolt comming in at the window behind them, passed through betwixt them as they sate, and slue two of their gentlemen that stood before them, to the great terror of all that were present. ¶ This yere diuerse of those that robb the faire at Boston, were executed. Moreover, whereas Kees ap Heridoc continued still in his mischieuous doings, at length, the lord depute of Wales, Robert Typtot, using both speedie diligence and timelie counsell, gathered all such power as he could make, & passed forth against his aduersaries. Whereof when sir Kees was aduertised, and understanding that the Englishmen were farre fewer in number than his Welshmen, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleasure, and therefore encouraging his people with manie comfortable words, to shew their manhood vpon the Englishmens approach, he hastied to meet them. The Welshmen being for the more part but yong souldiers, and not trained to keepe any order of battell, ran sterrely vpon their enemies, assailing them on the front before, on the sides a flanke, and on the backe behind, inforcing themselves to the uttermost of their power to breake their arraie.

But the Englishmen valiantlie resisted, so that there was a foie battell for a while, and the more cou-

ragiouslie the Welshmen assailed, the more stoutlie the Englishmen defended, in keeping themselves close together, and beating backe their aduersaries: and at length perceiving them to faint and wearie, they rushed forth into the middle of the Welshmen, & brake them in sunder, so that when they saw themselves thus repelled by the Englishmen, contrarie vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to do, for they durst neither fight nor flee, and so by that meanes were beaten downe on euerie side. Heridoc himselfe was taken, but the most part of all his armie was slaine, to the number of foure thousand men. Thus were the Welshmen worthilie chastised for their rebellion. Sir Kees ap Heridoc was had to Poike, where at length, after the king was returned out of Galcoigne, he was hanged, drawn and quartered.

This yere on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 9 daie of Julie, fell a wonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not bene seene nor heard of by any man then liuing. And after, there ensued such continuall raine, so dissembling the ground, that corne wared verie deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at thre pence a bushell, the market so rose by little and little, that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth increased still almost by the space of 40 yeres, till the death of Edward the second, in so much that sometime a bushell of wheat London measure was sold at ten shillings.

The king, after he had remained and continued thre yeres, two moneths, and fiftene daies in Galcoigne, and in other parts there beyond the sea, he returned into England on the fourth day of August, and vpon the euen of the Assumption of our ladie he came to London, where he was most iouillie received, & so came to Westminster: where shortly after were presented vnto him manie greuous complaints and informations against diuerse of his iustices, as sir Thomas Weiland, Adam Streton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thereupon found gilty of manie trespasses and transgressions, in so much that it was giuen him to understand, that there were among them that had giuen consent to the committing of murders and robberies, and wittinglie had received the offenders. Whereupon, the king caused streight inquirie to be made by an inquest of 12 substantiall personages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weiland lord chiefe iustice of the kings bench, had caused a murder to be done by his servants, and after succoured and mainteined them: herupon he was by the kings officers arrested, but escaping their hands, he took sanctuary in the church of the friers minors at saint Edmundsburie, and was admitted into their habit, but within fourtie daies after, order was giuen by the king that no kind of vittels should be suffered to be conueied to that house, so that all the friers came forth, except thre or foure, and at length he was constrained to take vpon him a laie mans apparell, and comming forth was deliuered to the hands of Robert Galet knight, who had before the custodie of him, and now hauing him againe brought him to the towre of London. At length, he was put to his choise of thre waies, which fouer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tried by his peeres, or to remaine in perpetuall prison, or to abjure the realme: he chose the last, and so bare-footed and bare-headed, bearing a crosse in his hand, he was conueied from the towre to Doner, where taking the sea, he was transported to the further side of the sea; his goods, moueable and immoueable, being confiscated to the kings coffers.

William Brampton, Roger Lescroier, John Bureth, associates of the said Thomas, and iustices of the kings

The writs
discontinue
Kees ap Heridoc taken.A great
dearth
of graine.

Chron. Dunst.

Thomas Weiland lord chiefe iustice of the kings bench.

Robert Galet knight.

William Brampton
Roger Lescroier
John Bureth

Salomon de
Hoffa.
Thomas de
Sudington,
Richard de
Boiland,
Walter de
Hopton
Hale de
Hingham.

Adam de
Stratton, L.
chafe baron.

Henrie Baie

John de
Hingham, and
Elias de
Hingham.

Job. Hoffm
Pfalz.

Anno Reg. 18.
1290
H. Marle.
N. Truce.

The Statutes
of Westminster
the third
established.

The Jewes
banished out
of England.

kings bench; also, Robert Lithburie chapline, and
maister of the rolles, being accused of wrongfull
iudgements and other trespasses were committed to
prison within the tower, and at length with much a-
do, escaped with paieng their fines, so that he which
paid least, gaue a thousand marks. Moreover, Salo-
mon of Rochester, Thomas de Sudington, Richard
de Boiland, and Walter de Hopton, iustices itine-
rants, were likewise punished, and for the semblable
offences put to their fines. Sir Rafe de Hingham
a iustice also, to whome in the kings absence the or-
dering of the realme chafelic appertained, being ac-
cused of diuerse transgressions, and committed to
the tower, redeemed his offense for an infinit summe
of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord chafe baron of the
exchequer, being consulted of manie hairous crimes,
a man plentifully provided both of tempo:all posses-
sions, and ecclesiasticall reuenues, lost all his tem-
po:all liuings, and foure and thirtie thousand marks
in readie coine, beside other moueables, in cattell,
iewels and furniture of household, which were all con-
fiscated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he
was gentlie dealt with, that he escaped with life, and
such spirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie
Baie escheator, and the iudges ouer the Jewes,
were reported to haue committed manie greuous
offences, but for monie they bought their peace. To
conclude, there was not found any amongst all the
iustices and officers cleare and void of vnjust dealing
except John de Spetingham, and Elias de Beking-
ham, who onelic among the rest had behaued them-
selues vprightly. When therfore such greuous com-
plaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the
earle of Lincoln, the bishop of Elic, and others, to
heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due exami-
nation & triall, to see them answered accordinglie as
right and equitie should require. In which admini-
stration of iustice against euill iusticiaries, the king
performed the charge imposed and laid vpon all such
as are in gouernement and magistracie; namelic,

*Nunc igitur reges respiciite, quarite rectum,
Quorum iudicijs terra regenda data est.*

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, the king mar-
ried two of his daughters, that is to saie, Joane de
Acres vnto Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, and
the ladie Margaret vnto the lord John Gonne to the
duke of Brabant. ¶ The king ordeined, that all the
wooll, which should be sold vnto strangers, should be
brought vnto Sandwich, where the Staple thereof
was kept long time after. In the same yeare was a
parlement holden at Westminster, wherein the sta-
tutes of Westminster the third were ordeined. It
was also decreed, that all the Jewes should auoid
out of the land, in consideration whereof, a fifth part
was granted to the king, and so her vpon were the Jewes
banished out of all the kings dominions, and neuer
since could they obtaine any priuilege to retorne hi-
ther againe. All their goods not moueable were con-
fiscated, with their tailles and obligations; but all o-
ther their goods that were moueable, together with
their coine of gold and silver, the king licenced them
to haue and conuey with them. A sort of the richest
of them, being shipped with their treasure in a migh-
tie tall ship which they had hired, when the same was
vnder saile, and got downe the Thames towards the
mouth of the riuer beyond Quinborough, the mai-
ster mariner bethought him of a wile, and caused
his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same, till the
ship by ebbing of the streame remained on the drie
sands. The maister herewith enticed the Jewes to
walke out with him on land for recreation. And
at length, when he vnderstood the tide to be comming
in, he got him backe to the ship, whither he was
drawne vp by a codd. The Jewes made not so much

hast as he did, because they were not ware of the dan-
ger. But when they perceived how the matter stood,
they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them,
that they ought to crie rather vnto Godes, by whose
conduct their fathers passed through the red sea, and
therfore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was
able inough to helpe them out of those raging fouds,
which now came in vpon them: they cried indeed,
but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed
vp in water. The maister returned with the ship, and
told the king how he had vsed the matter, and had
both thanks and reward, as some haue written. But
other affirme (and more truelie as should seeme) that
diuerse of those mariners, which dealt so wickedlie
against the Jewes, were hanged for their wicked
practise, and so receiued a iust reward of their frau-
dulent and mischieuous dealing. But now to the
purpose.

In the foresaid parlement, the king demanded an
aid of monie of the spiritualltie, for that (as he pte-
ned) he meant to make a iournie into the holie land,
to succour the christians there: wher vpon they gran-
ted to him the eleuenth part of all their moueables.
He receiued the monie aforesaid, but letted by other
businessse at home, he went not forth vpon that iour-
nie. In the nineteenth yeare of king Edwards quene
Eliano: king Edwards wife died vpon saint An-
drews euen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as some
haue) nere to Lincoln, the king being as then on
his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but ha-
uing now lost the ieuell which he most esteemed, he
returned towards London to accompanie the corps
vnto Westminster, where it was buried in S. Ed-
wards chapell, at the feet of king Henrie the thirde.
She was a goodlie and modest princesse, full of pitie,
and one that shewed much fauour to the English na-
tion, reable to releue euerie mans greefe that suffe-
ned wrong, and to make them friends that were at
discord, so farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and
place, where the corps rested by the waie, the king
caused a crosse of cunning workmanship to be erec-
ted in remembrance of hir, and in the same was a
picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like crosses were
set vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in
Westcheape. Moreover, he gaue in almes euerie wed-
nesday wheresoeuer he went, pence a peere, to all such
poore folkes as came to demand the same.

About the same time, because the king should be
the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had
promised to do, hauing monie to furnish him forth,
the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of
England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the
true value of all the reuenues belonging vnto the
same for six yeares. He wrote to the bishops of Lin-
colne and Winchester, that the same tenth should be
laid vp in monasteries and abbeies, till the king was
entred into the sea, called Mare Maggiore, for towards
on his iournie eastwards, and then to be paid to his
use. But the king afterwards caused the collectors to
make payment to him of the same tenth gathered for
thre yeares, and laid vp in monasteries, although
he let not one sot forward in that iournie, as letted
through other businessse.

Also, by reason of the controuersie which depended
as then betwixt diuerse persons, as competitors of
the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts
and kept his easter at Perthcastell, and shortly after,
called a parlement at Perthampton; where, by the
advice of the prelates and other of his counsell, lear-
ned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by search
of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he caused
all the prelates and barons of Scotland to be called a-
foze him, and there in the parish church of Pertham,
he declared vnto them his right to the superiouritie of

Jewes drow-
ned.

Chro. Duo.

The eleuenth
part of ecclesi-
asticall reue-
nues gran-
ted to the K.

Anno Reg. 19.
The decesse
of Q. Elianoz

Thom. Walsin.

The praise of
the queene
deceased.

Charing-
cross: & other
erected.

1291

The tenth of
spirituall re-
uenues gra-
ted to the K.

Controuersie
about the
crowne of
Scotland.

the kingdome of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they would recognise the same, protesting that he would defend the right of his crowne, to the shedding of his owne blood, that a true certificat and information might come to light of his title and right, still claime, unto the direct and supreme dominion over the realme of Scotland.

He had caused verelie all the histories, chronicles, and monuments that were to be found within England, Scotland and Wales, to be sought up and perused, that it might be knownen what right he had in this behalfe. Whereupon it was found by the chronicles of Marianus the Scot, William of Malmesburie, Roger Houeden, Henrie Huntington, Rafe de Diceto, and others, that in the yeare of our Lord 910, **E. Edward** surnamed **Senior**, or the elder, subdued to him the kings of Scots and Welshmen, so that in the yeare 911, the same people chose the said **Edward** to be their king and patrone. And likewise in the yeare 920, **Athelstan** king of England banquished **Constantine** king of Scotland, and permitted him yet to reigne under him. Moreover, **Edred** the brother of **Athelstan**, and king of England, overcame the Scots and Northumbers, the which submitted themselves to him and swore fealtie. Also **Edgar** king of England banquished **Kimeth** the son of **Alpine** king of Scotland, who swore fealtie to him. Likewise **Cnut** king of England and Denmarke, in the 10 yeare of his reigne overcame **Malcolme** king of Scots, so became king of some kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norwaie.

Furthermore, that blessed king **E. Edward**, gaue the kingdome of Scotland unto **Malcolme** the sonne of the king of Cumberland, to hold the same of him. Again, **William** Bassard the Norman conqueror, in the first yeare of his reigne banquished **Malcolme** king of Scotland, and receiued of him an oth of fealtie. Also, **Will. Rufus** did the like unto **Malcolme** king of Scots, and two of his sonnes that incessuallie reigned ouer that realme. Also, **Alexander** succeeded his brother **Edgar** in the kingdome of Scotland, by consent of **H. Henrie** the first. Also **David** king of Scotland did homage to **H. Stephen**, & **William** B. of Scots did homage to **Henrie**, the son of **H. Henrie** the second, when in his fathers life time he was crowned; and againe, to **Henrie** the father in the 10 yeare of his reigne, as by an agreement made betwixt them two it doth appeare. Also, **Roger Houeden** saith, that **William** king of Scotland came to his soueraine lord king **Henrie** into Normandie, and likewise to king **Richard**, and moreover to king **John** at **Lincolne**, doing to them his homage. Also, in the chronicles of **S. Albons** it is found, that **Alexander** king of Scotland married at **Porke** **Margaret** the daughter of king **Henrie** the third, in the 55 yeare of his reigne, and did to him homage.

And further, when king **Edward** himselfe was crowned at **Westminster**, in the yeare of our Lord 1274, being the second of his reigne, the last deceased **K. of Scotland**, **Alexander** the third of that name did homage unto him at **Westminster** the morrow after the coronation. All which homages and fealties thus done by sundrie kings of Scotland, unto sundrie kings of England, were bitwixt and most manifestlie proved to be done for the realme of Scotland, and not onelie for the lands which they held of the kings of England within England, as the Scottish writers would seeme to colour the matter. But things being then first in memorie, no such cavillation might be auerred. And so hereupon king **Edward** his title being substantiatlie proved, he was recognised superiour lord of Scotland, of all them that pretended title at that time to that kingdome, by writings thereof made and confirmed under their

seales, the which being written in French contained matter as here followeth.

The copie of the charter
in French.



Tous ceulx, qui ceste presente lettre verrunt ou oirunt, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Iehan Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuennie, Iehan Comin seigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Vescy pur son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, salut en dieu. Come nous entendons d'auget droyt en reume d'Escoce, & celle droyt monstrier, chaléger, & auerir deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iurisdiction, & reeson, eust de trier nostre droyt, & l'noble prince sire Edward par la grace de dieu, roy d'Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & suffisants reesons, que aluy apent, & auer doit la souerein seigneurie, du dict reume d'Escoce, & la cognisaunce de oir, trier & terminer nostre droyt. Nous de nostre propre volunté, sanz nulle maniere de force ou destresse, voluns, orisons, & grantons de receiure droyt deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre. Et volans a lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, & tendrons, ferme, & estable son fait, & que celuy emportera le reume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En testimoigne de ceste chose, nous auons mis nous seales a ceste escript. Fait & donné a Norham, le mardis prochain apres la Ascension, l'an de Grace, 1291.

In English thus.




Of all them that these present letters shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, John Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbar earle of March, John de Baliol lord of Gallowaie, John Hastings lord of Abergeuennie, John de Vescy in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, & Walter Ros, send greeting in our Lord. Whereas we intend to haue right in the kingdome of Scotland, and intend to declare, chalenge and proue the same before him that hath the best authoritie, iurisdiction and reason to examine our right; and that the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, by good and sufficient reasons hath informed vs, that the superior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes, without all violence and constraint, will, consent and grant, to receiue our right before him, as the superior lord of the land. We will also & promise, that we shall haue and hold his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall haue the kingdome, and whom before him best right shall assigne the same. In witness whereof we haue to these letters put our seales. Given at Norham, the next day next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

The recognising therefore made of the superiourtie and submission of grant to rector that, which before the king of England should by law be defined, the said

E. Edward recognised for superior lord of Scotland.


saïd king required to haue the castels, and the whole land deliuered vnto his possession, that by peaceable seizine thereof had, his right of superiouritie not recognised by their letters and writings, might be the more manifest and apparent to the whole world. They straightwaies agreed to the kings request, and writings thereof were made and confirmed with their seales, being written in French, as followeth.

The copie of the second charter
touching the possession of the
land, in French.

 Tous iceulx, que ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orront, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Jehan de Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Jehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenny, Jehan Comin seigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar counte de la Marche, Jehan de Vescy, pour son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guillaume de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous aions otrie, & graunte, de nostre bonne volente, & commune assent sans nulle destresse, a noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy de Angleterre quil come souerein seig. de la terre de Escocce puisse oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monstrier, & auerir pur nostre droyt en la reume de Escocce & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemain que son fait auerons & tendrons ferme & estable, & qu'il emportera le reume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy.

Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puist nulle manier conuissance faire ne a complier sauns iugement, ne iugement doit estre sauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement, sauns la possession, & seysine de meisme la terre, & de chasteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, quil come souerein seigneur, a par faire les choses auant dictes, ait la seysine de toute la meisme terre, & de chasteaux de Escocce, tant que droyt soit fait & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu'il eut le seysine auant dict face bone seurte, & suffisante as demandans & as gardiens, & a la commune du reume d' Escocce, a faire la reuerision de meisme le reume, & de chasteaux, oue toute la royauté, dignité, seignourie, franchises, coustumes, droitures, leys, usages, & possessions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en meisme le estat, quil estoient quant la seysine luy fust baillee, & luereé a celui que le droyt emportera par iugement de sa royauté, sauue au roy d' Angleterre le homage de celui, qui serra rey. Ysint quela reuerision soit fait dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt sera trié & affirmé. Et que les issues de meisme la terre en le moyne temps rescues, soient sauement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le chamberleyn d' Escocce que ore est, & de celui qui serra assigne a luy de par le roy d' Angleterre, & de sous leur seaus sauue renable sustenance de la terre, & des chasteaux & des ministres du royaume. En testimoigne de cest es choses auandits, nous auons mis nos seales a ceste escript. Fait & donne a Norham le mecredi prochain apres l' Ascension. l' an de Grace, 1291.

The same in English.

 All them that these present writings shall see or heare, Florence earle of Hol-

land, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn de Balioll lord of Galloway, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuenny, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre the earle of March, Iohn de Vescy in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, William de Ros, send greeting in our lord. Bicause that of our good will and common assent, without all constraint, we doo consent and grant vnto the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as superiour lord of Scotland, may heare, examine, define and determine our claimes, chalenges, and petitions, which we intend to shew and prooue for our right, to be receiued before him as superiour lord of the land, promising moreouer, that we shall take his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whose right shall by declaration best appeare before him.

Whereas then the said king of England cannot in this manner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be doone without possession and seizine of the said land and castels of the same; we will, consent, and grant, that he as superiour lord to performe the premisses may haue the seizine of all the land and castels of the same, till they that pretend title to the crowne be satisfied in their suit, so that before he be put in possession and seizine, he find sufficient suertie to vs that pretend title, and to the wardens, and to all the communalte of the kingdome of Scotland, that he shall restore the same kingdome with all the roialtie, dignitie, feignorie, liberties, customes, rights, lawes, vsages, possessions, and all and whatsoeuer the apurtenances, in the same state wherein they were before the seizine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regaltie, sauing to him the homage of that person that shall be king: and this restitution to be made within two moneths after the daie in the which the right shall be discussed and established, the issues of the same land in the meane time shall be receiued, laid vp, and put in safe keeping, in the hands of the chamberlaine of Scotland which now is, and of him, whome the king of England shall to him assigne, and this vnder their seales, referring and allowing the reasonable charges for the sustentation of the land, the castels and officers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the which premisses, we haue vnto these letters set our seales. Given at Norham the wednesday next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

These two letters the king of England sent vnder his priue seale vnto diuerse monasteries within his realme, in the 19th pere of his reigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus passed, it might be registred in their chronicles. Thus by the common assent of the chiefest of the lords in Scotland, king Edward receiued the land into his custodie, till by due and lawfull triall had, it might appeare who was rightfull heire to the crowne there. The homage or fealtie of the nobles of Scotland was expressed in words as followeth.

The

Rich. South.

The forme and tenor of the homage doone by the Scots.

Because all we are come unto the allegiance of the noble prince Edward king of England, we promise for vs and our heires, vpon all the danger that we may incurre, that we shall be faithfull, & loiallie hold of him against all maner of mortall men, and that we shall not vnderstand of any damage that may come to the king, nor to his heires, but we shall staie and impeach the same to our powers. And to this we bind our selues & our heires, and are swozne vpon the euangelists to performe the same. Besides this, we haue done fealtie vnto our soueraigne lord the said king in these words ech one by himselte; I shall be true and faithfull, and faith and loialtie I shall beare to the king of England Edward and his heires, of life, member, and worldlie honour against all mortall creatures.

After the phantoms booke of Records.

wardens of the realme of Scotland appointed by Edward.

The bishop of Carnesse elected chancelor of Scotland.

He receiveth his seale.

He is swozne.

The wardens swozne.

The Scottish nobilitie doth fealtie to king Edward.

The king hauing receiued as well the possessions of the realme, castles, manours, as other places belonging to the crowne of Scotland, he committed the gouernement and custodie of the realme vnto the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, to the lords John Comin, and James Stewart, who had put him in possession, so that vnder him they held the same, in manner as they had done before. But in diuerse castles he placed such capteines as he thought most meetest to keepe them to his vse, till he had ended the controuersie, & placed him in the kingdome, to whom of right it belonged. He also willed the lords of Scotland to elect a sufficient personage to be chancelour of the realme, which they did, naming Alane bishop of Carnesse, whom the king admitted, joining with him one of his chapleins named Walter Armundesham, so that on the 12 of June, vpon the graue ouer against the the castell of Forham, nere to the river of Tweed, in the parish of Uptetelington, before John Balioll, Robert Bruce, the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, the lords Comin and Stewart, wardens of Scotland; the bishop of Carnesse receiued his seale, appointed him by the king of England as supreme lord of Scotland, and there both the said bishop & Walter Armundesham were swozne trulie to gouerne themselves in the office.

The morrow after were the wardens swozne and with them as associated Brian Fitz Alane, and there all the earles and lords of Scotland that were present swore fealtie vnto king Edward, as to their supreme soueraigne lord, and withall there was peace proclaimed, and publike edicts set forth in the name of the same king, intituled supreme lord of the realme of Scotland. The residue of the Scottish nobilitie, earles, barons, knights, and others, with the bishops and abbats, vpon his coming into Scotland, swore fealtie either to himselte in person, or to such as he appointed his deputies to receiue the same, in sundrie totns and places, according to order giuen in that behalfe. Such as refused to do their fealties, were attached by their bodies till they should do their fealties as they were bound. Those that came not, but excused themselves vpon some reasonable cause, were heard, and had day giuen vntill the next parlement: but such as neither came, nor made any reasonable excuse, were appointed to be discreined to come.

The bishop of S. Andrews, and John lord Comin of Badenoch, with Brian Fitz Alane, were assigned to receiue such fealties at S. Johns towne. The bi-

shop of Glasco, James lord Stewart of Scotland, and Nicholas Segraue were appointed to receiue them at Newcastle of Aye. The earle of Southerland, and the iustice of that countrie, with his bailiffes, and the chancellaine of Inuernesse were ordeined to receiue those fealties in that countie; the chancellaine first to receiue it of the said earle, and then he with his said associats to receiue the same of others. The lord William de Saintclere, and William de Bonville, were appointed to receiue fealtie of the bishop of Whiterne, and then the said bishop with them to receiue the fealties of all the inhabitants of Gallowaie. Amongst other that did their homage to the king himselfe, was Marie quene of Han, and countesse of Stratherne, vpon the 24 date of Julie, the king being thus in S. Johns towne, otherwise called Perth. To conclude, he was put in full possession of the realme of Scotland, & receiued there homages and fealties (as before ye haue heard) as the direct and supreme lord of that land.

This done, and euerie thing ordered as seemed most expedient, king Edward returned into the south parts of his realme, to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane time was departed this life. His hart was buried in the church of the Grastriers at London, & his bodie at Ambresburie in the house of the nunnies. After the funerals were ended, king Edward returned into the north parts againe: he staied a while at Forke, and during his abode there, was by order of law condemned & executed. This yeare after Easter, as the fleet late before S. Andrews in Britaine, there rose certaine discord betwixt the Norman mariners, and them of Balon, and so farre the quarell increased, that they fell to trie it by force, the Englishmen assisting them of Balon, and the French kings subiects taking part with the Normans, and now they fraught not their ships so much with merchandize as with armour & weapon. At length the matter burst out from sparkes into open flame, the sequelle whereof hereafter shall appeare, as we find it reported by writers.

But now touching the Scottish affaires. At length the king coming into Scotland, gaue summons to all those that claimed the crowne, to appeare before him at the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist next ensuing, that they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Wherevpon, when the daie of their appearance was come, and that king Edward was ready to heare the matter, he chose out the number of 40 persons, the one halfe Englishmen, and the other Scottishmen, which should discusse with aduised deliberation and great diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall sentence vnto the feast of S. Michell next ensuing, the which feast being come, after due examination, full triall, and assured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by all their assents was adjudged vnto John Balioll, who descended of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scotland. Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the same Balioll at length (the other being excluded) the question and triall onlie rested, was descended of the second daughter of king Dauid, though otherwile by one degree he was nearer to him in blood. Thus writeth Nicholas Trivet.

But others affirme, that after long disputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appointed 80 ancient and graue personages, amongst the which were 30 Englishmen, vnto whom (being swozne and admonished to haue God before their eyes) authoritie was giuen to name him that should be king. These 80 persons, after they had well considered vnto whome the right appertained, declared with one voice, that John Balioll was rightful king.

King

The kings mother was exiled.

Anno Reg. 1292. Nic. Trivet.

John Balioll obtaineth the kingdome of Scotland.

Nic. Trivet.

Polydor.

king Edward allowed their sentence, and by his authority confirmed unto the same John, the possession of the kingdom of Scotland, with condition that if he did not governe that realme with iustice, then by complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hand of reformation, as he was bound to do by his right of superioritie, that in him was inuested. Whereupon king Edward awarded forth his writ of deliuerie of seizine at the suit of the said J. Balioll, to William and Robert, bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, to John lord Comyn, James lord Steward of Scotland, and to the lord Brian Fitz Alane, warrens of Scotland, commanding them to deliuer vnto the said John Balioll the seizine and possession of that realme, saving the releases and debts due to him of the issues and profits of the same realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, which was the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentieth yere of his reigne. Also there was another writ made, and directed to such as had the keeping of the castles in their hands, in forme as followeth.

The copie of the writ for the deliuerie of the castles.



Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglia, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitania, & superior dominus regni Scotia, dilecto & fideli suo Petro Burdet, constabulario castri de Berwike salutem. Cum Iohannes de Baliolo nuper in parlamento nostro apud Berwicum super Tuedam, venisset coram nobis, & petiisset predictum regnum Scotie sibi per nos adiudicari, & seisinam ipsius regni ut propinquiore heredi Margarete filie regis Norwegie domine Scotie iure successionis liberari, ac nos auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligentur examinatis, innouerimus prefatum Iohannem de Baliolo esse propinquiorem heredem predictae Margarete, quo ad predictum regnum Scotie obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotie, & seisinam eiusdem, salvo iure nostro, & heredum nostrorum, cum voluerimus inde loqui, predicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quod seisinam predicti castri de Berwico cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, una cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per chirographum traditis, secundum quod in predicti castri tibi commissa custodia res huiusmodi recepisti, sine dilatione prefato Iohanni de Baliolo, vel attorney suis has litteras deferentibus, delibere facias. Teste meipso apud Berwicum super Tuedam 19 die Nouembris, Anno regni nostri 20.

In English thus.



Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and superiour lord of the realme of Scotland, to his wellbeloued and faithfull seruant Peter Burdet constable of the castell of Berwike, sendeth greeting. Where John de Balioll late in parlement holden at Berwike vpon Tweed, came before vs, and demanded the said realme of Scotland to be adiudged to him by vs, and seizine of the same realme to be to him deliuered as next heire to Margaret daughter to the king of Norwaie, ladie of Scotland by right of succession. We hauing heard and vnderstood the same petitions; and reasons being

diligentlie weighed and examined, we had the said John Balioll to be next heire vnto the said Margaret, as to obtaine the said kingdom of Scotland, whervpon we haue deliuered to him the said kingdom of Scotland, and the seizine therof, saving the right of vs & our heires, when it shall please vs to speake therof. We therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the said John Balioll, or to his attorneyes, that shall bring with them these our present letters, the seizine of the said castell of Berwike, with all the appurtenances, together with all other things to you by indenture deliuered accordinglie as you did receiue the same, with the custodie of the said castle to you committed: and this without delaie. Witnesse our selfe at Berwike vpon Tweed the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentieth yere of our reigne.

In the same forme of words were writs awarded forth, to all and euerie other the keepers of castles and manors belonging to the crowne of Scotland, and being at that time in E. Edwards hands, the names of places and the persons that had them in custodie onelie changed. On the same day also in the castell of Berwike was the scale broken, which had bene appointed to the gouernors, during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure parts, and put into a purse to be reserved in the treasure of the king of England, in further and more full token of his superioritie and direct supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

The scale broken.

These things were done in presence of the said John Balioll then king of Scotland, John archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Winchester, Anthony bishop of Duresme, William bishop of Elie, John bishop of Carleil, William bishop of S. Andrews, Robert bishop of Glasco, Marke bishop of Ban, and Henrie bishop of Aberdene, with diuerse other bishops, besides abbats and priors of both the realmes; Henrie earle of Lincolne, Humfric earle of Hereford, Roger earle of Dorset, John earle of Buchquane, Douenald earle of Mar, Gilbert earle of Angus, Patrike earle of March, and Malisus earle of Stratherne; with the foure and twentie auditors of England, and the foure score auditors of Scotland: chapleins also, Henrie de Actonmarke deane of Porke, John Lacie chancellour of Citherster, William de Grenefeld canon of Porke, and John Ercurie notarie, and manie other. John Balioll being thus created k. of Scotland, on the twentieth day of Nouember, in the castell of Roxham, did fealtie to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of John Balioll king of Scots to the king of England in protestation.



His heare you my lord Edward king of England, souereigne lord of the realme of Scotland, that I John de Balioll king of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, that I shall be faithfull and loiall, and owe faith and loialtie to you, I shall beare of life and member, and of earthlie honour, against all people, and lawfullie I shall acknowledge and do the seruires which I owe to do to you, for the realme of Scotland aforesaid. So God me helpe and his holie euangelists.

Bercof

Whereof also he made letters patents, witnessing that he had thus done fealtie unto king Edward, which letters he sealed and deliuered in presence of William bishop of saint Andrews, Robert bishop of Glasgow, John earle of Wouchquane, William earle of Ross, Patrike earle of March, Walter earle of Genteth, James lord steward of Scotland, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Balioll lord of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edward appointed Anthoine bishop of Duresme, and the lord John saint John to passe with Balioll into Scotland, and there to put him into the corporall possession of the same realme of Scotland, which they did, and so he was crowned at Scone vpon saint Andrews day, being placed in the marble chaire within the abbey church there. The solemnitie of which coronation being ended, he returned into England, and coming to Newcastle vpon Tyne, where k. Edward in that yeare kept his Christmase, he there did homage vpon saint Stephens daie vnto the said king Edward, in forme of words as followeth.

Anno Reg. 21.
John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland.

The forme of the king of Scots
homage to king Edward, in action.

MY lord, lord Edward king of England, superior lord of Scotland, I John de Balioll king of Scotland, do acknowledge and recognize me to be your liegeman of the whole realme of Scotland, with all the appurtenances, and whatsoever belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heires kings of England, and I shall beare faith and loialtie to you and to your heires kings of England, of life, of member, and earthlie honour, against all men, which may liue and die.

1292

Richard
Bagley.
A prisoner
rescued.

The offend-
ers lost their
hand.

A great snow
and tempest of
wind in Maye

The archbis-
hop of Can-
terburie de-
ceased.

The kings
daughter mar-
ried to the
earle of Bar.

War betwixt
England and
France.

Two Eng-
lish ships ta-
ken.

This homage in forme aforesaid did king Edward receiue, his owne and others right saued. Then did the king of England without delaye respoze vnto the said John Balioll the kingdome of Scotland, with all the appurtenances. This yeare, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the Shyrrifes of London led a prisoner towards the galle, three persons rescued the said prisoner, and took him from the officer, the which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement of law then bled, were brought into Westcheape, and there had their hands stricken off by the wylles. On the 14 daie of Maie fell a wonderfull snow, and therewith blew such an exceeding wind, that great harme was done thereby in sundrie places of England. In the same yeare died sir John Bechham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was Robert of Winchelsea elected archbishop the 48 in number that had ruled that see. About the middle of September following, the earle of Bar a Frenchman, married the ladie Eliano: the kings daughter in the towne of Wyssow. This yeare wheat was sold at London for two shillings a bushell.

This yeare also the war was begun betwene the kings of England and France. For whereas king Edward had furnished forth six ships of warre, and sent them vnto Burdeaur for defense of the coasts thereabouts, two of them, as they sailed along the coast of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enemies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerse of the mariners hanged. The lord Robert Tiptoft that was admerall of the English fleet aduertised thereof, got together a great number of ships, and directed

his course with them straight towards Normantie, and finding no ships of the Normans abroad in the seas, vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and set vpon the Norman ships that laie there at anchor, slue manie of the mariners, & took six ships auaie with him, and so returning to the sea againe, cast anchor not far off from the land, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forth with their fleet to giue battell. And as he laie at anchor, it chanced that certeine Norman ships fraught with wine came that waies, as they returned out of Gascoigne. The lord Tiptoft setting on them, took them with little ado, and sleaing nere hand the third part of all the mariners, sent the ships into England.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepared a nauie, and furnishing the same with souldiers went forth to the sea, to encounter the Englishmen: but yer they met, messengers were sent to and fro, the Englishmen accusing the Frenchmen of truce-breach, king, and the Frenchmen againe requiring restitution of their goods taken from them by violence. And now forsomuch as this businesse had bene moued rashlie betwixt the Englishmen and the Normans, without any commission of their princes, their minds therefore were not so kindled in displeasure, but that there had been good hope of agreement betwixt them, if Charles earle of Malois the French kings brother (being a man of a hot nature & desirous of reuenge) had not procured his brother to seeke reuengement by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fleet made toward the Englishmen, who minding not to detract the batell, charlie encountred their enemies in a certeine place betwixt England and Normandie, where they had laid a great emptie ship at anchor, to giue token where they meant to ioine. There were with the Englishmen both Irishmen and Hollanders, and with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, and certeine vessels of Genouaues.

The fight at the first was doubtfull, and great slaughter made, as in the meeting of two such mightie nauies must needs insue. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Englishmen, and the French ships put to the chase and scattered abroad. The number of ships lost is not recorded by such writers as make report of this conflict, but they write that the losse was great. King Philip being aduertised of this discomfiture of his fleet was sore displeased, and as though he would proceed against king Edward by order of law, he summoned him as his liegeman to appeare at Paris, to answer what might be objected against him; but withall because he knew that king Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepared an armie.

In the meane time king Edward sent his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster to be his attorneie, and to make answer for him before all such iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the iudges meaning nothing lesse than to trie out the truth of the cause, admitted no reasons that the earle could alledge in his brothers behalfe, and so pronounced king Edward a rebell, and decreed by arrest, that he had forfeited all his right vnto the duchie of Guen. These things thus done, he sent priuie messengers vnto Burdeaur, to procure the citizens to reuolt from the Englishmen, and appointed constable of France the lord Arnold de Breale to follow with an armie, who comming thither castled brought them of Burdeaur vnder the French dominion, being already minded to reuolt through prauike of those that were latelic before sent vnto them from the French king for that purpose. After this, the said constable brought the people nere adioining vnder subiection, partlie moued by the example of the cheefe and head citie of all the countrie, and partlie induced thereto by

The lord
merall of En-
land sent
vnto the
Normans.

Charles earle
of Malois
curreth warre
betwixt En-
land and
France.

The Engli-
sh men bates
by sea.

K. Edward
summoned to
appeare at
Paris.

Edward earle
of Lancaster
sent to the
French king.

K. Edward
condemned
the French
kings court.

Arnold de
Breale sent
into Gas-
cogne with
an armie.

bribes and large gifts. The Englishmen that were in the countie, after they perceived that the people did thus revolt to the French king, withowt incontinencie unto the townes situate nere to the sea side, but speciallie they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortified with all speed. Thus saith Polydor.

Nicholas Trivet.

Henric earle of Lincoln.

Nicholas Trivet, writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this manner. The English merchants being diverslie bered upon the seas, made complaint to the king for losse of their merchandise. The king sent Henric Lacie earle of Lincoln unto the French king, instantlie requiring, that by his assent there might some waie be provided with speed by them and their counsell, for some competent remedie touching such harmes and losses by sea as his people had susteined. In the meane time whilst the earle taried for answer, a naue of the parts of Normandie containing two hundred ships and above, being assembled together, that they might the more boldlie assaile their enemies, and the more valiantlie resist such as should encounter them, sailed into Gascoigne, determining to deströie all those of their aduersaries that should come in their waie. But as these Normane ships returned backe with wines, gloieng as it were that they had got the rule of the sea onelie to themselves, they were assailed by thre score English ships, which took them, & brought them into England the friday before Whitfunday: all the men were either drowned or slaine, those onelie excepted which made shift to escape by boates. The newes hereof being brought into France, did not so much moue the king and the counsell to wonder at the matter, as to take thereof great indignation.

The bishop of London sent with an answer unto the French king.

Ambassadors were appointed to go into England which on the behalfe of the French king, might demand of king Edward restitution of those ships and goods thus taken by his subjects, and conueied into his realme, without all delaie, if he minded to haue any fauour in the French court touching his affaires that belonged to his countie of Gascoigne. The king of England hearing this message, tooketherein deliberation to answer, and then sent the bishop of London, accompanied with other wise and discreet persons into France, to declare for answer unto the French king and his counsell as followeth; that is, Whereas the king of England hath his regall court without subiection to any man, if there were there fore any persons that found themselves hurt or indamaged by his people, they might come to his court, and upon declaration of their receiued injuries, they should haue speedie iustice, and to the end they might thus doe without all danger, whosoever minded to complaine, he would giue vnto them a safe conduct to come and go in safetie thorough his land: but if this waie pleased not the French king, then he was content there should be arbitrators chosen on both sides, who weighing the losses on both parts, might provide how to satisfie the complaints: and the king of England would for his part enter into bonds by obligation to stand to and abide their order and iudgement herein, so that the French king would likewise be bound for his part, and if any such doubt fortuned to arise, which could not be decided by the said arbitrators, let the same be referred vnto the kings themselves to discusse and determine, and the king of England vpon a sufficient safe conduct had, would come ouer to the French k. if he would come downe vnto any haven tolone nere to the sea coast, that by mutuall assent an end might be had in the businesse: but if neither this waie should please the French king nor the other, then let the matter be committed to the order of the pope, to whom it appertained to nourish conoord among

christian princes; or because the sea was as then bold, let the whole colledge of cardinals or part of them take order therein, as should be thought necessarie, that strife and discord being taken awaie and removed, peace might againe flourish betwixt them and their people, as before time it had done, and bying with it the blessings thereupon depending; namelie, althings that may make an happie & fortunat state, according to the nature of peace, wherof it is said,

*Pax est cunctorum mater veneranda bonorum,
Fit sub pace forum, fit felix cultus agrorum,
Pax pietas mentis, pax est pincerna salutis.*

The French counsell weied nothing at all these offers, and would not so much as once vouchsafe to giue an answer to the English ambassadors earnestlie requiring the same. Finally, the French king sent vnto the citie of Anion, which is knowne to be long vnto the dutchie of Guien, where he there caused the king of England to be cited to make his appearance at Paris, at a certeine daie, to answer to the injuries and rebellions by him done in the countie of Gascoigne, at the which daie when he appeared not, the French king sitting in the seat of iudgement in his owne proper person, gaue sentence there against the king of England, for making default, and withall commanded the high constable of France to seize into his hands all the dutchie of Guien, and either to take or to expell all the king of Englands officers, souldiers, and deputies, which were by him placed within the said dutchie. The king a little before had sent thither a valiant knight, named the lord John saint John, which had furnished all the cities, townes, castels, and places, with men, munition, and vittels, for defense of the same.

The king of England cited to appeare

Sentence giuen against the king of England.

Anno Reg. 22.

In the meane time the king of England, desirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appointed his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, as then sojourning in France, to go vnto the French kings counsell to procure some agreement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not be dishonorable vnto him. But when the earle could not procure in his sute, he took his iourne towards England, utterlie despairing to procure any peace. But ver he came to the sea side, he was sent for backe againe by the two quenes of France, Ione wife to king Philip, and Marie his mother in law, which promised to frame some accord betwene the two kings, and so thereupon after diuerse communications by them had in the matter with the said earle of Lancaster, at length it was accorded, that for the sauing of the French kings honour, which seemed to be touched by things done by the king of Englands ministers in Gascoigne, six castels should remaine at the said kings pleasure, as Sandes, Talemond, Turinim, Pomeroll, Penne, and mount Flauntun. Also there should be set a seruant or sergeant in the French kings name, in euerie citie and castell within all the whole dutchie of Guien, except Burdeaux, Baston, and the Rioll. And further, hostages should be deliuered at the French kings pleasure, of all ministers to be placed by the king of England in Gascoigne and other places thorough all the country. These things done, the French king should reuoke the summons published and pronounced in the court of Paris against the king of England. Also he should restore all the castels (his seruants being removed which he had placed in the same) together with the pledges incontinencie, at the request of the same quenes, or of either of them. The king of England hauing a safe conduct should come to Amiens, that there meeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and ingrossed touching the foresaid articles of agreement, one part deliuered to the earle

The peace of the quenes.

I 294

earle, sealed with the scales of the quenes, and other remained with the foresaid quenes sealed with the scale of the earle.

Letters patents.

The king of England certified hreof, sent his letters patents, directed unto all his officers and ministers in Gascoigne, commanding them to obeye in all things the French kings pleasure. These letters patents were first sent unto the earle of Lancaster, that he might cause them to be conveyed into Gascoigne when he should see time. The earle having received those letters, doubting whether the French king would observe the agreement which the quenes had made and concluded, or not; required of them that he might here the French king speake the word, that he would stand unto that which they had concluded. Whereupon in the presence of the said earle and his wife Blanch quene of Navar, mother to the French quene, also of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Clerc sonne to the earle of Drenford, and of a chaplain called sir John Lacie, the French king promised by the faith of a prince, that he would fulfill the promises of the said quenes, and the covenants by them accorded.

Sir Gessrey Langley.

Whereupon a knight of the earles of Lancaster, called sir Gessrey de Langley, was speedilie sent into Gascoigne with letters from the French king, directed to the constable, to call him backe againe from his appointed enterpryse. And the foresaid chaplain sir John Lacie was sent also thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed unto his officers there, in forme as is above mentioned, whereupon the lord John saint John the king of Englands lieutenant in Gascoigne, understanding the conclusions of the agreement, sold all such provisions as he had made and brought into the cities, towne, and fortresses for the defense of the same, and departing out of Gascoigne, came towards Paris to returne that waie into England.

The French kings mind changed.

His trust dealing.

But behold what followed; suddenly by the envie of peace was the French kings mind quite changed. And where the king of England was come unto Canturburie, and kept his Easter there, that immediatlie upon the receipt of the safe conduct he might transport over the seas, and so come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement; now not onelie the safe conduct was denied, but also the first letters renocatorie sent unto the constable to call him backe, by other letters sent after were also made void, and he by the latter letters appointed to kepe upon his tournee, so that the constable entering into Gascoigne with a power, found no resistance, the capteins and officers submitting them selves with the towne and fortresses at his pleasure according to the tenor of the letters patents latelie to them delivered. All the officers and capteins of the fortresses were brought to Paris as captives and pledges.

The French king renounceth what he had said.

Within a few daies after, the earle of Lancaster required the quenes, that they would call upon the king to grant his safe conduct for the king of England, to reuoke the citation or summons, to restore the lands taken from him; and to deliuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouths of certeine knights sent unto the earle, renounced all such covenants as before had bene concluded. The earle of Lancaster then perceiving that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into England, and informed the king & his counsell from point to point of all the matter. Whereupon a parlement being called at Westminister, at the which the king of Scotland was present, it was decreed by the states, that those lands which were crassilie taken so from the king should be recovered againe by the sword. And the

king herewith sent unto the French king a frier preacher named Hugh of Marchester, and a frier minor called William de Gainsborough, both being wise and discret men, and doctors of divinitie, to declare unto him, that sith he would not observe such agreements as had bene concluded betwixt their ancestors; and further had broken such covenants as were now of late agreed upon betwixt them, by the trauell of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster: there was no cause whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guen, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound unto him by reason of his homage.

About the same time did the king of England send the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Duresme into Germanie, about the concluding of a league with Adolph king of Romans, to whom was given a great summe of monie (as was said) upon covenants, that he should aid the king of England against the French king, with all his maine force, and that neither of them should conclude peace with the said French king without consent of the other. About the Ascension tide, king Edward staied the wolles of this land, as well belonging to spirituall men as temporall men, till the merchants had fished with him for the same, so that there was a subsidie paid for all sarplers of woll that went out of the relme, and in semblable wise for felles and hides. He also sent an armie by sea into Gascoigne, under the conduct of his nephue John of Britaine that was earle of Richmond, appointing to him as counsellours, the lord John saint John, and the lord Robert Tiptoft; men of great wisdom, and verie expert in warlike enterprises.

He also caused three severall fleets to be prepared, and appointed to them three sundrie admirals, for the better keeping of the seas. To them of Parmouth and other of those parts, he assigned the lord John Botetourt: to them of the cinque ports, William de Leborne: and to them of the west countrie, and to the Irishmen, he appointed a valiant knight of Ireland as their chesteine. This yeare in England was a great dearth and scarcitie of corne, so that a quarter of wheat in manie places was sold for thirtie shillings: by reason whereof poore people died in manie places for lacke of sustenance. About Michaelmas, the English fleet toke the sea at Dorsetmouth, and after some contrarie winds, yet at last they arrived within the river of Garon, and so passing by the same river, wan diuers towne, as Burge, Blaines, Rions, and others.

The kings coffers by reason of furnishing forth of this armie, and other continuall charges which he had sustained, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, William March one of the kings treasurers, purposed with other mens losses to supplie that want. He knew that in abbeyes and churches was much monie kept in store, the which if he commanded to be taken from thence, he thought that he should not commit any offense, but rather do a good deed, that the monie might come abroad to the vse of the people, whereby the soldiers might be satisfied for their wages. Such capteins therefore, as he appointed to worke the feat, placing their soldiers in euerie quarter through the realme, made search at one time, in Julie, at three of the clocke in the afternone, for all such monie as was hid and laid up in all hallowed places, and taking the same awaie, brought it unto the king, who dissembling the matter, as he that stood in need, excused the act done by his treasurer so well as he could, to avoid the enuie of the people; and not content herewith, he called togither thozille after, to wit, on saint Matthewes day the apostle, at London, all the archbishops, bishops, deanes, & archdeacons,

Hugh of Marchester called William de Gainsborough, both being wise and discret men, and doctors of divinitie, to declare unto him, that sith he would not observe such agreements as had bene concluded betwixt their ancestors; and further had broken such covenants as were now of late agreed upon betwixt them, by the trauell of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster: there was no cause whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guen, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound unto him by reason of his homage.

The king of England did not observe the French king.

Embassadors sent into Germany.

Wolles fished.

A subsidie raised of wool.

An armie sent into Gascoigne.

N. Triuer.

Three fleets appointed to the sea.

A dearth.

Rich. South.

The English armie passed to Gascoigne.

Towns won.

Nic. Triver.

Polydor.

Abington.

Marth. Wel.

A shift for monie.

Abington.

The treaty was concluded.

The king was sick.

Abington.

not

The spirit-
ualie called to
a counsell.

not in their proper persons, but by two procurators of euerie diocesse. Here when they were once assembled, the king declared vnto them the warres which he was diuient to mainteine against the Frenchmen, & the charges which he was at for the same. He also shewed them, that the earles, barons & knights of the realme, did not onlie aid him with their goods, but put their persons forward to serue him in defence of the land, whereof they were members, euen to the shedding of their blood, and oftentimes with losse of their lines. Therefore (saith he) you which may not put your persons in perill by seruice in the warres, it is good reason you should aid vs with your goods.

Their offer
not liked.

The cleargie hauing no speciall head, by reason that the see of Canturburie was void, wist not well how to gouerne themselves. At length Oliver bishop of Lincoln, required in all their names to haue three daies respite to make answer to the matter, the which time expired, they offered to the king two dismes to be paid within one yeare. The which when the king heard, he toke great disdain therewith, and threatened by some of his men of war to put the cleargie out of his protection, except they would grant to him the halfe of their goods. The cleargie put in feare therewith, and some of them also desirous to win the kings fauour, granted his request, and so the king at that time got the halfe part of euerie spirituall mans living and benefice for one yeares extant, to be paid in portions within thre yeares next ensuing, beginning at twentie marks benefice, & so upwards. And the sooner to induce them herewith, he promised the bishops to grant some thing that might be beneficiall to the cleargie, if they would demand it.

The popes
require to
haue the
statute of
Mortmain
repealed.

The bishops taking counsell together, required of him that the statute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they saw to be most preiudiciall to their order. But the king answered them, that without the whole consent of a parlement he could not breake that ordinance, which by authoritie of parlement had bene once established, and therefore he wished that they would not require that thing which laie not in him to grant, and so by that means he shifed them off. The spiritualltie was not onelie charged with this subside, but they of the tempozaltie were also burthened. For the citizens and burgesles of good townes gaue to the king the first part of their goods, and the residue of the people gaue the tenth part.

The R. shif-
ted them off.

N. Triuer.

The welsh-
men are busie.

Madoc,
Carnaruan
burnt.

Walgon.

Porogan dy-
eth the earle
of Gloucester
out of Glamog-
ganshire.

The earles of
Lancaster &
Lincolne were
quitted by the
welshmen.

Moreover, about the same time, the Welshmen often rebelled against the king, and in diuerse parts made diuerse rulers amongst them. Those of Northwales which inhabited about Snowdon hills, hauing to their capteine one Madoc, of the line of their former prince Leolin, burned the towne and castell of Carnaruan, slaing a great multitude of Englishmen, which doubting no such matter, were come thither to the faire. Those of the west part hauing chosen to their ruler one Walgon on the parts of Denbroke and Carmardin shires, did much mischief. And one Porogan hauing them of Southwales at his commandement, expelled and droue the earle of Gloucester out of his countrie of Glamorgan, which earle had before time disherited the ancestors of the same Porogan. The king therefore to repress the Welshmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, and the earle of Lincoln, being ready to haue sailed ouer into Gascoigne, the which earles as they approached nere vnto the castell of Denbigh vpon saint Martins day, the Welshmen with great force incountred them, and giuing them battell, droue them backe and discomfited their people. Polydor iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Englishmen, the rather for that the armie was hired with such monie as had bene wrongfullie taken out of the abbies and other holie

places, howbeit it is but his opinion onelie.

The king kept his Chastmasse at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new archbishop of Canturburie, doctor Robert Winchelsey, being returned from Rome (where, of pope Celestine he had receiued his pall) was comming towards him, he sent one of his chapelaines named John Beruoke with a power of souldiers to conduct him safely vnto his presence. And after the archbishop had done his fealtie to the king, accordingly as of dutie and custome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honour shewed vnto him at the kings hands. Upon the day of the circumcision of our Lord, was the citie of Balon rendred vnto the lord John saint John, the which the day before had bene taken by the mariners by force of assault. Many of the citizens which were knowne to be chafe enemies vnto the king of England, were apprehended and sent into England. The castell was then besieged, and after eight daies taken. The lord of Alpermont with diuerse others that held it, were committed to French prison. There were also taken two gallies, which the French king had caused to be made, and appointed to be remaining there vpon defense of that citie. Shortly after the towne of saint John de Sozdes was deliuered vnto the Englishmen, who toan manie other townes and fortresses, some by surrender of their owne accord, and some by force and violence. The English armie greatlie increased within a while, after the decett of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gascoignes returned vnto the English obedience, in such wise that foure thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen came to aid the English capteins.

In the meane time, the king of England passing ouer the riuier of Conwey, with part of his armie to go further into Wales towards Snowdon, lost manie carts and other cariages which were taken by the Welshmen, being laden with the provisions of vittels, so that he with his people indured great penurie, and was constrained to drinke water mixt with honie, and eat such course bread and salt flesch as he could get, till the other part of the armie came vnto him. There was a small quantitie of wine amongst them, which they would haue referred onelie for the king, & therefore refused to tast thereof. But least they should repine at his extraordinary and seuerall fare, and so by conceits of discontentment for not hauing the like, he considered in a sympathie, that,

Que mala cum multis patimur, leuiora videntur,

saing, that in time of necessitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented with like diet. For as touching him (being the cause and procurer of their want) he would not be preferred before any of them in his meats and drinks. The Welshmen compassed him about in hope to distresse him, for that the water was so risen, that the residue of his armie could not get to him. But shortly after, when the water fell, they came ouer to his aid, and there with the aduersaries fled.

The earle of Warwike, hearing that a great number of Welshmen was assembled together, and lodged in a ballie betwixt two woods, he chose out a number of horsemen, with certeine crossebowes and archers, and comming vpon the Welshmen in the night, compassed them round about, the which pitching the ends of their speares in the ground, and turning the points against their enemies, stood at defense so to keepe off the horsemen. But the earle hauing placed his battell so, that euer betwixt two horsemen there stood a crossebow, a great part of the Welshmen which stood at defense in manner aforesaid with their speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the shot of the quarels, and then the earle charged the residue with a trope of horsemen, and bare

Anno Reg. 43.
1295

Balon pre-
ded to the
Englishmen.

The castell of
Balon won.

Two French
gallies taken.

Saint John
de Sozdes.

The Gas-
coignes aid
the English-
men.

The king en-
tred into
Wales.

Abington.

The earle of
Warwike.
N. Triuer.

The welsh-
men over-
throwne by
the earle of
warwike.

ff. l.

them

them downe with such slaughter, as they had not susteyned the like losse of people (as was thought) at any one time before.

In the meane while, king Edward to restraine the rebellious attempts of those Welshmen, caused the woods of Wales to be cut downe, wherein before time the Welshmen were accustomed to hide themselves in time of danger. He also repaired the castles and holds in that countrey, and builded some new, as the citie and castell of Beaumarise with other, so that the Welshmen constrained through hunger and famine, were enforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Also at length about the feast of saint Laurence, the Welshman Rhodoc, that toke himselfe for prince of Wales was taken prisoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetual prison. ¶ By some writers it should appeare, that Rhodoc was not taken, but rather after many adventures & sundrie conflicts, when the Welshmen were brought to an issue of great extremitie; the said Rhodoc came in and submitted himselfe to the kings peace, and was received, upon condition that he should pursue Morgan till he had taken him and brought him to the kings prison, which was done, and so all things in those parts were set in rest and peace, and many hostages of the chiefe amongst the Welsh nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who sent them to diuerse castles in England where they were safely kept almost to the end of the warres that followed with Scotland.

About the same time Charles de Valois brother to the French king, being sent with an armie into Gascoine, and coming vpon the sudden, found the Englishmen wandering abroad in the countrey out of order, by reason whereof taking them at that advantage, he caused them to leaue their booties behind them, flue part of them, and chased the residue, the which fled to their ships, or to such haueen townes as were in their possession. The capitaine of the Englishmen, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and the lord John saint John, after they had got together their souldiers which had bene thus chased, sent two bands vnto Pontefrey to defend that towne against the enemies: also other two bands vnto saint Seuer: and they themselves went to Kion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valois aduertised hereof, thought he would not giue them long respite to make themselves strong by gathering any new power, and therefore appointed the conestable sir Rafe de Beale, (who had wonne the citie of Burdeaur from the Englishmen latelie before) to go vnto Pontefrey and besiege that towne, whilst he went vnto Kion, which he besieged and fiercelie assaulted. But the Englishmen and Gascoins did not onelie defend the towne stoutlie, but also made an issue forth vpon their enemies, though (as it happened) the smaller number was not able to susteine the force of the greater multitude, and so were the Englishmen beaten backe in to the towne againe.

Whilst they tried their manhood thus at Kion, the conestable wonne Pontefrey or Pontfac vpon Dozdore, and came to ioine with the earles de Valois at Kion, and so enforced both their powers to win that towne. The Englishmen and Gascoins, though they were put in some feare, yet they helved their approued balliance in defending the towne, till at length when they saw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of succour from any part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ships: but diuerse of them were taken by the waie, for the Frenchmen hauing knowledge of their intent, forsaie the passages, and taking some of them that first sought to escape thus by flight, slue them, but there was not many of those, for all the residue,

when they perceived that the Frenchmen had laid betwixt them and their ships, making vertue of necessity, stood still in defense of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of assault the Friday in Easter weeke.

Some write, that the same night, in which they ment to flee to their ships, there chanced a great tumult and mutenie betwixt the footmen and horsemen, so that they fought together, or else might the whole number of them haue escaped. The horsemen that got forth left their horses behind them readie bydeled and saddled, which the Frenchmen vpon entering the towne in the morning toke, after they had slaine the most part of the footmen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, slaued onelie the capitaine and gentlemen, and slue the other, aswell Englishmen as Gascoins. There was taken of knights, sir Rafe Lannie, sir Amis de saint Amand, with his brother sir Rafe de Gorges marshall of the armie, sir Roger Leborne, sir John Breting, sir James Breting, sir Ben. Boding, sir John Hauendeulle, sir John Fulborne, sir Robert Godfield, sir Thomas Tardern, and sir Walter, with three & thirtie esquiers, which were sent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Breting was killed, a right valiant knight, by reason of one sir Walter Gifford a knight also, which had dwelled in France many yeares before as an outlaw.

On the same day was the towne of saint Seuer deliuered vnto the Englishmen, the which Hugh or (as Abington saith) Robert Cler, brother to the earle of Drenford toke vpon him to kepe as capitaine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valois aduertised thereof, departed from Kion with all speed, to besiege the foresaid towne of saint Seuer, per the Englishmen should haue time to fortifie it. But the foresaid Hugh Cler kept him out the space of thirtene or (as Abington saith) nine weekes, to the great losse of the Frenchmen, no small part of their people dieng in the meane time, both of pestilence and famine. At length, when vittels began to faile within, a truce was taken for sixtene daies, within the which it might be lawfull for them within the towne to send vnto Baion for succour, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne should be yelded vnto the Frenchmen, and so it was vpon these conditions, that the Englishmen and other that would depart, should haue libertie to take with them their armour and goods, and be safely conueied two daies iourne on their waie from the French armie. Also that those which were minded to remaine still in the towne, should not susteine any losse or damage in their booties or goods. The pledges also which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the French kings seneshall, should returne in safetie to the towne, and haue their goods restored vnto them. This done, Charles de Valois appointed a garrison of souldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into France. The Englishmen, which escaped out of those places from the Frenchmens hands, repaired vnto Baion, to defend that towne with their capitaine the foresaid erle earle of Richmond and the lord John de St. John, the which of some are vntreuelie said to haue bene slaine at Kion. Shortly after that Charles de Valois was departed and gone out of the countrey, the towne of saint Seuer was recovered by the Englishmen.

It should appeare by report of some writers, that Hugh Cler (whome they wzongle name to be earle of Drenford) was sent ouer as then from king Edward to the aid of his capitaine in Gascoine, and at his first coming, recovered the towne of saint Seuer, and afterwards so valiantlie defended it against the Frenchmen, that honorable mention is made of him, both by Nicholas Triuet, and also by some French

The woods
in Wales cut
downe.

Beaumarise
castell.

Rhodoc taken
prisoner.
Abington.

Welshmen
imprisoned.

Polydor.

Charles de
Valois chaſeth
the English
men.

The Earle of
Richmond.

Kion besieged

Pontefrey won.

Nic. Triuet
Kion won.

Englishmen
taken.

Abington.

Sir Adam
Breting killed.
Sir Walter
Gifford.

Saint Seuer
taken.
Nic. Triuet.
Hugh Cler.
Charles de
Valois.

Saint Seuer
recovered.

Saint Seuer
recovered
by compul-
sion.

Charles de
Valois returneth
into France.

Polydor.

The Earle of
Drenford then
having brought
Robert Cler
and not Hugh
Cler.

In fact. French writers, for his high manhood therein shewed. But whether he were brother or sonne to the earle of Arford, I can not saie; holobreit about the 27 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, we find one Hugh Arer, that was a baron, whom I take to be this man, but earle I thinke he was not. For (as Eueriden saith) one Robert Arer that was earle of Arford deceased in the yeare next ensuing, and after him succeeded an other earle that bare the same name (as by records it may appeare.) Polydor speaking of the siege of S. Seuer, rehearseth not who was capitaine as then of the towne, but in the yielding of it unto Charles de Calois, after he had laine more than thre moneths before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polydor. In the same yeare Gerard bishop of Alba and Simon archbishop of Bourges, two cardinals of the Romane see, were sent unto the kings of England and France, to moue them to conclude a peace. They first came into France, and after into England, but perceiving the minds of the kings nothing inclined to concord, they returned to Rome without any conclusion of their purpose, but not without monie gathered of religious men to beare out their expenses, for they had authoritie by the popes grant to receiue in name of procuracies and expenses, six marks of euerie cathedrall and collegiat church thorough the realme, besides diuerse other rewards. And where any pore chapiter of nunnies or religious persons were not able of themselves, the parish churches next adjoining were appointed to be contributorye with them.

Nich. Trivet. At the same time sir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of those (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to saue his life, and to deliuer himselfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued false before, promised king Philip that if he would suffer him to returne into England, he would so worke with king Edward, that he might be made by him admerall of the seas; which thing brought to passe he would deliuer the English nauie into the hands of the said king Philip. Hereupon was he set at libertie, and ouer he came into England. And for as much as he had knownde to be a man of singular and approued valiantie, king Edward receiued him verie courteously, who remembryng his promised practise to the French king, fell in hand by procuring of friends to be made admerall of the seas. But king Edward (as God would haue it) denied that sute.

The French king tenderly loveth a fleet against England. The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his nauie, containing thre hundred saile, what with the gallies and other ships (for he had got diuerse both from Sperelles and Genoa) sent the same forth to the seas, that upon such occasion the king of England might also send forth his fleet. But the French nauie comming nere to the coast of England, and lieng at anchor certaine daies, looking for sir Thomas Turberuile; when he came not at the day prefixed, the capitaines of the French fleet appointed one of their vessels to approach nere to the shore, and to set on land certaine persons that knew the countrie, to vnderstand and learne the cause of such faile. They being taken of the Englishmen and examined, could make no direct answer in their owne excuse, and so were put to death. Some write that they sent five gallies towards the shore to suruey the coast, of the which gallies one of them aduansing forth afoze his fellowes, arriued at Hyde nere to Romney haue, where the Englishmen espied him, to drave the Frenchmen on land, feined to flie backe into the countrie, but returning suddenly upon the enimies, they slue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fiftie persons. They set fire on the gallie also and burned him.

The admerall of the French fleet binded in an-

ger herewith, casted freight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and prairie. The townefolkes being striken with terror and feare of the sudden landing of their enimies, fled into the countrie, and raised people on euerie side, the which being assembled together in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and invading such Frenchmen as were strated abroad to seeke prizes, slue them downe in sundrie places. The French admerall which had bene busie all the day in pillering the towne, hearing the noise of those Frenchmen that came running towards the sea side, freight waies got him to his ships with such pillage as he could take with him. The other Frenchmen, which were gone abroad into the countrie to fetch prizes, and could not come to their ships in time, were laine euerie mothers sonne. Some of them hid themselves in the coyne fields, and were after laine of the countrie people. There was little lesse than eight hundred of them thus laine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manie of the men of Douer laine, for they escaped by swift flight at the first entrie made by the Frenchmen: but of women and childzen there died a great number, for the enimies spared none. There was also an old manke laine named Thomas, a man of such vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceasse, manie miracles throught him were shewed.

30 Sir Thomas Turberuile, being troubled in his mind that he could not bying his traitorous purpose to passe, began to assaie another waie, which was to procure John Balliol king of Scotland to ioine in league with the French king, but per any of his practises could be brought about, his treason was reucaled, who being thereof eidentlie convicted, was put to execution. Nich. Trivet saith, that he had promised the French king to cause Wales to revolt from king Edward, and that by procurement of the priuost of Paris, he consented to worke such treason. And (as some write) he did not onelie homage vnto the French king, but also left two of his sonnes in pledge for assurance to worke that which he had promised. His secretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French king, containing his imagined treasons, with other aduertisements touching king Edwards purposes, fearing least the matter by some other means might come to light (as the old proverbe saith,

Quicquid nix celat solis calor omne reuelat)

50 as well to his destruction as his maisters for concealing it, disclosed all to the king. Now he hauing knowledge that he was betrayed by his seruant, fled out of the court, but such diligence was vsed in the pursuit of him, that he was taken within two daies after, and brought backe againe to London, where he was convicted of the treason so by him imagined, and therefore finally put to death. This yeare the cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goods, the citizens a first part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Eueriden saith) the burgesses of good townes gaue the seuenth, and the commons abroad the eleuenth penie.

The same yeare died Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which left issue behind him, begot of his wife the countesse Ione the kings daughter (beside thre daughters) one yong sonne named also Gilbert to succede him as his heire. The countesse his wife, after his husbands deceasse, married a knight of meane estate, borne in the bishopricke of Durlesme, named sir Rafe Mounthermer, that had serued the earle his first husband in his life time. The king at the first toke displeasure herewith, but at length through the hie valiantie of the knight, oft times shewed and apparantlie approued, the matter was so well taken, that he was intituled earle of Gloucester.

ff. ij.

Douer robbed by the French.

The Frenchmen chased to their ships.

Frenchmen laine about Douer.

Sir Thomas Turberuile executed.

Caxton.

Abington.

The death of noble men.

Sir Rafe Mounthermer serued the countesse of Gloucester.

Anno Reg. 24.
N. Triuer.
1296

The king of
Scots concludeth
a league
with the
French king.
Polydor.

Math. West.

R. Edwards
request made
to the Scots
is denied.
Abington.

The distast
dealing of the
Scots.

Nic. Triuer.

The earle of
Lancaster
sent into Gas-
coigne.
Abington.

The castell of
Lefpar deliue-
red vnto him.
Nic. Triuer.

The French-
men forced to
retire.

and advanced to great honor. John Romane arch-
bishop of Yorke also this yeare died, after whome
one Henrie de Newmarke deane of the colledge
there succeeded. Moreover the same yeare Wil-
liam de Clance earle of Denbroke departed this
life, and lieth buried at Westminster, and then Al-
mer his sonne succeeded him.

John king of Scotland affianced his sonne Ed-
ward Balliol with the daughter of Charles du Ma-
lois brother to the French king, and concluded with
the said French king a league against the king of
England. Nothing moved the Scottish king so much
hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his
native countrie, for he was a French man borne,
and lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which signori-
e was after made an earldome by Philip du Ma-
lois king of France. The Scottishmen had chosen
12 peeres, that is to say, foure bishops, foure earles,
and foure barons, by whose advice and counsell the
king should governe the realme, by whome he was
induced also to consent vnto such accord with the
French men, contrarie to his promised faith giuen
to king Edward when he did homage to him.

King Edward not fullie understanding the con-
clusion of this league, required aid of the Scottish
king for the maintenance of his warres against
France, and receiving a doubtfull answer, began
to suspect the matter: whereupon he required to have
three castles, as Barwike, Edenburgh, and Rokef-
burgh, deliuered vnto him as gages till the end of
the warre, and if the Scottishmen continued faithfull
vnto him, he would then restore the same castles
to them againe when the warres were ended. This
to do the Scottishmen utterly denied, alledging that
their countrie was free of it selfe, and acquit of all
seruitude or bondage, and that they were in no con-
dition bound vnto the king of Scotland, and there-
fore they would receive the merchants of France,
of Flanders, or any other countrie without excepti-
on, as they thought good.

There were in the haven of Berwike at the same
time, certaine English merchants, upon whome the
Scots made assault, and wounded some of them,
and some of them they slue, and chased the residue, the
which returning into England, made complaint, and
shewed in what euill manner they had bene dealt
with. King Edward hereupon perceiving the pur-
poses of the Scots, determined to make warre vpon
them with all speed, & to conquer the whole coun-
trie, if they could not cleare themselves of such euill
dealing as of them was reported and thought to be
put in practise. About the conuersion of saint Paule
in Iannarie, king Edward sent ouer into Gascoigne
his brother the lord Edmund earle of Lancaster,
with the earle of Lincoln and other, to the number
of 26 bannerets, and 700 men of armes, besides a
great multitude of other people. They arrived at
Wlay, about the midst of Lent, and staid there till
towards Easter. In which meane season, a great sort
of Gascoignes and other people resorted vnto them,
so that they were two thousand men of armes.

Upon Tene Thursday, the castell de Lefparre was
deliuered vnto the earle of Lancaster, and after that
diuers other castles. At his approaching nere vnto
Burdeaur, vpon the Thursday in Easter weeke, as
he rested to refresh himselfe and his armie in a little
village called Bekell, an armie of French men issui-
ng out of Burdeaur, ment to come on the English-
men at vnwares: but hauing warning, they pre-
pared themselves to battell, so well as the shortnes
of time would permit, and so thereupon encountering
with their enemies, and fighting a sore battell, at
length constrained the French men to returne vnto
the citie, and pursuing them as they fled, two En-

glish knights being brethren to sir Peter de Hallowe
and another that was a Gascoigne, entred the citie
with two standard-bearers belonging to the earle of
Richmond, & to the lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the
Frenchmen took, closing them within the gates.
The other Englishmen being shut out, first fell to the
spoil of the suburbs, and then set fire vpon the same.
After this were certaine of the citizens that secret-
ly were at a point with the earle of Lancaster, to
haue deliuered the citie into his hands, but their
practise being espied, they were taken and executed
per they could performe that which they had promi-
sed.

Then the earle perceiving he should but lose his
labour to staie any longer there, vpon certaine wegh-
tie occasions returned vnto Baionne, where he
shortly after fell sicke and died. He left behind him
three sonnes, Thomas that succeeded him in the earl-
dome of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and
John whome he had begot of his wife Blanch, the
which before had bene married vnto Henrie earle of
Champaigne, and king of Navar, by whome they
had but one onelie daughter, that was married vn-
to the French king Philip de Beau. After this the
English armie besieged the citie of Aques, but tho-
rough want of vittels he was constrained to raise
thence and breake by the siege. The earle of Arthois
being sent of the French king with an armie into
Gascoigne, incountred with the Englishmen, and
chased them with the slaughter of a great number,
and after recovered diuers towne and fortresses
in the countrie.

Those Englishmen that kept the towne of Burg,
being compassed about with a siege by Spounseur de
Sully, obtained truce for a certaine space, during the
which they sent vnto Blaines for some reliefe of vit-
tels, and where other refused to bring up a ship laden
with vittels, which was there prepared, the lord Si-
mon de Montague, a right valiant chescaine, and
a wife, took vpon him the enterprise, and through
the middle of the French gallees, which were placed
in the riuer to stop that no ship should passe towards
that towne, by helpe of a prosperous wind, he got in
to the haven of Burg, and so relieved them within
of their want of vittels, by meanes whereof, Spoun-
seur de Sully brake by his siege, and returned into
France.

In the meane time, king Edward not sleeping his
business, procured Guie earle of Flanders to ioin
with him in league against the Frenchmen. This
Guie was the son of Margaret countesse of Flan-
ders, whom he had by his second husband William
lord of Dampire in Burstoine. Also king Edward
procured Henrie earle of Bar, to whome (as before
ye haue heard) he had giuen his daughter Cleane:
in marriage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen,
so that at one time the erle of Bar invaded the coun-
trie of Champaigne, and the earle of Flanders made
incursions vpon those countreies of France which
ioine vnto Flanders. King Philip hereof aduertis-
ed, sent forth one Walter de Cressie with a great
armie against the earle of Bar, so that besieging the
chiefest towne of Bar, he constrained the said earle
to leaue off his enterprise in Champaigne, and to re-
turne home, for doubt to lose more there than he
should win abroad.

But now to touch more at large the circumstan-
ces of the occasion that moued the earle of Flan-
ders to make war against the French king. I find
(in Iacob Meir) that there was a marriage conclu-
ded betwixt the lord Edward the eldest son of king
Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to the fore-
said Guie earle of Flanders, which marriage was
concluded by Henrie bishop of Lincoln, and the
earle

Polydor.

The earle of
Lancaster de-
parteth this
life.

Arthois be-
sieged.
The earle of
Arthois sent
with an armie
to Gascoigne.
N. Triuer.

Burg be-
sieged.

The lord Si-
mon de Mon-
tague his en-
terprise to re-
lieue the garri-
son of Burg.

The sieges
raised.

The king of
England con-
cludeth a
league with
the earle of
Flanders.
He conclu-
deth a league
also with the
earle of Bar.
The earle of
Bar invaded
Champaigne.

A marriage
concluded.

The earle of
Flanders
arrested.

earle Warren, being sent oner as ambassadours by king Edward, unto the said earle Guie for the same purpose. In the yeare folloving, the said earle of Flanders, together with his wife, comming to visit the French king at Corbeill, were arrested, and sent to Paris, there to remaine as prisoners, bicause that the earle had affianced his daughter to the French kings aduerfarie, without his licence: neither might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the pope (who must needs meddle in the matter by vertue of his peremptorie power, & all chifsendome must beile the bonnet to his holinesse, or rather abhominablenesse,

*Ille etenim toto seculo inbet orbe colendum,
Cui nisi parueris, crede perire licet*

The pope in-
terdicteth in
the matter.

The earle of
Flanders
forced to ac-
cuse with the
French king.

The earle of
Flanders
released to re-
turne home.

The French
king's answer
to the pope.

A new league
between the
king of England,
the emperor
and others
against the
French king.

North. Well.

The earle of
Flanders
sent to the
French king.

and suertie had upon the promise of Amedie earle of Savoy, they were set at libertie, with these conditions, that they should deliuer into the French kings hands their daughter, which was so affianced unto E. Edwards sonne, and further covenanted, not to conclude any league with the king of England, but in all points to observe a certeine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1225. And if earle Guie brake the same peace, then should he be excommunicated, and all his countie of Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis, iudges appointed herein by authoritie of the pope.

The earles daughter being sent for, and brought unto Paris, the earle and his wife were released, and suffered to returne into Flanders, and shortly after, the earle made earnest suit to haue his daughter restored unto him againe, inasmuch that he procured pope Boniface to be a meane for him to the French king: but all would not serue, no, though as some say the pope accusid the French king for retaining hir, answer being made, that matters pertaining to worldlie gouernement, belonged not to the pope to disencle. Finally, earle Guie, perceiving he could not preuaile in that suit, to haue his daughter againe, upon high displeasure concluded to ioine in league with king Edward & his confederats. Hereupon, at an assemblee or counsell kept at Gerard-mount, there was a solemne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the emperor of Almaine, Edward king of England, Guie earle of Flanders, John Duke of Brabant, Henrie earle of Bar, both somes in law to king Edward, and Albert duke of Aulrich, against Philip king of France, and John earle of Henault his partaker.

The merchants of Flanders procured the earle to conclude this league with king Edward, as some write, the rather in respect of the great commodities which rose to their countie, by reason of the intercourse of merchandise used betwixt England and Flanders, and for that through aid of the Englishmen, they might the better withstand the malice, both of the French and of all other their enemies. This league being proclaimed in England, there were sent ouer into Flanders, the treasurer of the exchequer, and diuerse other noble men, to fetch hostages from thence, and to giue to the earle fiftene thousand pounds of siluer, toward the fortifying of his castles and holds. King Philip being hereof aduertised, by counsell of the peeres of his realme, sent two honorable personages, as the capitaine of Hounsfrell, and the capitaine of Belquerke, which should attack the earle of Flanders by his bodie, and summon him to yield himselfe prisoner at Paris, within the space of fiftene daies next ensuing.

This attachment made, and summons giuen, the earle of Flanders sent his full defiance unto the French king by the abbats of Seimblois, and Senefles, unto whome he gaue sufficient letters procra-topie, to authorize them thereto, dated at Spale in the

yeare of Grace 1296, after the accounts of the chronicles of Flanders, which begin their yere at Easter: and so this chanced in the five and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the wednesdaie next after the feast of the Epiphanie. Hereupon was the earle accursed, & Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis comming unto Teruane for that purpose, about the fifteenth day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the lord Robert the earles sonne appealed from that interdictio to the pope, and so the Flemmings took themselves free out of danger of the same. Earle Guie also obtained of king Edward, that it might be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy wools, through England, Scotland and Ireland, as frelie as the Italians might by their priuilege and grant.

But to returne now to the doings of king Edward, who in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland, prepared an armie, and first sent ambassadoys into Scotland, to giue summons to king John to appeare at New-castell within certeine daies, that he might there shew the cause whie he had broken the league: and further, to declare unto him that he was deceiued, if he thought he might serue two masters, contrarie to the words of the gospell, and according to the old saying which seldom neuer faileth in consequence,

Desist ambobus qui vult seruare duobus.

For how much fauour as he purchased at the hands of the French king, so much displeasure might he assure himselfe to procure at the hands of the king of England, whome to obeie, it should be most for his aduantage. The ambassadoys that were sent, did their message throughlie, but king John was so farre off from answering any thing that might sound to the maintenance of peace, that shortly after he sent letters of complaint unto king Edward, for wrongs which he alledged he had sustained by his means and at his hands. Hereupon king Edward, by aduise of his counsell, determined to set forward with his armie into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert Ros, capitaine of Marke castell, reuolued to the Scottish king, moued thereunto through the loue of a Scottish gentlewoman, whome he meant to marrie, notwithstanding he had sworn fealtie unto king Edward. Whereupon his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to king Edward, required to haue some aid, whereby he might defend the castell against the Scottishmen. King Edward sent unto him a thousand soldiers, (Polydor saith an hundred) the which as they lodged one night in a towne called Bressen, were slaine by the Scottishmen of the garison of Rockesborough, that were led and guided by the said Robert Ros: some of them although but few escaped awaie by flight. King Edward aduertised hereof, halted forth, and came to the said castell, glad of this (as is reported) that the Scottishmen had first begun the warre, meaning, as it should seme by their proceedings, to follow the same, for upon Good friday, diuerse Scottishmen entring the borders, burnt sundrie villages, and spoiled the abbete of Carham.

Furthermore, whilst king Edward kept his castell at Marke, seauen earles of Scotland, as Buchanan, Penteth, Strathorne, Lennor, Ros, Atholl, and Spar, with John Comin the maister of Badenach, hauing assembled an armie together of five hundred men of armes on horsebacke, and ten thousand footmen in Annandale, upon monday in Easter weeke entred England, and putting all to fire and sword, approached to Carlisle, and laid siege there unto on each side, passing the water of Eden by a ford under Wharfedon, and did so much preuaile, that they burned

The earle of
Flanders
accursed.

His sonne
appealeth
from the in-
terdiction.

Ambassadoys
sent to the
king of Scots.

Nic. Trivet.
The lord Ros
reuel. c. h. to
E. o. Scots.

William de
Ros contin-
eth faithfull
to the king
of England.

Englishmen
distressed.

Rich. South.

N. Trivet.

Abington.
The Scots
made Eng-
land.

Nic. Trivet.

F. Ky.

the

the suburbs, and assaulted the gates, at which entrance, a gentleman of Calloway as he ventured somewhat nere to the gate, was drawne by by an iron hooke, of those that stood aloft upon the gates to defend the same, and there slaine, and thrust through with speares. In the meane time, a spie, the which had bene taken and committed to prison, set fire on the house wherein he was inclosed, and so the flames catching hold upon the other buildings, a great part of the citie was thereby burned. Yet the men and the women getting themselves to the walls, drove their enemies backe, and so defended the citie from taking. Whereupon, the Scotch lords perceiving they could not prevaille, left their siege on the thursdaie in Easter weeke, and returned againe into Scotland.

On the same thursdaie, king Edward with his armie passed the river of Tweed, and so entering into Scotland, sent to the burgeses of Berwik, offering them peace upon certeine conditions, and staied a whole day for an answer: but when he could have none that liked him, nor that sounded in aie thing to peace, he approached the towne, and lodged in the monasterie of Caldestreime. His armie consisted as some write of foure thousand men of armes on horsebacke, and thirtie thousand footmen, besides five hundred men of armes on horsebacke, and a thousand footmen of the bishopricke of Durham. At the same time, there came foure and twentie English ships, the mariners whereof, beholding where the English armie was placed in battell raie, upon a plaine, the king making there certeine knights, they thought his meaning was to have given forthwith an assault, and so entering the haven, and approaching to the land, began to fight with the towne men, where they lost foure of their ships, and were constrained to withdraw with the residue, with helpe of the falling water. Some have writtten, that they lost but three ships which were consumed with fire, and that the mariners and souldiers of one of those ships, after they had defended themselves by great manhood from the first houre of the daie, till eleven of the clocke, escaped awate, some by the bote of that ship, and some leaping into the water, were saved by the botes of other ships that made in to succour them.

The rumor of the mariners attempt being brought through the armie, the king passing forward towards the towne, got over a ditch, which the Scots had cast to impeach his passage, and so coming to the towne, wan it, not losing any man of renowne, saving sir Richard Cornewall, the which was slaine by a quarell which a Flemming shot out of a crossbowe, being in the red hall, which the merchants of Flanders held in that towne, and had fortified it in manner of a tower: but when they would not yield, and could not easilie otherwise be wone, the house towards evening was set on fire, and so they being thirtie in number, were burned to death within it. Upon the same night, the king lodged in the castell, which was yielded unto him by them that kept it, their lives and limmes saved, and receiving an oath, that they should not from thenceforth beare armour against the king of England, they were permitted to depart whither they thought good, their capteine sir William Douglas excepted, whom the king still kept with him, till the end of the warres. Some write that there should be slaine of Scotchmen at this winning of Berwik, above the number of twentie thousand men, Abington saith 8000, but Richard Southwell saith 15000 at the least one with another, with small losse of Englishmen, not past eight and twentie of all sorts. We may read more hereof in the Scotch historie.

But before I passe over this slaughter, so lamentable and wonderfull, I have be thought my selfe of a

promised apologie for and in the behalfe of Richard Grafton, mentioned before in the reigne of Henrie the second, page 112. col. 1. where I shewed how unadvisable and with unseemlie modestie for a man of learning, George Buchanan the Scot doth shew his bolts at the said Grafton, as now by occasion of the matter convenientlie occurrent shall be shewed. The said Grafton in his large volume of English chronicles, falling upon the affaires betwene king Edward the first, and John Balliol king of Scotland, among other things there remembered, maketh report that in the said battell of Berwik, the slaughter was so great, that a mill might well have bene driven by the space of two daies, with the streames of blood which at that time overranne the ground. At which words George Buchanan giueth a snatch, emboldened so to do, because the said Grafton referreth this record to Hector Boetius in his fourteenth booke and second chapter.

Yesu, how the Scot taketh by the Englishman for halting in his allegation, first for the chapter, convincing him that Hector Boetius divided not his booke into chapters, and therefore, where is the second chapter, fith the whole fourteenth booke is a continued discourse without distinction by chapters: Secondlie the said Grafton hath the checke, for setting a lie afloat, Buchanan flatlie affirming that Hector Boetius hath no such matter once mentioned in his annales. Touching the first fault, wherewith the Scot chargeth the Englishman, this is note-worthy, that it should seeme to aie man of meane iudgement, that Buchanan of a prepered malice and purposed wilfulnesse hath sharpened his stile in this nipping sort against Grafton. For fith it was Graftons meaning to record the truth, so farre forth as he was warranted by the auerment of writers; why should he be cast in the teeth with *Effrenis maledicendi libido*, or dishonestie termed *Indolentia* or *impudenter mendax*? Which opprobrious epithets, if they were deserved by an untrue report of the author; then should Buchanan have sharpened his tong against Belenden his countriman, the translator of Hector Boetius into their mother tong, from whence Grafton hath derived his words; sense for sense unmingled (as he found the same writtten.)

Now who knoweth not that Belenden distinguished Hectors annales into chapters, upon whose authoritie Grafton relieng, and citing his authoritie according to the quotation of his division, why should he rather than Belenden be barked at, who is the principall in this controuersie? Again, it could not be hidden from Buchanan, that Belenden had distributed Boetius into chapters; considering that they were *συνγενοί*, both living in the reigne of James the first of that name king of Scots; so that it might have pleased him to have tried Grafton by the Scotch Boetius, and so to have bene resolved for the second chapter of the fourteenth booke, according to the archdeacon of Spurreis translation.

Now for the matter it selfe, touching the effusion of blood, wherewith a mill might well have bene driven for two daies space; Hector Boetius his owne words are these; *Rivi sanguinis toto oppido adeo fluxere, ut cum esset decurrente minor aqua quæ ad molendina circumagenda fuerit, adiuvante aquam sanguine aliqua circumagi sponte caperint.* Which place, Belenden hath interpreted after this manner; So lamentable slaughter was thoro all the parts of the town, that a mill might half gane two daies it handle be streamis of blude. Now examine Graftons words by Belenden, and Belendens by Boetius (besides that, marke what Grafton annexeth to the report of this slaughter, who saith that he will not inforce the credit thereof upon any man, but counteth it a Scotch lie rather than

The Scots raise their siege from Carlisle.

Berwik summoned.

Abington.

The English fleet.

Foure English ships lost.

Abington.

Berwik wone. This sir Richard Cornewall was brother to the erle of Cornewall, Abington.

Caxton.

Abraham Fleming.

R. Grafton pag. 176.

G. Buchanan rer. Scot. 8 pag. 147. pe. lincum

Hector Boetius us. pag. 147. impell. de. f. 14. a. 147.

An. Reg. 24.

than a matter of truth) and then conclude according to equitie, that Grafton is altogether excusable and faultlesse, and Buchanan curious & furious challenge reproueable. But about Grafton had fetcht his report from Boetius, as he had it from Bellenden; seeing it a lie or an unlikelihoode, that the blood gushing out of the bodies of 25000, or (as Hector Boetius saith) 7000, would not increate to a streame sufficient & able to drive a mill or two about, without any water intermingled therewithall: The Latine copie hath *Rui sanguis, rivus of blood*, noting by the word the abundance and also the streaming course of the same, which was able with the violent current thereof to beare awaie the vertie bodies of the slaine. To conclude this matter, & to set our Englishman by the truth, and let the Scot go with his lieng tong, which I would he had had the modestie to haue tempered, & to haue proffered a practise of that which himselfe paraphrasically preacht and teacheth others to observe, saieing;

(*Lingua obseravi claustra franco, pertinax
Obmutui silentio,
Ac temere ne quid os mali profunderet,
perbi boni clausi exitum.*)

In paraph. supra p. 39.

Edward fourth
Berwick.
A Scottish frier
sent to king
Edward.

The Scottish
king renoun-
ced his ho-
mage and fe-
altye unto the
king of En-
gland.

The Scots
made the
English
borders.

Harbottle.

Rich. South.

The earle of
Woghman.

The crueltie
of the Scots.

Edw. Bo.
supra p. 39.
p. 39.
p. 39.

And now to the storie. In Edward remaind at Ber-
wick 15 daies, & caused a ditch to be cast about the
towne of 80 fot in breadth, & of the like in depth. In
the meane time, about the beginning of Aprill, the
warden and reader of the frier minozs of Rochel-
borough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with
letters of complaint from king John, for the wrongs
done and offered vnto him and his realme, as well
in claiming an vnjust superiortie, and confreining
him to do homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes,
as also by intruding his townes, slaying and robbing
his subiects: for the which causes he testified by the
same letters, that he renounced all such homage and
fealtye for him and his subiects, as he, or any of them
ought for any lands holden within England. The
king hearing the letters red, receiued the resignation
of the homage, and commanded his chancelor, that
the letter might be registred in perpetuall memoire
of the thing.

The earles of Scotland before remembred, being
assembled together with their powers at the castell
of Jedworth, entred into England the eighth of Ap-
rill, and with fire and sword did much hurt in the
countreies as they passed. In Kildesdale they besie-
ged the castell of Harbottle by the space of two daies,
but when they could not preuaile, they remoued, and
passing forth by the east part of the riuer of Tyne, thro-
ugh Cokesdale, Kildesdale, and Northumberland,
vnto Berham, they did much mischeefe by burning
and harrieng the countreies. At Berham they spoiled
the abbey church, and got a great number of the
clergie, as well monks, priests, as scholers, and o-
thers, whom they thrust into the scholehouse there,
and closing vp the doores, set fire on the schole, and bur-
ned all them to ashes that were within it. It is won-
derfull to read, what beastlie crueltie the Scots vsed
in that roade which they made at that time in two se-
nerall parts. For the earle of Woghman, with them of
Galloway, entred by Cumberland in like manner
as the other did in Kildesdale, burning and murder-
ing all that came in their waie. For whereas all
those that were of able age and lustie to get awaie,
fled, & escaped their hands; the aged & impotent crea-
tures, women in childbed, and yong children that
could not shift for themselves, were vnmmercifullie
slaine, and thrust vpon speares, and shaken vp in the
aire, where they yalded by their innocent ghosts in
most pittifull wise.

Churches were burned, women were forced with-
out respect of order, condition or qualitie, as well the

maids, widowes and wiues, as nunnes that were
reputed in those daies consecrated to God, and when
they had bene so abused, manie of them were after
also murdered, and cruellie dispatched out of life. At
length, they came to the nurrie of Lamelate, & bur-
ned all the buildings there, sauing the church, and then
returned backe into Scotland with all their pillage
and boties by Lanercost, an house of monks, which
they likewise spoiled. So that the cruell & bloudie de-
solation thereof Lucan speaketh in his second booke
of ciuill warres, may aptlie be inferred here, as fit-
lie describing the mercilesse murder of all states
and sexes without parcialitie vnder the hand of the e-
nimie: for saith he,

*Nobilis cum plebe perit, lætæque vagatur
Ensis, & à nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum,
Stat cruor in templis, multaque rubentia cede
Lubrica saxa madent, nulli sua profuit ætas,
Non sens extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Precipitasse diem, non primo in limine vitæ
Infantis miseri natiuita rumpere fata.*

Luc. lib. 2.

Patricke earle of Dunbar came to the king of
England, and submitted himselfe, with all that he had
into his hands; but the castell of Dunbar vpon saint
Sparkes day, being assieged of the Scots was ren-
dred vnto them, by treason of some that were within
it, of whome, the countesse (wife to the same erle) was
the chiefe; for recouerie whereof king Edward sent
John earle of Warren, Surrey and Sussex, & Wil-
liam earle of Warwick with a great power, the
which laieing siege to that castell, a great host of Sco-
tishmen came vpon them to the rescue of them with-
in, so that there was foughten a verie sore and terri-
ble battell. At length, the victorie abode with the En-
glishmen, and the Scottishmen were put to flight, the
Englishmen following them in chase eight mile of
that countreie, almost to the Forrest of Selkirke: the
slaughter was great, so that (as was esteemed) there
died of the Scottishmen that day, to the number of
ten thousand.

The castell of
Dunbar ren-
dred to the
Scots.

Beside 2000
harded horses
they had in
that arme
10000 foot-
men.

N. Triuer.
March. Westm.
Abington.
A fore battell
fought at
Dunbar.
The number
slaine.
March. Westm.
Abington.

The morrow after being saturday, which was the
eight and twentieth day of Aprill, at the kings com-
ming thither the castell was surrendred vnto him.
There were taken in the same castell three earles,
Denteth, Cassels, and Ros; six barons, John Comin
the yonger, William Sanchere, Richard Sitward
the elder, John Fitz Gessrey, Alexander de Poy-
teigne, Edmund Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie
knights, two clerks, John de Souerle, and Wil-
liam de Sanchere, and thre and thirtie esquires, the
which were sent vnto diuerse castles in England, to
be kept as prisoners. After the winning of Dunbar
the king went to the castell of Rochelborough, which
incontinentlie was yelded by the lord Steward of
Scotland, the liues and members of all such as were
within it at the time of the surrender.

Rochelbo-
rough yelded.

Then went king Edward vnto Edinburgh, where
he planted his siege about the castell, and raised en-
gines, which cast stones against and ouer the walles,
soe beating and husling the buildings within. But
as it chanced, the king writing letters, to aduertise
his counsell at home of his proceedings, and concer-
ning other businesse, deliuered that packet vnto a
Welshman named Lewin, commanding him to go
with the same to London in all hast possible, for he
knew him to be a verie speedie messenger and a tru-
lie also (as he toke it.) But hauing the letter thus
deliuered him, together with monie to beare his
charges, he got him to a tauerne, where riotouslie co-
suming the monie (which he had so receiued) in plaie, &
making good chere, in the morning he caused one of
his companions to take a target, and beare it afore
him in approaching the castell, for that he meant (as he
colourable pretended) not to depart, vntill he had
wrought

Rich. South.
p. 39.
p. 39.

wrought some displeasure to them within with his crossbow, which he took with him for that purpose, so that coming into the castle gates, he called to the warders on the walls to cast down to him a cord, that they might plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had somewhat to say to their capitaine touching the secrets of the king of England.

They fulfilling his desire, when he came in, and was brought afore the capitaine sitting then at breakfast, he said vnto him: Behold sir, here ye may perceive the king of Englands secrets, and withall raught to him a box, wherein the packet of the kings letters were inclosed, and appoint me (saith he) to some corner of the wall, and trie whether I can handle a crossbow or not, to defend it against your aduersaries. Here then others would haue opened the box, and haue read the letters, the capitaine would in no wise consent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Englishmen below, and willed them to signifie to the king, that one of his seruants being fled to him, sought to betraye his secrets, wherevnto he would by no means agree, and therefore meant to restore both the traktor and the letters. Hereupon, the lord John Spenser, coming to heare what the matter might meane, the capitaine caused Alwin to be let downe to him, together with the letters safe, and not touched by him at all.

When the king vnderstood this, he much commended the honest respect of the capitaine, and whereas he had caused engines to be raised to annoy them within (as ye haue heard) he commanded the same to be pulled downe, and withall, vpon their capitains suit, he granted them libertie to send vnto their king John Balliol, to giue him to vnderstand in what sort they stood. As touching the Welshman, he was drawn and hanged on a paire of high galloves, prepared for him of purpose, as he had well deserued. A notable example of a traitorous villaine, so to offer the secrets of his souereigne to be known to his enemies: and no lesse excellent a president of an honest and faithfull harted foe, that would not himselfe nor let anie other haue a sight of the contents therein written; a rare point of good meaning and upright dealing in a souldier, and speciallie in an enimie; but

*multo optimus ille
Militia cui postremum est primusq; tuus
Inter bella fidem.*

Striueling
castell left void

Now while the messengers were on their waie to Forfar, where the Scottish king then late, king Edward with a part of his armie went vnto Striueling, where he found the castle gates set open, and the keyes hanging on a naile, so that he entred there without any resistance, for they that had this castle in garrard, were fled out of it for feare before his coming. The messengers that were sent from them within Edenburgh castell, coming to their king, declared to him in what case they stood that were besieged. King John, for that he was not able to succor them by any manner of means at that present, sent them word, to take the best waie they could for their owne safetie; with which answer, the messengers returning, the castell was immediately deliuered vnto the lord John Spenser, that was left in charge with the siege, at the kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditions as the castell of Rockesborough had yielded a little before.

Edenburgh
castell deliue-
red to the king
of England.

Thus was that strong castell of Edenburgh surrendered by force of siege, to the king of Englands use, on the 15 date, after he had first laid his siege about it. A place of such strength by the height of the ground whereon it stood, that it was thought impregnable, and had not bene wane by force at any time, since the first building thereof, before that present, so farre as anie remembrance either by writing or o-

therwise could be had thereof.

Here at Edenburgh, or rather at Rockesborough (as Abington saith) a great number of Welshmen came vnto the king, who sent home the like number of English footmen, of those that seemed most wearie. Moreover, at Striueling, there came to the king the earle of Ulster, with a great number of Irishmen. Then passing ouer the riuer of Forth, the king came vnto saint Johns towne about Midsummer, and there tarried certeine daies. Whilest these things were a doing, John king of Scotland, perceiving that he was not of power to resist king Edward, sent ambassadores vnto him to sue for peace: king Edward was content to heare them, and thereupon appointed, that king John should resort vnto the castell of Brechin, there to commien with such of his counsell as he would send thither within sixteene daies next ensuing, to treat of an agreement. King Edward sent thither Anthonie bishop of Durham, with full commission to conclude all things in his name. And within the appointed time came king John, and diuers of his nobles vnto him, the which after many sundrie treaties holden betwixt them and the said bishop, at length they submitted themselves and the realme of Scotland, simple and purer into the hands of the king of England, for the which submission to be firmelie kept and obserued, king John deliuered his son in hostage, and made letters thereof, written in French as followeth,

Saint Johns
towne.
The king of
Scotland
for peace.

The bishop
of Durham.

The king of
Scotland
submitted him-
selfe to the
king of England.

The instrument of the said submission.



*E*han per la grace de Dieu, roy de Escocce, a tous ceulx que cestes presentes lettres verront ou orront, salut, &c.

John by the grace of GOD king of Scotland, to all those that these present letters shall see or heare, sendeth greeting. Bicause that we through euill counsell and our owne simplicitie, haue greuouslie offended our souereigne lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, in many things; that is to saie, in that, whereas we beeing and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our selues vnto the king of France which then was his enimie and yet is, procuring a mariage with the daughter of his brother Charles du Valois, and that we might greue our said lord, and aid the king of France with all our power by warre and other means, we haue at length by aduise of our peruerse counsell defied our said lord the K. of England, and haue put our selues out of his allegiance and homage, & sent our people into England, to burne houses, to take spoiles, to commit murder, with many other damages, and also in fortifying the kingdome of Scotland, which is of his fee, putting and establishing armed men in townes, castles, and other places, to defend the land against him, to deforce him of his fee, for the which transgressions our said souereigne lord the king, entering into the realm of Scotland with his power, hath conquered and taken the same, notwithstanding al that we could do against him, as by right he may do, as a lord of his fee, bicause that we did render vnto him our homage, and made the foresaid rebellion. We therefore as yet being in our full power and free will, doo render vnto him the land

land of Scotland, and all the people therof with the homages. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these letters patents to be made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth day of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of our reigne, sealed with the common seale of the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward passed forthward through Scotland.
After this, king Edward went forthward to see the mountaine countries of Scotland, the bishop of Durham ever keeping a daies iourne afoze him. At length, when he had passed through Durrey land, and was come to Elghin, perceiving all things to be in quiet, he returned towards Berwik, and coming to the abbey of Scone, he took from thence the mar-
Edward brought the marble stone out of Scotland.
ble stone, whereupon the kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as in a chaire, at the time of their coronation, which king Edward caused now to be transferred to Westminster and there placed, to serve for a chaire for the priest to sit in at the altar. The king coming to Berwik, called thither unto a parlement all the nobles of Scotland, and there received of them their homages, the which in perpetuall witness of the thing, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and sealed with their seales, as the tenor here followeth.

The nobilitie of Scotland submit themselves to the king.

The instrument of the homages of the lords of Scotland to K. Edward.



Toutz ceux que cestes lettres verront ou orront, &c. To all those that these present letters shall see or heare, we John Comin of Badenaw, &c. Bi-

cause that we at the faith and will of the most noble prince, and our dearest lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, doo vow and promise for vs and our heires, vpon paine of bodie and goods, and of all that we may haue, that we shall serue him well and trulie against all men, which may liue and die, at all times when we shall be required or warned by our said lord the king of England or his heires, and that we shall not know of any hurt to be doone to them, but the same we shall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and those things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires, and all our goods, and further, receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie euangelists: and after all, we and euerie of vs haue done homage vnto our soueraigne lord the king of England in words as followeth; I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthlie honour, against all men which may liue and die. And the same our soueraigne lord the king receiued this homage vnder this forme of words; We receiue it for the land of the which you be now seized, the right of vs, or other faued, and except the lands which John Balioll sometime king of Scotland granted vnto vs, after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of Scotland, if happilie he hath giuen to you any such lands.

The forme of their homage.

The words of Edward accepting it.

Moreouer, all we, and euerie of vs by himselfe haue done fealtie to our said soueraigne lord the king in these words; I as a faithfull & liege man, shall keepe faith and loialtie vnto Edward king of England, and to his heires, of life, member and earthlie honor, against all men which may liue and die, and shall neuer for any person beare armour, nor shall be of counsell nor in

aid with any person against him, or his heires in any case that may chance, but shall faithfullie acknowledge, and doo the seruice that belongeth to the tenements the which I claime to hold of him, as God me helpe and all his saints. In witnesse whereof, these letters patents are made and signed with our seales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentieth of March, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of our said lord the king of England.

Then was John Warren earle of Surrey and Suffolke made by king Edward warden of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William Meville high iustice, whom the king commanded, that he should call all those before him which held any lands of the crowne, and to receiue of them in his name their homages and fealties. John Balioll the late king of Scotland was sent to London, and
John Balioll sent to London.

had a conuenient companie of seruants appointed to attend him, hauing licence to go any whither abroad, so that he kept himselfe within the circuit of twentie miles nere to London. John Comin of Badenaw, and John Comin of Lowan, and diuerse nobles of Scotland were brought into England on the south side of Trent, being warned vpon paine of death not to returne into Scotland, till the king had made an end of his wars with France. After this, at his request, king Edward held a parlement at saint Edmundsburie, which began the morrow after the feast of All saints, in which the citizens & burgesses of good towines granted vnto him an eighth part of their goods, and of the residue of the people a twelfth part.

John Balioll sent to London.

A parlement at saint Edmundsburie.

A subsidie granted.

The cleargie by reason of a constitution ordeined and constituted the same yeare by pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon paine of excommunication, that no salages nor other exactions should be leuiued or exacted of the cleargie in any manner of wise by secular princes, or to be paid to them of things that pertained to the church, utterly refused to grant any manner of aid to the king, towards the maintenance of his wars. Whereupon the king, to the intent they should haue time to studie for a better answer, deferred the matter to an other parlement to be holden on the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie.

This yeare after the feast of the Epiphantie, Elizabeth the kings daughter was married vnto king John earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Essex was sent to conueie them into Holland, there to take possession of the earledome, as then descended vnto the said John, by the death of his father latelie before slaine by his owne subsidies, because he would haue disherited this John, and made a bastard sonne which he had to be his heire. ¶ The day appointed for the parlement to be holden at London being come, and the cleargie continuing in their deniall to grant any subsidie, the king excluded them out of his protection, for the redeming whereof, manie by themselves, and manie by mediators, did afterwards giue vnto the king a fift part of all their goods. The archbishop of Canturburie being found disse in the matter, the king seized all his lands, and commanded all such debts as were found of his in the rolles of the exchequer, to be leuiued with all speed of his goods and cattell. Some write, that when the archbishop of Canturburie in name of all the residue, had declared to them whom the king had appointed commissioners to receiue the answer, that there as they of the cleargie had two soueraigne lords and gouernours, the one in spirituall matters and the other in tempozall, yet they ought rather to obeye their spirituall gouernour than their tempozall. Neuerthelesse, to satisfie the kings pleasure, they would
Anno Reg. 25. 1297. The earle of Holland married Elizabeth the kings daughter. N. Triuer. Abington. The archbishop his words.

of their owne charges send to the pope, that by his licence and permission, they might grant the king some aid, or else receiue some answer from him, what to do therein: for (saith the archbishop) we beleue that the king feareth the sentence of excommunication, and would be as glad to auoid it as we.

The declarati
on of the lord
chafe iustice.

When the commissioners heard this answer, they required that they would appoint some of their owne companie to beate this message vnto the king, for they durst not report it to him: which being done as the commissioners had required, the king in his furie proceeded against them, in such rigorous manner as ye haue heard, in somuch that the lord chafe iustice sitting vpon the bench, spake openlie these words: You sirs that be attornies of my lords the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and all other the cleargie, declare vnto your masters, and tell them, that from henceforth there shall no iustice be done vnto them in the kings court for any manner of thing, although neuer so heinous wrong be done vnto them: but iustice shall be had against them, to euerie one that will complaine and require to haue it.

The clearkie
handling of
the matter by
the archbist. of
Yorke his
suffragans.

Henrie de Beuarke the elect bishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Durham, Elye and Salisburie, with certeine other, fearing the kings indignation thus kindled against them, ordained to laie dolene in the churches, a fift part as ye haue heard, of all their goods, towards the defense of the realme, and maintenance of the kings warres in such time of great necessitie, and so the king receiuing it, they were restored to the kings protection againe. The friends of the bishop of Lincolne found means, that the shiriffe of the shire leuied and toke the fift part of all his goods, and restored to him againe his lands and possessions. Also, all the monasteries within his diocese, and within the whole prouince of Canturburie, were seized into the kings hands, and wardens appointed, which onelie ministered necessarie finding vnto the monks and other religious persons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vse. Wherevpon the abbats and priors were glad to followe the court, and sued to redeme, not their sins, but their goods, with giuing a fourth part thereof. The cleargie suffered manie iniuries in that season, for religious men were spoiled and robbed in the kings high waite, and could not haue any restitution nor remedie against them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redeemed the kings protection. Persons and vicars, and other of the cleargie, when they rode forth any whither, were glad to apparell themselves in laie mens garments, so to passe through the countrie in safetie.

The miserie
of churchmen.

The archbist.
of Canturbu-
rie his goods
confiscate.

The archbishop of Canturburie lost all the goods that he had, for he would neither agree to giue any thing, nor to laie any thing downe in the church, that the king might receiue it. Wherevpon he was brought to such extreme miserie, that all his seruants went from him, & commandement was giuen forth, that no man should receiue him, neither within monasterie nor without, and so not hauing any one place of all his bishoprike where to laie his head, he remained in the house of a poore person, onelie with one pieck and one clearkie: yet he trifflie stood in the matter, affirming certeinlie, that all those which granted any thing, either to the king, or to any other temporall person without the popes leaue, ran without doubt into the danger of the sentence pronounced in the canon.

The oblatine
moner of the
archbishop of
Canturburie.

A parliament
at Salisburie

About the feast of S. Mattheu in Februarie, the king called a parliament of his nobles (not admitting thereto any of the cleargie) at Salisburie, and there required certeine of his Nobles to passe ouer into Calcoine, but euerie of them seemed to excuse himselfe, whereat the king being moued, threatened that they should either go, or he would giue their lands to

other that would go, with which words manie of them were grauoullie offended, in so much that the earles of Hereford and Warthall, Humfric Bohun, and Roger Wigod, declared that they would be ready to go with the king if he went himselfe, or else not. And when the earle Warthall was estcones required to go, he answered, I will willingly go with the king, and march before him in the fore ward, as by right of inheritance I am bound. Pea (saith the king) and you shall go with other though I go not. I am not so bound (saith the earle) neither do I purpose to take the iournie in hand with you.

The king then in a great chafe burst out & swore, By God sir earle, either thou shalt go or hang. And I sweare (saith the earle) the same oth, that I will neither go nor hang: and so he departed from the king without leaue taking. Immediatlie herevpon those two earles assembled manie noble men, and other of their friends together to the number of thirtie banerets and aboue, so that in all they were found to be fiftene hundred men of armes appointed and ready for battell, and herewith they withdrew into their countreies, and kept such stir there, that they would not permit the kings officers to take neither hools, leather, nor any thing against the owners will, but forbade them on paine of losing their heads to come within their comes, and withall prepared themselves to resist if need were.

In this meane time the warre was prosecuted in Calcoine. The thurdaie before the Purification of our ladie, Henrie earle of Lincolne, and the lord John saint John departing from Waton towards Bellegard, a place besieged as then by the earle of Arthois, to succour them within the same with vitels (whereof they stood in need) as they approached to a wood distant from the fortrese thre miles, they diuided themselves into two seuerall battells, the lord John saint John leading the first, and the earle of Lincolne the second. The lord saint John therefore hauing passed the wood with his battell, and entring into the plaine fields, was incountred by the earle of Arthois, who carried there for him with a great powder, where immediatlie at the first ioining of the battells, the earle of Lincolne retired backe: so that the lord John saint John and his companie ouerset with preasse of enemies were vanquished: and the said lord saint John with sir William de Poxtimer, sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eight knights, and diuerse esquires were taken, the which were sent to Paris as prisoners.

Other write somewhat otherwise of this battell, as that vpon the first incounter the Englishmen droue backe one regiment of the earle of Arthois his men of armes, whom he diuided into foure parts: but when they once ioined with the second regiment, to the which they were beaten backe, forward they came againe, and so charging the Englishmen, with helpe of their third squadron, which was now come to them also, they easilie put the Englishmen oppressed with multitude vnto flight, & followed them in chase. After this came the Englishmen which were in the reuerward, and incounting with the fourth squadron or regiment of the Frenchmen, streightwaies brake the same. Herewith was the night come vpon them, so that one could not know an other, a friend from an enemy, and so both the Englishmen and Frenchmen were disperfed till the mone rose, and the Frenchmen withdrew to their fortresses, and amongst them certeine Englishmen were mingled, which being discovered were taken prisoners, as the lord John saint John, and others.

The slaughter was not great, for there were no footmen on either part, to spoile or kill the men of armes that were throwne beside their hostes: for the English

The nobles
demanded
the tower.

They had
with them
600 men
armes, as
10000 foot
as Abing-
faith.

Battell be-
tweene the
earle of Lincolne
and the earle
of Arthois.
who had
him 1000
of armes.
Abing-
faith.

Maul. West.

Abington.

The earle of
Lincolne es-
aped.The cometh
home.The innabeth
the countrie
about Tholo-
use.The custome
of wool raised.Abington.
Eucliden.
Prouision for
the kings
tourne into
France.La Meir.
The French
king innabeth
Flanders.The beles-
ged.The earle of
Arthois ban-
quetheth the
Flemings in
battel.

N. Triuer.

A rebellion in
Scotland by

English footmen remained in the wood, or were with-
drawne backe, as before ye haue heard, without at-
tempting any exploit worthy of praise. Indeed some
laie the blame in the Gascoine footmen for the losse
of this battell, because that they withdrew backe, and
left the English horsemen in danger of the enemies
which had compassed them about on euery side. Three
hundred of the men of armes came through to the
towne of Bellegard, but because it was night, so that
they could not be discerned whether they were friends
or foes, they within the towne would not suffer them
to enter: whereupon they departed, and went to St.
Seuere foure leagues off. Yet further in the night,
other of the Englishmen were receiued into Belle-
gard, which came thither after the other, and so in the
morning they of the garrison with their assistance is-
sued forth, and coming to the place where the bat-
tell had bene, gathered the spoile of the field, and con-
ueied into their towne such prouision of vittels as
they found there.

The earle of Lincolne with a great manie of o-
ther waunded a great part of the night and knew not
whither to go. At length about three of the clocke in
the morning he came to Perforate, where he had
lodged with his armie the night before, & there found
a great number of his people right glad of his com-
ming and hapie escape out of danger. From thence
he returned vnto Baion with the earle of Richmond
sir John de Britaine and all his companie that were
left. And such was the hap of this iourne. In Lent
following, those that were disperfed here and there a-
broad, resorted to the earle of Lincolne, so iourning at
Baion, and in the summer season made a iourne to-
wards Tholouse, spoiling and waisting the countries
of Tholouse and other thereabouts, and remoued
all the siege which those of Tholouse had laid vnto a
fostresse called St. Aisternes, in chasling them from the
same siege: and towards Michaelmasse they retur-
ned to Baion, and there laie all the winter till after
Christmasse, and then by reason of the truce conclu-
ded, as after appeareth, betwixt the two kings of En-
gland & France, they returned home into England.

In the same yeare the king raised the custome of
wool to an higher rate than had bene paid at any
time before: for he toke now fortie shillings of a
sacke or sarpler, where before there was paid but half
a marke. Moreover he commanded, that against his
iourne which he meant to make ouer into France,
there should be two thousand quarters of wheat, and
as much of oates taken by the thirffe in euery coun-
tie within the realme to be conueied to the sea side,
except where they had no store of coine, and there
should beues and bakons be taken to a certeine
number. In the meane time the earle of Flanders
was sore vexed by war which the French king made
against him, being entred into Flanders with an
armie of three score thousand men, as some autho-
rs haue recorded.

About the feast of the natiuitie of St. John Bap-
tist, he laid siege to Lille, and shortly after came the
earle of Arthois, being returned out of Gascoine
with his power vnto that siege, and was sent forth to
keepe the Flemings and others occupied, which laie
at Furnes, and in other places thereabouts in low
Flanders, with whom he fought and got the victorie.
King Edward therefore, to succour his friends pre-
pared to go ouer into Flanders, and thereupon sum-
moned all those that owght him any seruice, & such
also as held lands to the value of twentie pounds and
about, to be readie with horse and harnesse at Lon-
don about Lammas to passe ouer with him in that
iourne.

In the meane time about the moneth of Maie,
there began a rebellion in Scotland by the setting on

of William Maleis: for the king of Englands su-
ffice William Dymtrie, accordingly as he had in
commission, confined and put to outlatore a great
sort of such Scottishmen, as refused to do fealtie and
homage vnto the king of England, the which Sco-
tishmen being thus condemned as outlatwes, elected
the foresaid William Maleis for their captaine,
with whom William Douglas being once associa-
ted, the number of them increased hugelie. The earle
of Surrey and the treasurer being in England, those
outlatwes purposed to haue taken the iustice at
Scone: but he being warned though almost too late,
escaped himselfe with much adoe, leaving the most
part of his people as a spoile to the enemies. For
William Maleis and his companie killed as ma-
nie Englishmen as fell into his hands, and taking
certeine religious men, he bound their hands behind
them, and constrained them to leape into the riuer,
taking pleasure to behold how they plunged.

The king sent the bishop of Durham into Scot-
land, to vnderstand the certeinie of this rebellion,
who returning from thence, informed him of the
truth. The king not minding to breake his iourne
which he had purposed to make into Flanders, ap-
pointed that the earle of Surrey should haue the lea-
ding of all such men of warre as might be leuied be-
yond Trent, to repress the Scottish rebels, and also
wrote vnto John Comin earle of Houghan, that re-
membzing their faith and promise, they should re-
turne into Scotland, and do their best to quiet the
countrie: they according to his commandement,
went into Scotland, but shewed themselves slow e-
nough to procure those things that pertained to peace
and quietnesse.

In the meane time, whilst these things were a do-
ing, the bishop of Carleill, and other which laie there
vpon the gard of that citie and castell, hauing some
mistrust of the loialtie in Robert Bruce the younger,
that was earle of Carrike by his mother, they sent
him word to come vnto them at a certeine daie, be-
cause they had to talke with him of matters touch-
ing the kings affairs. He durst not disobeie but came
to Carleill together with the bishop of Gallowaie, &
there receiued a corporall oth vpon the holie and sa-
cred mysteries, and vpon the sword of Thomas Bee-
cket, to be true to the king of England, and to aid him
and his against their enemies in all that he might:
and further to withstand that the said king receiued
no hurt nor damage so far as in him might lie.

This done, he returned againe into Scotland,
and for a colour entred into the lands of William
Douglas, and burnt part of them, bringing the wife
and children of the same William backe with him in-
to Annandale: but shortly after, he conspired with
the Scottish rebels, and ioined himselfe with them,
not making his father priue to the matter, who in the
meane while remained in the south parts of England.
He would haue persuaded such knights, gentlemen
and other as held their lands of his father in Annan-
dale, to haue gone with him, but they would not
breake their faith giuen to the king of England, and
so left him. The earle of Surrey assembling to-
gether his power in Dorsetshire, sent his nephew the lord
Henry Percie with the souldiers of the countrie of
Carleill before into Scotland, who passing forth to
the towne of Aire, went about to induce them of
Gallowaie into peace, and hearing that an armie of
Scottishmen was gathered together at a place about
foure miles from thence called Irwin, he made thi-
therward, and comming nere to the Scottish host,
might behold where the same was lodged beyond a
certeine lake. In that armie were captaine, the bi-
shop of Glasco, Andrew de Purreie steward of
Scotland, and William Maleis which (as it should
seeme)

the means of
one William
Maleis.Englishmen
slaine in
Scotland.The unfaith-
full dealing of
the Scots.

Abington.

Robert
Bruce.Thomas
Becket's
sword.Robert Bruce
renoueth to
the rebels.N. Triuer.
These hun-
dred men of
armes, and
fifte thou-
sand footmen
saith Abing-
ton.Henry Per-
cie sent before.

Irwin.

Discomd in
the Sco-
tish armie.
Sir Richard
Lundie.

The Scots
sue for peace.

(same) were not all of one mind.

There was in the same armie a knight named sir Richard Lundie, which neuer yet had don homage to the king of England, but now fleeing from his compaignie, he came to the English armie, and submitted himselfe with his retinue vnto the king of England, saieing that he ment not to serue amongst them any longer that could not agree together. The residue of the Scottishmen sued for peace, vpon condition to haue liues, members, goods, cattels and lands saued, with a pardon of all offenses past. The lord Percie vpon pledges & writings herof deliuered, was contented to grant their requests, so that the king his maister would be therewith pleased, who being herof certified, bicause he would not glablie be staied of his iournie into Flanders, granted vnto all things that were thus required.

The bishop of
Glascow and
William Douglas.

Then after that the earle of Surrie was come to the English campe, bicause William Waleis ceased not in the meane time to assemble more people, the Englishmen doubting some treason, resolved to glue battell, but whilst they were in mind thus to do, the bishop of Glascow and William Douglas to auoid the note of disloialtie and treason, came and submitted themselves: and so the bishop was committed to ward within the castell of Hokesborough, and William Douglas in the castell of Berwikke. It is to be noted, that even in the verie time that the treatie was in hand betwixt the lord Percie and the Scottish captains, the Scots of Gallowaie and other set vpon that part of the English campe, where the trusse and baggage laie, which they spoiled and ransacked, slaying aboue fure hundred persons, what of men, women and children, but the alarm being raised, the Englishmen came to the rescue, and chasing the Scots, slue aboue a thousand of them, and recovered the most part of their owne goods, with more which they toke from their enemies.

Abington.

The archbishop
of Canturburie
received
into fauour.

Nic. Triuet.
Gerbians ap-
pointed to the
kings sonne
in his fathers
absence.

Charles Spar-
shall and here
lord refuse to
go ouer with
the king into
Flanders.

Sir Rafe
Sponthermer
released.

Scottishmen
released.

The lord
Berkeley.
A libell deli-
uered to the

In this meane time king Edward at the feast of Lammas held a counsell at London, where he receiued the archbishop of Canturburie againe into his fauor, restoring vnto him all his goods and lands. He appointed him and the lord Reinold Grey to haue his eldest sonne prince Edward in keeping, till his returne out of Flanders. But Nicholas Triuet writeth, that the said prince Edward being appointed to remaine at home, as lieutenant to his father, there were appointed vnto him as counsellors, Richard bishop of London, William earle of Marwike, and the forenamed lord Reinold Grey, with the lord John Gifford, and the lord Alane Bokenet, men of high wisdome, grauitie and discretion, without making mention of the archbishop of Canturburie in that place. The two earles Sparshall and Hereford being commanded to attend the king into Flanders, refused, excusing themselves by messenger.

After this, the king caused sir Rafe Sponthermer (whom his daughter the countesse of Gloucester, in his widowhood had taken to husband without knowledge of his father) to be deliuered out of the castell of Bristow, wherein he had bene kept prisoner a certaine time vpon displeasure for the marriage: but now he was not onlie set at libertie, but also restored to his wife, and to all the lands pertaining to the earldome of Gloucester, appointing him to find men at armes to serue in that iournie into Flanders. He also deliuered the earles of Castels and Spenteth, John Comin, and diuers other Scottishmen, appointing them also to go with him into Flanders. Finally he assembled his armie, ouer the which he made the lord Thomas Berkeley constable, and Gestepe Zennille marshall, he went to Winchelsey, and whilst he laie there before he toke the sea, there was presented vnto him from the earles a writ-
ting, which contained the causes of the græfe of all the

archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, lords, barons, and of all the communaltie, as well for summoning them to serue by an vndue meane, as also for the unreasonable taxes, subsidies, impositions & paiements which they daily sustained, and namelie the impost augmented vpon the custome of wool seemed to them verie greuous. For whereas for euerie sacke of whole wool there was fortie shillings paid, and for euerie sacke of broken wool one marke: it was well knowne, that the wool of England was almost in value esteemed to be worth halfe the riches of the realme, and so the custome thereof paid, would ascend to a fifth part of all the substance of the land.

The kings answer thereto was, that he could not alter any thing, without the aduise of his counsell, of the which part were already passed ouer into Flanders, and part were at London; and therefore he required the said earles, that if they would not attend him in that iournie into Flanders, they would yet in his absence do nothing that might be prejudiciall to the realme: for he trusted by Gods fauour to returne againe in safetie, and set all things in good order. At length, about the 21 daie of August, the king toke the sea, and landed in Flanders nere to Sluice, about the 27 day of the same moneth. He was no sooner on land, but that through old enuie and malice depending betwixt the mariners of the cinque ports, and them of Permouth and other quarters, a quarell was picked, so that they fell together, and fought on the water in such earnest sort, notwithstanding the kings commandement sent to the contrary, that there were 25 ships burnt and destroyed of theirs of Permouth, and other their partakers: also three of their greatest ships, part of the kings treasure being in one of them, were tolled forth into the high sea, and quite conueied afloat.

The king from Sluice first went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrie in euill state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind: for diuers of them mistook with the doings of the earle, in that he had alied himselfe with the French kings aduersaries. About the beginning of September was Little yelded vnto the French king, and after that they of Doway, Curtray, and Bruges, did likewise submit themselves to the same king. Then was Charles earle of Flanders sent to Bruges to fortifie that towne, and to take the English name that laie at anchor in the haven of Dam: but the Englishmen hauing warning thereof, got forth with their vessels into the sea, and so the earle of Flanders being disappointed of that pte, set in hand to fortifie Bruges and Dam. But the earle of Austrich, & Robert de Beuers son to earle Guy, being sent with a power of Englishmen, Flemings, and other soldiers vnto Dam, fought with the Frenchmen, slue foure hundred of them, besides diuers that were taken, and recovered the towne. They might also haue recovered Bruges, as was thought, if the Englishmen and Flemings had not fallen at strife, & fought together about diuiding of the pte.

Finally, after this, the French king came to Bruges, and when the king of England and the earle of Flanders had long looked and all in vaine for the emperor Adulfe, who had promised to come to their aid with a great armie; for the charges and wages whereof he had receiued great summes of monie both of the king of England, and also of the earle of Flanders: they concluded in the end (when they perceived he would not come) to make some agreement with the French king: and so first was a truce taken, from the middell of October, vnto the calends of December, and after by mediation of Charles (surnamed Claudius) king of Sicill, the same truce was prolon-
ged.

The king
answer.

The king
sith ouer in
Flanders,
Abington.

Debate
fighting
betwixt the
mariners of
the cinque
ports
and others.

La. Meis.

Little yelded
to the French
king.

Charles
earle of
Flanders
sent to Bruges.

The emperor
Adulfe was
not present.

ged as hercafter ye shall heare.

In this meane while, to wit, about the end of August, the earle of Surrey, when he saw that the Scottishmen would not performe promise touching the delivrie of the pledges, and that William Maleis still moved the people to rebellion, he assembled his armie, & with the same entering Scotland, came unto Striueling. Then the lord steward of Scotland, and also the earle of Lenox came unto him, requiring him to staie till they might have leisure to see if they could bring the people of Scotland unto the kings peace. But when they could not do it, they returned on the tenth day of September, promising to bring to the aid of the earle of Surrey on the morrow after fortie horsemen, upon the which day two friers of the order of preachers were sent unto William Maleis, and to the other Scottishmen lieng beyond the hill about the monasterie of Scambeskin, to move them to the kings peace. But their answer was, that they were not come to have peace, but to trie the matter by battell.

The pride of
Hugh Cressingham.

The Scots
assail the
Englishmen.

Abington.

The valancie
of sir
Barnarduke
Thweng.

The English-
men discomfi-
ted.

The earle of
Surrey pre-
tendeth in
hast to Scot-
land.

The Scots
enter Ber-
wick.

The English armie without god advise, thorough the presumptuous pride of the lord Hugh Cressingham, preaced to the bidge, and hasting to passe the same, the Scottishmen came upon them per the one halfe could get over, and so fiercelie assailed them, that the Englishmen were beaten backe and slaine downe. For the Scots, after they saw so manie of the Englishmen to have passed the bidge, as they thought themselves able to distresse, they made downe to the bidge foot, and with a number of their spearmen on foot, closed it by, that no more should come over to the aid of their fellows, nor those that were already passed, should returne againe: yet one sir Barnarduke Thweng a right valiant knight, which was one of the first among the men of armes that came over, after that he and his companie had driven downe one wing of their adversaries, & had followed them in chase a good waie, as purposing to have gotten the conquest against them, at length perceiving the companie behind distressed by the Scots, he returned with those few that were about him, and purposing to repasse the bidge, rushed in among the Scots that stood before him with such violence, that he passed thorough them, making waie for himselfe and his folks by great manhood, slaying one of his neephes also which was set on foot & wounded, after his horse had bene killed under him.

At length the discomfiture was such, and the Scots pressed so earnestlie to win the bidge also of those Englishmen, which were not yet passed, that at length the earle of Surrey commanded to breake that end of the bidge, where they stood at defense to have backe the Scots, for else had there few of the Englishmen escaped. There were slaine (as some have written) to the number of six thousand men, and amongst other was slaine sir Hugh Cressingham, whose skin (as hath bene reported) the Scots stripped off his dead carcasse, for the malice which they bare toward him. This discomfiture chanced on the 11 day of September. The earle of Surrey, leaving in the castell of Striueling the said sir Barnarduke Thweng, promised him to come to his aid at all times when need should be, within ten weekes space, and herewith taking his horse, rode in such hast to Berwik, that after his coming thither, his feed being set up in the stable of the friers minors, never after tasted meat, but died: after this, the said earle making no long aboad in Berwik, rode up to London unto prince Edward, and left the towne of Berwik as a preie to the Scottishmen: but those yet that had the castell in keeping, defended it manfullie against the Scots, the which assembled together in campe under the leading of Alexander earle of Ar-

rey: and their capteine William Maleis came to Berwik, and finding the towne void of all defense, entered it, but they could not win the castell by any means.

The Northumberland men conveyed their wives, their children, their cattell, & other goods, which might be removed, out of the countrie for feare of the enemies invasion: but when the Scots lingered time, and entered not within the English borders for a season, they brought their goods againe, in hope that the Scots would not come forth of their owne marches at that time. But the Scots having advertisement thereof, about the feast of S. Luke entered the English borders, and did much hurt within the countrie of Northumberland, so that to avoid the danger, all the religious men fled out of the monasteries situate betwixt Newcastle upon Tyne, and Carlisle. The Scots spoiled, harried, and burnt by the countrie, till the feast of saint Martine, and in the earkes of the same feast they drew together, and went towards Carlisle, which towne they summoned, as you shall heare.

They sent a preest to them that kept it, commanding them to yeeld: but receiving a froward answer, they fell to and wasted all that countrie, passing thorough the forest of Ingletwood, Cumberland, and Allderale, till they came unto Derwent and Coker-mouth, not sparing either church nor chappell. Their meaning was to have gone into the bishoprike of Durham, but what through soze weather of haile, snow and frost, & what through vaine feare of wrong information given by their spies, that the countrie was well provided of men of warre for defense, they brake off that iourne, and yet there were not past a hundred men of armes, and three thousand footmen in that countrie, which were then also dispersed thorough irksomenesse of long stailing for the enemies. The Scots therefore drew unto Berham, and there lodged, not without bering the canons, although they had granted letters of protection unto the prior and couent of the same house, to induce for one whole yeare: and likewise letters of safe conduct to passe and repasse for one canon, one squire, and two servants, when soever they should send to them, during that terme: which letters were given forth under the name of the said earle of Surrey, and William Maleis. From thence they went towards Newcastle, and burnt the towne of Kilton. Finally, perceiving they could not prevaile in attempting to win the towne of Newcastle, they divided their spoiles and returned home.

About the same time, to wit, a little before Christmasse, the lord Robert Clifford, with the power of the citie of Carlisle, entered Annandale, committing all to the spoile of the footmen, of whom there was a great number. The men of armes on horsebacke, being not past an hundred in all, kept together, and finding their enemies assembled nere to Annankirke, gaue a charge upon them, and chased them into a marish, within the which they kept them, till the footmen came in, and assailing them, slew 308 persons, and tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and returning againe to their market, burnt ten villages, and on Christmasse even returned with their preie and booties unto Carlisle. In the beginning of Lent they made an other rode, in the which they burnt the church of Annan.

Whilist these things were in hand, prince Edward the kings eldest son, and other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings absence, sought meanes to pacifie the earles Marthall and Hereford: but they would not agree, but upon such conditions as pleased themselves to prescribe, which were, that the king should confirme the ggeat charter, and the charter of

The castell
holdeth tache
against them.

The Scots
invade Nor-
thumberland,
and spoile the
countrie.

The forest of
Ingletwood.

The towne of
Kilton burnt.
Anno Reg. 26.

The Scots
returne home.

The lord Clifford
invadeth
Annandale.

Annankirke.

Scots slaine.

1298
Annan kirke
burnt.

N Triuer,
The froward
dealing of the
earles of Here-
ford & Mar-
thall.

forreſſes, with certeine new articles to be included in the ſame great charter, and that from thenceforth the king ſhould not charge his ſubiects ſo ſeruelie at his pleaſure as before time he had done, without conſent of the ſtates of parlement, and that he ſhould pardon his diſpleaſure and malice conceiued againſt them for denieng to go with him into Flanders. And ſanie other articles they would that the king ſhould grant, confirme, pardon and eſtabliſh. The which were all ſent ouer into Flanders to the king, that he might peruſe them, and declare whether he would agree or diſagree to the ſame. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought god to yeld vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time, to reconcile the offended minds of the peres and barons of his realme, and granted vnto all the ſaid articles, confirming the ſame with his charter vnder his great ſeale. In conſideration whereof, the nobles of the realme and commons granted to the king the ninth penie of all their goods: the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with the cleargie of his prouince, the tenth penie; and the elect of Poſke and thoſe of his prouince, granted the ſift penie; towards the maintenance of the war againſt the Scots, becauſe they were next vnto the danger.

Abington.
A ſubſidie
granted.

A parlement
at Poſke.

Magna charta.

Debate be-
twixt the kings
men and the
Gantners.

The king laie the moſt part of this winter at Gaunt, in the which meane time there chanced ſedition betwixen the Engliſhmen & the Gantners, inſomuch that the Welſhmen had ſet fire on the towne, if the king had not ſtaied the matter. But the Flemiſh writers ſaie, the Engliſhmen ſet fire in ſoure parts of the towne indeed, that they might the more free-
lie haue robbed in other parts thereof, whileſt the townemen had gone about to quench the fire. But the townemen bent on reuenge, aſſembled together in great numbers, and falling on the Engliſhmen ſue thirtie of their hoſſemen, and of their ſotmen to the number of ſeuē hundred, or thereabouts. They had alſo ſlaine the king, if a knight of Flanders had not made ſhift to ſaue him. ¶ In deed (as ſhould appear by the ſame writers) the Engliſh ſotmen had done much hurt in the countrie, and namelie one day they ſpoiled the towne of Dam, and ſue two hundred worthie perſonages, who had yelded themſelues to the king at his firſt comming into the countrie.

And although the king cauſed certeine of thoſe

that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this & other iniuries in their minds, & meant to be reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countrie, and therefore there diew out of ſundrie parts into the citie of Gaunt by ſmall companies, to the number of ſoure thouſand men of armes, beſides a great multitude of ſotmen, and when they perceiued themſelues ſtrong enough (as they took the matter) at the day amongst them appointed, and conſidered in their minds, that

Unita potentior eſt vis

Quilibet, at partes in plures ſecta peribit,

they cluſtered together, and vnder the leading of the earles ſonnes, William and Robert, they did firſt ſet vpon the Engliſhmen that were in their lodgings, of whom they ſue diuerſe, and after comming forth into the ſtreets, they went to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noiſe that was raiſed, the king had warning in that ſtate the matter ſtood, and therewith getting him to armour, came forth of his lodging, and ſtreightwaies his people ſtocked about him. And furthermore, the ſotmen which were lodged in the ſuburbes, hearing of this tumult, got them to armour, & approaching the gates, found them ſhut: but with fire which they kindled with ſtraw, wood, butter and tallow, and other ſuch things, they burnt by the ſame gates and ſo got in, loſing not paſſ ſix perſons that were ſlaine at the firſt entring.

The Flemings lay
on the Eng-
liſhmen in
their lod-
gings.

Herewith the earle of Flanders came to the king, and beſought him to ſaue his people from committing further outrage: but the king as he had reaſon ſo to do, blamed him for the outrageous attempt of his people, and bad him go to appeaſe them, or he would take paine with them himſelfe to his owne ſuertie, though not greatlie to their eaſe. The earle went, and preuailed ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuch things as had been taken from any man wrong-
fullie, according to the order and direction preſcribed by certeine diſcret perſons appointed as commiſſioners in that behalfe. The king perceiuing himſelfe in ſome danger, and that without the fauour of the Flemings he might hardlie eſcape out of their countrie, bare manie things, and ſpake courteouſlie, making partlie amends for the harms done by his people, as well abroad in the countries as in the towne. And ſinallie about Midlent he returned into Eng-
land, as after ye ſhall heare.

The earle
of Flanders
quieted his
people.

In this meane time, by the kings appointment, the earle of Surrey lord warden of Scotland, with other earles and noble men to him aſſociat, about the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, had aſſembled an armie at Poſke, hauing firſt ſummoned the lords of Scotland to appeare there at the ſame day, who yet came not, but contrarilie had beſieged the caſtell of Rockeborough. Wherevpon the earle of Surrey haſted thitherwards, ſo that William Maleis and other of the Scottiſhmen which laie there at ſiege, raiſed the ſame, and departed from thence. The earle of Surrey comming to Rockeborough, and relieuing them that kept it with ſuch things as they wanted, paſſed forth to Kelſow, and came afterwards to the towne of Berwik, which the Scottiſhmen had left hold. Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, ſignifieng that he had taken truce with the French king, and that he meant thortlie to returne into Eng-
land, and therefore commanded them not to make any further enterpriſe than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Berwik, till his comming ouer. Wherevpon was a great part of the armie diſcharged, and ſuch onelie remained in Berwik as might ſuffice for deſenſe thereof.

Nic. Trivet.
An armie
aſſembled at
Poſke.

The Scottiſh
beſiege the
Rockeborough.

The earle of
Surrey
trough Scot-
land.

King Edward hauing made an end of his buſi-
neſſe in Flanders, as before ye haue heard, returned

R. Comen
returned
homewards.

now towards England, and came to a towne called
Ardenburge, where the most part of such Scottishmen
as he had brought with him into Flanders slipped
from him, and went unto Paris. The king being re-
turned into England, removed the barons of the ex-
chequer, and the iustices of the bench unto Woke, cal-
ling a parlement thither, and gaue summons unto
the lords of Scotland to come to the same: but ma-
king default in their appearance, he sent forth his
commission and letters to warne his subiects to be
readie with horse and harnesse at Rochester in
the feast of the Nativite of S. John Baptist next in-
coming. They obteing his commandement, assembled
there at the day appointed.

There were in this armie now assembled at Ro-
chester together with those of the bishoppe, a-
bout thre thousand men of armes mounted on bar-
red horses, besides foure thousand other armed men
on horsebacke without barres. There were also a
great number of footmen, and yet none but such as
came upon their owne good willes, the which were
almost all Welshmen or Irishmen. There came al-
so afterwards five hundred men of armes well ap-
parelled, furnished and mounted out of Galcoine, of
the which a certeine number were sent to Bertwike
by the king: where after the battell fought with the
Scots, they remained in garison. The earle of Here-
ford, and the earle Marhall were present with their
retinues amongst other in this armie here assembled
at Rochester, the which upon suspicion concei-
ved of that they had heard, thought it not sufficient
to have the kings letters patents touching the con-
firmation of the two charters, and other the articles
above mentioned, signed by him, whilst he was out
of the realme, and therefore required that he would
now within his owne land confirme the same a-
gaine. Here the bishop of Durham, John earle of
Harric, William earle of Warwike, and Rafe earle
of Glocester, undertoke for the king, that after he
had subdued his enemies, and should be againe re-
turned into the realme, he should satisfie them in that
behalf, and confirme the same articles.

This done, the king marching forth with his ar-
mie, came to Temple Wiston, and sent forth the bi-
shop of Durham to take certeine castles therabouts,
as Wynton or (as some copies have) Wynton, and o-
ther two, which enterprise the bishop speedilie accom-
plished. The English fleet that should have come
from Bertwike, and kept alongst the coast to have
furnished the armie with victuals, was staied and
holden backe with contrarie winds, so that the armie
began to be in great necessitie of victuals. The Sco-
tishmen were advertised hereof, and supposing that
the Englishmen by reason of such want of victuals,
had not bene able through febleness to make anie
great resistance, assembled their powers together,
and came towards the place where the king with his
armie was lodged.

At the same time two of the English ships arri-
ved there with victuals, the which being bestowed a-
mongst the souldiours, releued them greatlie of their
hunger. Amongst other the Welshmen had two
tunnies of wine delivered to them for their share, the
which they tasted so greedilie, that overcome there-
with they fell to quarrelling with the Englishmen,
and begun a fraic, in the which they slue eightaine,
and hurt divers. The English horsemen herewith
being kindled with displeasure, got them to armes,
and setting upon the Welshmen, slue of them to the
number of fourescore, and put the other to flight:
whereupon the next morning it was said that the
Welshmen upon wrath conceived hereof meant to
depart to the Scots: but yet when the campe remou-
ed, they followed the armie though a farre off, and a

part by themselves, insomuch that manie doubted
least if the Englishmen had chanced to have had the
worste at the Scottishmens hands, they would have
joined with them against the Englishmen. This blow
die houle spang of intemperancie, and sursetting
dunkennelle, which is worthe to be thus disclaimed,

anima lethum, & vitiolum
Nutrix ac fclerum, quid non mentis a cogis
Pectora? Quid per se non audent? Iurgia, lites,
Prelia dira moris, & gaudes sanguine fuso,
Sordi ditor, quales, qua bella vilior? &c.

The king now hearing that the Scots were com-
ming towards him, raised his field, and went forth
to meet them, lodging the next night in a faire
plaine. In the morning verie earlie, a great alarme
was raised, so that every man got him to armour,
supposing the Scots to be at hand. The horse appoi-
nted for the kings saddle that day, as the king should
have got upon him, frightened with some noise, started
aside, and threw the king downe with such violence,
that he brake two of his ribbes, as the report went.
Other write, that his horse trod on him in the night,
as he and his people rested them, keeping their hos-
sles still hidled, to be readie the sooner upon occasion
of any necessitie: but howsoever he came by his
hurt, he staied not to passe forward in his purposed
toyrne, but mounting upon an other horse, went
forth with his armie till he came to a place called
Foukirke, where both the armies of England and
Scotland met and fought.

The Scots were divided in foure schiltrons, as
they termed them, or as we may saie, round battels,
in forme of a circle, in the which stood their people
that carried long staves or speares, which they crossed
jointlie together one within another, betwixt which
schiltrons or round batels were certeine spaces left,
the which were filled with their archers and bowmen,
and behind all these were their horsemen placed.
They had chosen a strong ground, somewhat sheling
on the side of a hill. The earles Marhall, Hereford,
& Lincoln, which led the fore ward of the English-
men, at the first made directlie towards the Scots,
but they were staied, by reason they found a marish,
or an euill fauoured mosse betwixt their enemies
and them, so that they were constrained to fetch a
compassse towards the west side of the field. The bi-
shop of Durham ruling in the second battell of the
Englishmen, consisting of six and thirtie standards or
banners, knowing the let of that mosse or marish to-
ward the east side, halied forth to be the first that
should giue the onlet: but yet when they approached
nere to the enemies, the bishop commanded his peo-
ple to staie till the third battell, which the king led,
might approach. But that valiant knight the lord
Rafe Ballet of Wynton said to him: My lord bishop,
you may go and say masse, which better becommeth
you, than to teach us what we haue to do, for we will
do that which belongeth to the order and custome of
warre.

Herewith they halied forth on that side to charge
the first schiltron of the Scots, and the earles with
their battell on the other side, and euen upon the first
bunt the Scottish horsemen fled, a few onelie excep-
ted, which staied to keepe the footmen in order. And a-
mongst other was the brother of the lord steward of
Scotland, who as he was about to set in order the
bowmen of Selkirke, by chance was unhorsed, and
slaine there amongst the same bowmen, and manie a
tall mans bodie with him. The Scottish archers thus
being slaine, the Englishmen assailed the spearmen;
but keeping themselves close together, and standing
at defense with their speares like a thicke wood, they
kept out the English horsemen for a while, & fought
manfullie, though they were sore beaten with shot of
saith.

f. y. arrowes

The Scots
commanded to
the parlement
at Woke, refus-
ed to come.

An armie col-
led.

Abington.
The number
of men armed
in this armie.

Welshmen and
Irishmen.

Galcoine.

N. Trivet.

The earles of
Hereford and
Marshall met
with the king.

Castles won
by the bishop
of Durham.

Abington.
A fraic be-
tween the
Welsh and
Englishmen.

The English-
men stand in
doubt of the
Welshmen.

N. Trivet.

The battell
of Foukirke.

Abington.
The order of
the Scottish
battels.

The earles
Marshall, He-
reford, and
Lincolne led
the fore ward.

The bishop of
Durham led
the second
ward.

The lord
Ballet of
Wynton
saied to the
bishop of
Durham.

The Scottish
horsemen fled.

The ar-
chers slaine.
These Sco-
tish spearmen
were of Gal-
loway as
Euarden
saith.

arrows by the English archers on foot: so at length galled with shot, and assailed by the horsemen on each side, they began to disorder and shrink from one side to another, and herewith the horsemen brake in amongst them, and so they were slaine and beaten doونه in manner all the whole number of them.

Nic. Triuer.

Marth. West.
saith fourtie
thousand.
Polydor.
N. Triuer.

The towns of
S. Andrews.

The castell
of Aire.

Abington.
Irish lords.
The Ile of
Araigne.

Thomas Bi-
let requirith
the Ile of
Araigne.

The euill op-
inion of the
earles Spar-
shall & Here-
ford towards
the king.

The kings
liberalitie to-
wards his
nobles.

Anno Reg. 27.

Cottingham.

1299

A parliament.
Abington.

The lords
call vpon the
king to per-
forme promise.

Some saie there died of the Scots that daie (be-
ing the two & twentieth of Julie, and the feast of Spa-
rie Pagdalene) aboute twentie thousand. Other write
that there were slaine at the least to the number of
15 thousand. The Scottish writers alledge that this
battel was lost by treason of the Comings and other,
as in the Scottish historie ye may more plainlie per-
ceiue, with more matter touching the same battell:
after this was the towne of saint. Andrews destrui-
ed, no man being within to make resistance. And
from thence the English armie came through Sel-
kirke forest vnto the castell of Aire, which they found
hold: and after they came by the towne of Annan,
and toke the castell of Lochmaben, and so returned
into England by the west marches, and came to
Carleill.

About the same time certaine Irish lords, and a-
mongst other as chiefe, one Thomas Bilet landed in
the Ile of Araigne, the inhabitants whereof yielded
themselves vnto the same Thomas, who (as was iud-
ged) meant to haue aided the Scots: but now hea-
ring of the victorie which king Edward had gotten
in a pight field, he sent vnto him to giue him to vnder-
stand that he was come in his aid, & had won the
said Ile of Araigne, and therefore brought him that it
might please him to grant it vnto him and his heires
for euer. Which request the king granted: whereof
when the earles Sparshall and Hereford were aduer-
tised, they thought this a rash part of the king, consi-
dering that he had promised to do nothing anew
without their consents and counsell.

Therefore the king being (as ye haue heard) retur-
ned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home with
their people, leauing the king still at Carleill, where
he remained a time, and held a parlement there, in
the which he granted vnto manie of his nobles, the
lands and liuings of diuers noble men of the Scots,
as to the earles earledomes, to the barons baronies;
but Callotwaie and Armandale, with certaine other
counties, he assigned to none, reseruing the same (as
was thought) vnto the foresaid two earles, least they
should thinke themselves euill dealt with, if they had
no part bestowed on them amongst the residue.

The king after this went to Durham, and from
thence thought to haue returned straight towards
London, but hearing that the Scots meant to make
some inuasion, he went to Linmouth, and remained
there till towards Christmasse. Now when the king
had laine a certaine time at Linmouth, he departed
from thence, and diew southward, and coming to
Cottingham, a little from Beuerlie, held his Christ-
masse there, and after diew towards London, where
in the beginning of Lent, he held a parlement, at the
which he was required to keepe promise for the confir-
mation of the two charters and articles concluded
with the earles of Hereford and Sparshall. The king
was nothing contented that this matter should be
so earnestlie called vpon, for loth he was to grant
their full requests; and againe to denie them, he stood
in doubt how it might be taken: he therefore prolon-
ged time, & would make no answer either to or fro.
But when the lords urged him so sore to giue them
answer, he got him out of the citie, not making them
paine of his departure, and when they followed him,
and seemed not well contented that he should so dis-
semble with them, he excused himselfe by blaming
the aire of the citie to be against his health, and there-
fore bare them in hand, that he onelie sought to re-

fresh himselfe in some better aire in the countie
more agreeable to his nature: and as for answer to
their requests, he willed them to repaire againe to
the citie, and they should haue answer by his coun-
cell, so farre as should stand with reason to content
them. They returned as he willed them, and had the
charters confirmed according to their requests, sa-
uing that this addition was put in the latter end of
the same, *sub iure corona nostrae*. With which addition
the lords were offended, and turned home to their
houses in a great displeasure towards the king as
before.

The counsell doubting some seditious stir to arise
hereof amongst the people, deliuered the charters (so
sealed and signed as they were) vnto the shriftes of
London, that the same might be read openlie before
the people, which was done in Pauls churchyard in
presence of a great assemblie there, come together
and gathered for that purpose. The people (than
whom the sea in ebbing and flowing is not more in-
constant, nor in iudgment more rash, hebdie, sudden,
and vnadvised, as one saith verie well, & to purpose,

*Iudicium vulgi insulsum, imbecillaque mens est,
Quandoquidem iniusta est vulgi sapientia, &c.*

at the first before they heard the addition, gave manie
blessings to the king for those grants: but when they
heard with what words he concluded, they cursed as
fast as before they had blessed. Before this parlement
was dissolved, the lords had warning to returne a-
gaine thortlie after Easter, and then they had all
things granted and performed as they could with or
desire. The perambulations of forrestes were ap-
pointed vnto three bishops, three earles, and three
barons.

About the latter end of June there came ouer a
bishop sent from pope Boniface as his Nuncio, and
diuerse other with him, to declare the order which the
pope as arbitrator indifferentlie chosen betwixt the
kings of England and France, for the deciding of
all controuersies depending betwixt them, had gi-
uen forth & decreed, which was in effect as followeth.

1 First that king Edward being then a wid-
dower should marrie the French kings sister named
Margaret, notwithstanding the degrees of consan-
guinitie, for the which the pope would dispense.

2 That the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne
should at conuenient time take to wife the ladie Fla-
bell the French kings daughter.

3 That the king of England should make satis-
faction for the French ships which his men had taken
at the beginning of the war, and that sundrie townes
in Gascoigne should be put into the popes hands, till it
might be vnderstood vnto whome the right appertei-
ned. But those two last articles toke small effect,
the French king refusing to deliuer any of those
townes which he had gotten in possession. Moreover,
these messengers in the popes behalfe required the
king that he would set John Balioll, sometime king
of Scotland at libertie, and restore those lands vnto
his sonne Edward Balioll, which he ought to hold
within the realme of England, promising and vnder-
taking in the popes behalfe to preserve and save the
realme harmlesse from all hurt and damage that
might insue by the deliuerie of the said John Ba-
lioll.

King Edward vnderstanding that there was
great danger in setting him at libertie, was conten-
ted to deliuer him vnto the pope, but he refused to
make restitution vnto Balioll of the lands which he
demanded. The popes ambassadours receiuing John
Balioll at king Edwards hands, toke him ouer with
him into France, and there left him in the custodie
of the bishop of Cambrie, the popes deputie in that
behalf, where thortlie after he died. After this, &c.

This sentence

The sentence
put in the
conclusion of the
articles.

The articles
red in Pauls
churchyard.

The perem-
bulations of
forrestes.

A bishop sent
from the pope.

The popes
degrees of consan-
guinitie betweene the
kings of
England &
France.

Nic. Triuer.

The popes
request for
the releasing
of libertie of
John Balioll.

John Balioll
deliuered out
of prison at
the popes request.

Polydor.
ye departed
this lile.

ding

N. Triuer.

The king
married the
French king's
sister.
A parliament
at York.

The death
of the arch-
bishop of York.
Anno Reg. 28.
1300
Abington.
A proclamation
on for monie.

Forre mon-
ies forbi-
den to go as
currant.

Abington.
The king go-
eth with an
armie into
Scotland.

Thomas of
Bertherton
bore the first
of June.

ding to the couenants of agreement made betwixt the two kings of England and France, the captives upon either part were deliuered. In the feast of the nativite of our Ladie, the king married the ladie Margaret sister to the French king at Canturburie with great solemnitie. About the feast of S. Martine in winter the king held a parlement at Porke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotland, to haue rescued the castell of Striueling, which the Scottishmen had besieged, and had it surrendred unto them, yer the king could set forward to come to raise the siege. The same yeare died Henrie Peuarke archbishop of Porke, and Thomas Corbydge a doctour in diuinitie succeeded him.

In the eight and twentieth yeare of his reigne, in the Christmasse season king Edward set forth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forre coins to be receiued and paid as sterling monie within his dominion, commanding by the same proclamation, that two peeces of them should go for one sterling, untill the feast of Easter. There were diuerse monies in those daies currant within this realme, as pollards, crocards, skaldings, eagles, leonines, sleeping, and all these were white monies, artificallie made of silver, copper, and sulphur, so that it was an ill time for base monies, & much chopping and changing was used in buying and selling of things.

At Easter following the king vnterlie forbade that any of those monies should be currant at all, and held his exchange in sundrie places, and to be rid of them, men gaue five or six of them for one sterling, not caring for them, because of their baseness, and yet within a yeare after that men had learned the skill by whose how to trie metall with melted lead in the fire, they found that two peeces of those base monies were in value worth one sterling, and many became rich by the exchange, which had bought good store of them, when they were so smallie esteemed: but the king caused inquirie to be made of them that used such exchange without his licence, and put them to their fines.

At a parlement holden at London in Lent this yeare, the king renewed the confirmation of the charters, and made certeine new statutes concerning fines and goale deliueries, verie profitable to the common-wealth. About the feast of saint John Baptist, king Edward went with an armie into Scotland, and there granted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mountaine countries to endure for eleven moneths, that is to saie, till Whitfuntide next ensuing. As the king was upon his iournie towards the north parts, his late married wife quene Margaret was deliuered of hir first sonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkshire not farre from Pontrefret; he was named Thomas, and toke the surname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Whercofer pope Boniface at the sute of the Scots wrote his letters unto king Edward, commanding him by the same and by the archbishop of Canturburie, whom he appointed to deliuer the same letters by other letters to him directed, that he should not onelie release and set at libertie all such Scots as he had in prison, but also giue ouer his warres which he made against the realme of Scotland: and if he meant to make anie claime to the same, then to send his procurators unto the court of Rome, and there to shew what evidence he could for his right thereto, where the matter (as he maintained) was to be heard, decided, and iudged; and not elswhere. The archbishop, according to the popes commandment, did the message, and presented the popes letters unto the king, who deferred the answer unto the assemble of

the estates in parlement, and hereof the archbishop aduertised the pope accordingly, as in the letters to him directed he was commanded; which he durst not but satisfie, because he was perswaded the popes authoritie to haue bene so ample and peremptorie, that there was no resisting or gaine-saying of him, with,

Et medijs ludunt in aquis immania cete,

Et patulo pisces quoslibet ore vorant:

Sic tenet imperium mortales inter, & omnes

Diripit, illicita subdit & arte duces,

Omnibus insultans, sic subiecit impijs orbem,

Implicat atque suo regia colla iugo.

Amish, Christ. &
Amichrist. pag.
24.

This yeare also on saint Remigius daie, which is the first of October, died Edmund earle of Cornewall, the sonne of earle Richard, that was also king of Almaine; and because he left no issue behind him to inherit that earldome, the same returned to the crowne. In the 29 yeare of king Edwards reigne, on saint Oswalds day, or (as some haue written) the friday after the feast of Peter Ad Vincula, his wife quene Margaret was deliuered of hir second sonne, that had to name Edmund of Woodstoke, surname of the place where he was borne. The king also this yeare after Christmasse held a parlement at Lincoln, to the which the earls and barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is said) that they might procure of the king the more speedie execution of the charter of forreists, which by him had hitherto bene delaied, but now that he perceived their earnestnesse and importunate suit, he condescended to their willes in all things.

Pope Boniface being solicited by the instant suit of the Scottishmen, and offended also that the lands in England, which belonged unto Edward Balioll sonne of John Balioll, were not to the same Edward restored, he bestowed to king Edward; forbidding him from thence forth any further to vex the Scots by wars, because that the kingdom of Scotland was surrendred already into his hands by the generall consent of the Scottishmen themselves, and therefore was it in his power to bestow and take away the same to whom or from whom soeuer it should please him.

There were reasons alledged why the king of England seemed to do wrong in challenging as then the kingdom of Scotland: and amongst other, one was, that such homage as had bene done of ancient time to the kings of England, by the kings of the Scots, was onelie meant for Lindale, Penreth, and such other lands as the Scottish kings held within England, and not for the realme of Scotland. And whereas the kings of Scotland had aided the kings of England in their warres against the rebels of the realme of England, and bene present at their coronation, the same was done of speciall fauour, and not of dutie. B. Edward hauing receiued the popes prescript, and well considered the whole contents thereof, sent in writing his answer at large, prouing by euident reasons that the right of proprietie in the kingdom of Scotland, did most iustlie appertene unto him, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, which had bene by furnished information presented against him.

Beside the kings letters, which he wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuised and written by all the lords temporall of the land, assembled in parlement at Lincoln, in which letter they answered in name of all the estates there gathered, unto that point wherein the pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, protesting flatlie, that they would not consent that their king should do any thing that might tend to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and plaine ouerthrow of the state of the same realme, and

E. g. ij.

also

Eueriden.

Anno Reg. 29.
March. Westm.
Croxden.

1301

Pope Boni-
face prohibi-
teth the king
of England
further to vex
the Scots.

N. Triuer.

also hurt of the liberties, customs, and lawes of their fathers, sith it was neuer knowne, that the kings of this land had answered or ought to answer for their rights in the same realme, afore any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular.

The tenour of the foresaid letter
indited and directed to pope
Boniface.

Our most holie father in Christ, Boniface by Gods prouidence high bishop of the holie Romane and vniuersall church, his deuout sonnes John earle Warren, Thomas erle of Lancaster, Rafe de Monthermer earle of Gloucester and Hereford, Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hertford and Essex and constable of England, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and marschall of England, Guie earle of Warwick, Richard earle of Arundell, Adomare de Valence lord of Montherney, Henrie de Lancaster lord of Monmouth, John de Hastings lord of Bergeuennie, Henrie de Percie lord of Copcliffe, Edmund de Mortimer lord of Wigmore, Robert Fitz Walter lord of Wodham, John de S. John lord of Hanake, Hugh de Uer lord of Swanestampe, William de Breuse lord of Gower, Robert de Honthault lord of Hawarden, Robert de Cateshall lord of Wokeham, Reignold de Grey lord of Ruthin, Henrie de Grey lord of Coduore, Hugh Bardolfe lord of Wormegate, Robert de Clifford chetelaine of Appelbie, Peter de Malowe lord of Mulgrene, Philip lord of Rime, Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauering, John de Bohun lord of Dunester, Almerike de S. Amound lord of Wichehaie, William de Ferrers lord of Grobie, Alane de Zouche lord of Albie, Theobald de Werdon lord of Wichebeley, Thomas de Furniuall lord of Schefeld, Thomas de Hulton lord of Egremont, William Latimer lord of Corbie, Thomas lord Berkley, Foulke Fitz Warren lord of Wittingham, John lord Segraue, Edmund de Cincourt lord of Chutgerton, Peter Corbet lord of Caus, William de Cantelowe lord of Rauenthorpe, John de Beauchampe lord of Hacche, Roger de Mortimer lord of Denkerthun, John Fitz Reignold lord of Blenleueny, Rafe de Neuill lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz Alane lord of Bedale, William Warthall lord of Hengham, Walter lord Huntercombe, William Martin lord of Cameis, Henrie de Thies lord of Chilton, Roger le Clare lord of Ischeld, John de Ruers lord of Augre, John de Lancaster lord of Grisedale, Robert Fitz Paine lord of Laimier, Henrie Cregos lord of Garinges, Robert Hipard lord of Lomford, Walter lord fancomberge, Roger le Strange lord of Ellesmer, John le Strange lord of Enokin, Thomas de Chances lord of Porton, Walter de Beauchampe lord of Alcester, Richard Talbot lord of Ecclewell, John Buterourt lord of Hendeham, John En-

gain lord of Colum, Hugh de Poinz lord of Cornualet, Adam L. of Uells, Simon L. Montacute, John L. Sulle, John de Melles of Woelles L. of Candeburie, Edmund baron Stafford, John Louell lord of Hackings, Edmund de R. lord of Elchumhones, Rafe Fitz William L. of Grumthorpe, Robert de Scales lord of Peusels, William Tuchet lord of Lewenhales, John Abadan lord of Deuerston, John de Haue-rings lord of Grafton, Robert la Ward lord of Whitehall, Nicholas de Segraue lord of Stow, Walter de Tep L. of Ston-graue, John de Lisle lord of Wodton, Eustace lord Hacche, Gilbert Deche L. of Corbie, William Painell lord Crachington, Rog. de *Albo monasterio*, Foulke le Strange lord of Corham, Henrie de Pinkenie lord of Wledon, John de Hodeleston lord of Aneis, John de Huntingfield lord of Bardenham, Hugh Fitz Henrie lord of Raue-nelwath, John Daleton lord of Spozle, Nicholas de Carrie lord of Hulestord, Thomas lord de la Roche, Wal. de Huncie lord of Choznton, John Fitz Marma-
duke lord of Horden, John lord of Kingston, Robert Hastings the father lord of Chel-
bessy, Rafe lord Grendon, William lord of Leiborne, John de Greiffocke lord of Morpath, Matthew Fitz John lord of Stokenham, Nicholas de Neuell lord of Wetherlton, and John Painell lord of Ateli, with all humble submission.

The holie mother church, by whose mi-nisterie the catholike fe is gouerned, in hir dedes (as we throughele beleue and hold) proceedeth with that ripenesse in iudge-ment, that she will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans right be kept vnbroken, as well in another, as in hir selfe. Whereas therfore in a generall par-
lement called at Lincolne of late, by our most dread lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England, the same our lord caused certeine letters receiued from you to be read openlie, and to be decla-
red seriouslie afore vs, about certeine busi-
nesse touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland: we did not a lit-
tle muse and maruell with our selues, hea-
ring the meanings concerning the same, so woundrous and strange as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know most holie father, and it is well knowne al-
well within this realme of England as al-
so not vnknowne to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England, the certeine and direct gouern-
ment of the realme of Scotland in all tem-
porall causes from time to time belonged to the kings of the same relme of England and relme of Scotland, as well in the times both of the Britains as also Englishmen, yea rather the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fe to the ancestours of our foresaid lordes kings of England, yea and to himselfe.

Furthermore, the kings of Scots and the realme haue not bene vnder any other than

Hastings
tabell.

Wetherlton
A thine.

Chapter of
of 29. Pre-
bends of the
new temple.

Out of ma-
ster for
pag. 417.

than the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid realme, or for anie his temporalities before anie iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of his preeminence of the state of his roiall dignitie and custome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agreement & consent with one mind, and shall be without faile in time to come by Gods grace, that our foresaid lord the king ought by no meanes to answer in iudgement in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence, speciallie seeing that the premises tend manifestlie to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customes and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping & defense of which we are bound by the duetie of the oth made, and we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength, and furthermore, will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to do or by anie means attempt the premises being so accustomed, but wont, and not hard of afoze. Wherefore we reuerentlie and humble beseech your holinesse, that ye would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to inioy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue untouched. In witnesse whereof, we haue set our seales to these presents, as well for vs, as for the whole communalite of the foresaid realme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1301, Et anno Edwardi primi 29.

The king goth
to Scotland.

Anno. Reg. 30.
1302
The king granted
to the
Scots.

The king re-
turned into
England.

The pope ex-
horteth the k.
of England to
make war a-
gainst France.

The pope when he heard and deliberatellie pondered the kings answer, with this letter directed to him from the English barons, waxed cold in the matter, and followed it no further. The truce betwixt the king and the Scots being once expired, the king assembled his armie, and went into Scotland, about the feast of saint John Baptist, and tarrying there all the summer and winter following, his soldiers lost manie of their great horses for lacke of forage, which could not be gotten in the cold winter season. He kept his Christmas at Lithgow, and at length at the request and sute of his brother in law the French king, he granted estones a truce to the Scottishmen, untill the feast of All saints next ensuing.

Then hauing ordered his businesse for that time in Scotland, he returned into England, and about midlent called a parlement at London. Also this yeare pope Boniface upon displeasure conceived against the French king, sent vnto king Edward, exhorting him to make warres against the same French king, and to persuaide him the more easilie thereunto, he promised him great aid: but the king of England hauing proued the said pope, not the

surest man in friendship towards him, forbore to attempt anie forceable exploit against the French king, trusting by some other meanes to recouer his right.

This yeare Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford departed out of this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Humfrey, who afterwards married the kings daughter, Elizabeth countesse of Holland, after that his first husband was dead. Tourneys, iustices, barriers, and other warlike exercises, which young lords and gentlemen had appointed to exercise for their pastime in diuerse parts of the realme, were forbidden by the kings proclamations sent downe to be published by the shirfts in euerie countie abroad in the realme: the tesse of the wytt was from Westminster the sixteenth of Julie. ¶ The citizens of Burdeaur could not beare the yoke of the French bondage, and therefore this yeare about Christmasse expelled them out of their cite. ¶ Shortly after the French king doubting least the king of England, by the setting on of the pope, should make warres against him for wrongfull deteining of Gascoigne, to purchase his fauor, restored to him all that which he held in Gascoigne, and so then they of Burdeaur also submitted themselves to the king of England of their owne accord.

Soon after that the truce with the Scots was expired, which toke end at the feast of All saints last past, the king sent the lord John Segraue, a right valiant knight (but not so circumspect in his gouernment as was necessarie) with a great armie into Scotland, to haue the rule of the land as lord warren of the same: with him was ioined also Rafe Confreie, treasurer of the armie. These two capteins comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scottishmen already were in armes, they entered into Scotland, and in order of battell passed forth to Edinburgh, and hearing nothing of their enemies which kept them still in the mounteins, they diuided their armie into thre seuerall battels, two of the which came behind the fore ward vnder the leading of the said Rafe Confreie, the third (that is to say) the fore ward, the lord Segraue led himselfe, in such order that there was the distance of foure miles betwixt their lodgings. This they did to be the more plentifullie serued of vittells.

But the Scots vnderstanding this order of their enemies, became the more hardie, and thereupon hauing knowledge where the lord Segraue was lodged with his companie, a good way off from the other two parts of the armie, they hastened forwards in the night season, and came nere vnto the place where the same lord Segraue was incamped, a little before daie, making themselves readie to assaile the Englishmen in their campe. But the lord Segraue hauing knowlege of their comming, though he was counselled by some of them that were about him, either to withdraw vnto the other battels, or else to send vnto them to come to his aid, he would follow neither of both the waies; but like a capteine more hardie than wise in this point, disposed his companies which he had there in order to fight, and incouraging them to plaie the men, immediatlie vpon the rising of the sunne, and that his enemies approached, he caused the trumpets to sound to the battell, and gaue therewith the onset.

The fight was sore and doubtfull for a while, till the Englishmen overcome with the multitude of their enemies began to be slaine on eche side, so that few escaped by sight. To the number of twentie worthie knights were taken, with their capteins the said lord Segraue being sore wounded, but he was by chance rescued and deliuered out of the enemies hands, by certeine horsemen, which vnder the leading of the lord

The decrease
of the earle of
Hereford.

Re. Tur.
Tourneys
prohibited.

Townes re-
stored to the k.
in Gascoigne.

Polydor.
The lord Se-
grauce set with
an armie into
Scotland.

Abington.
Polydor.

The English
men vanqui-
shed by the
Scots.

Abingdon.

Rafe Cōfrecie
was slain at
this incoun-
ter, as Abing-
ton faith.

N. Trivet.
The earle
Marshall re-
signeth his
lands unto
the king.

A subsidie.

The king go-
eth in person
into Scots-
lands.

Cathnes.

The Scots
submit them-
selves to the
king.

Abingdon.
William Wa-
leis.

Polydor.
Heft. Boecius.
La. Meir.

Anno Reg. 32.
Strutclung
castell be-
sieged.

Abingdon.
I 204
Engins to
cast stones.

lord Robert Russell a right ballant knight (upon hearing the noise of them that fled) came on the spurs out of the next campe to the succour of their fellows. Rafe Cōfrecie after this mishap (as Polydor faith) brought backe the residue of the armie into England, not thinking it necessarie to attempt any further enterprise at that time against the enimies, over-
10 matching him both in strength and number. This incoun-
ter chanced on the first sūdaie in Lent. ¶ I re-
member the Scottish chronicles containe much more
of this enterpryse greatlie to their glorie, and more
(haplie than is true, as by conferring the place where
they intreat of it, with this that I have here exem-
plified out of our writers it may well appeare. The
earle Marshall having spent largelie whilest he stood
in contention against the king, who was now ear-
nestlie called upon to repaie such summes of monie
as he had borrowed of his brother John Wigod, who
was verie rich by reason of such benefices and spiri-
20 tuall livings as he had in his hands, the earle because
he had no children, to whom he might leaue his lands,
meant to haue left them unto his said brother; but
when he saw him so importunate in calling for the
debts which he owght him; he took such displeasure
therewith, that to obtaine the kings fauour, and
to disappoint his brother of the inheritance, he
gaue unto the king all his possessions, upon condi-
tion that the king adding thereto other lands in value
worth a thousand markes by yeare, should restore
them to him againe to enjoy during his life, the re-
30 mainder after his deceasse to come unto the king,
and further, the king should paie and discharge him
of all his debts.

King Edward being aduertised of the losse which
his men had sustained in Scotland, straightwaies
called a parlement, wherein by assent of the states a
subsidie was granted, towards the maintenance of
his warres, and then the same being leuied he assem-
bled his people, and shortly after about Whitsonde
entred into Scotland to reuenge the death of his
men. The Scots hearing of the kings coming, fled
into the mounteins, moyses, and marish grounds,
not once shewing any countenance to fight any set
battell with the English host, so that the king in
maner without resistance passed through the coun-
trie euen unto Cathnes, which is the furthest part of
all Scotland. ¶ Anie of the Scots perceiuing their
lacke of power to resist the English puissance, came
to king Edward, and submitted themselves, with
condition that they should enjoy their lands which he
had giuen awaie to his lords, they redēring the
same with convenient fines, which was granted.

But Will. Waleis with certeine other, keeping
themselves in places where no armie could come to
pursue them, would neuer giue care to any condi-
tions of agreement: so that neither with feare, neither
with offer of rewards could this Waleis be induced
to follow: behold the English king ruling the realme
of Scotland, King Edward returning backe, came
to the castell of Strutclung (which the Scottishmen
held against him) and besieged it. The king himsele
laie at Dunferling the most part of the winter: and
whilest he laie there, the queene which had lien a long
time at Linmouth came to him, and when the win-
ter was once past, the king himsele came to the
siege, and caused certeine engins of wood to be raised
up against the castell, which shot off stones of two or
three hundred weight: but yet would not they with-
in once talke of any surrender. And where the En-
glishmen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of
trees, they set the same on fire, and burnt them to
ashes: at length the ditches were filled with stones
and earth, so that then the Scots within perceiuing
themselves in euidēt perill to lose the castell, on

saint Margarets daie they yielded themselves sim-
ple into the kings hands, as the English writers as-
sirme, though the Scottish writers record the con-
trarie.

¶ Inallie, when the king had ordered all his busi-
nesse in Scotland at his pleasure, he returned into
England, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord
John Segraue, or (as other writers haue) sir Aimer
de Valence earle of Denbroke. At his coming to
10 Porke he caused the iustices of his bench, and the ba-
rons of the exchequer to remoue with their courts, and
all their clerks and officers, together with the lord
chancellor and his court to London, that the termes
might be kept there, as in times past they had bene,
whereas now the same had remained at Porke a-
bout the space of six yeares, upon this consideration,
that the king and his counsell might be nere unto
Scotland to prouide for the defense thereof, as occa-
sion from time to time should require. From Porke
he came to Lincoln, and there remained all the win-
ter, holding a counsell, in the which he estones confir-
med the articles of Magna charta, touching the liber-
ties, priuileges and immunities of his subiects, the
which to declare their thankfull minds towards him
for the same, granted to him for the space of one yeere
the fiftenth part of all their reuenues. Others write
that the king had in this yeare of citizens and of the
burgesses of good townes, the first penie according to
the valued rate of their goods.

About the same time, Thomas Coleburgh or Cor-
bridge archbishop of Porke departed this life, and one
William Grenefeld doctor of both the lawes suc-
ceeded him. ¶ Here died about the same time that
ballant knight the lord Will. Latimer. ¶ Also John
Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex died this yeere
¶ was buried at Welles. His nephew by his son (na-
med also John) succeeded him, obtaining to wife the
kings niece by his daughter Elianor that was mar-
ried to the earle of Bar, as before ye haue heard.
40 Likewise Robert Bruce earle of Carrick, the first of
that name died this yeare, who was father to that
Robert Bruce that was after king of Scots. ¶ After-
ward, about this season the king ordeined certeine
commissioners of iudiciaries, to make inquisitions
through the realme, by the verdit of substantiall iu-
ries upon all officers, as maiors, shiriffes, bailiffes,
exchetois, and other that had misused themselves in
their offices, either by extortion, by berie, or other-
wise, to the greiuanee of the people, contrarie to that
they rightlie might do and iustifie by vertue of their
offices: by means of which inquisitions manie were
50 accused and found culpable, and thereupon put to
greiuous fines.

Also the iustices, which were assigned to take these
inquisitions, extended the same according to their
commission against such as had made intrusions in-
to other mens lands, and for doubt to be impleaded
for the same had made alienations ouer into the
hands of great men; also against such barretors
60 as vsed to take monie to beat any man, and againe
would not sticke to take monie of him whom they
had so beaten, to beat him that first hired them to
beat the other. The malice of such maner people was
now restrained by force of these inquisitions: for such
as were found culpable, were twofold punished,
some by death, and some by ransoms: diuerse also for
feare to come to their answers fled the realme: also
forseits against the crowne were straightlie looked
vnto, found out, and leuied; by reason whereof great
summes of monie came to the kings coffers, which
holpe well towards the maintenance and charges of
his warres. This kind of inquisition was named
commonlie Traile baston, which signifieth, Traile or
draw the staffe. And forsomuch as the proceeding in
this

Polydor.

Tho. Wal-
The earle of
Denbroke
lord warden
of Scotland
N. Trivet.
Polydor.

A fiftenth
granted.

The death
of the arch-
bishop of York
Will. Gren-
efeld made
archbishop
of York.

Robert
Bruce earle
of Carrick
departeth
this life.

N. Trivet.
Inquisitions
taken of the
misdeame-
nors of iu-
dices.
Caxton.

Iustices
sined.
March. Wals.

Inquisitions
punished, and
other officers
against the
kings peace
and iustice.

Forseits.

Nic. Trivet.
Traile baston
this

this wisse against such misdoemenors as then were to
sed, brought to great a benefit to the realme in re-
streining such malefactorz, which greatlie (as should
seeme) disquieted the state of the commonwealth, &
haue thought god to set doone the substance of the
same, as followeth.

An extract of the foresaid writ, as it is
registred in the booke that belonged
to the abbeie of Abington.

Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis, Radulfo fi-
lio Wilhelmi, & Iohanni de Barton de
Riton salutem. Quia quamplures male-
factores, & pacis nostra perturbatores,
homicidia, depredationes, incendia, & alia damna
quamplurima nocte dieq; perpetrantes, vagantur
in boscis, parcis, & alijs locis diuersis, tam infra li-
bertates quam extra, in comitatu Eboracensi, &
ibidem receptantur in maximum periculum tam
hominum per partes illas transeuntium, quam ibi-
dem commorantium, in nostri contemptum, ac pa-
cis nostre lesionem manifestam, ut accepimus: per
quorum incursum poterunt peiora peioribus de fa-
cili euenire, nisi remedium super hoc citius appo-
natur, nos eorum malitie in hac parte obuiare, &
huiusmodi damnis & periculis praeuere volentes,
assignamus vos ad inquirendum per sacramentum
tam militum quam aliorum proborum & legalium
hominum, de contemptu predicto, tam infra liber-
tates quam extra, per quos ipsa veritas melius sciri
poterit, qui sint illi malefactores & pacis nostre
perturbatores, & eos conduxerunt & conducunt ad
verberandum, vulnerandum, male tractandū, &
interficiendum, plures de regno nostro in ferijs,
mercarijs, & alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimi-
citiis, inuidia, aut malitia. Et etiam pro eo quod in
assisi iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquisitionibus
factis de felonijs positi fuerant, & veritatem dixe-
runt: unde per conditionem huiusmodi malefacto-
rum, iuratores assisarum, iurationum, recogniti-
onum, & inquisitionum illarum, pro timore dicto-
rum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, sepius ve-
ritatem dicere, seu dictos malefactores indictare
minime ausi fuerunt, & sunt. Et ad inquirendum
de illis qui huiusmodi munera dederunt, & dant,
& quantum, & quibus, & qui huiusmodi munera
repperunt, & a quibus & qualiter, & quo modo,
& qui huiusmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt,
& manutinent in comitatu predicto, & ad ipsos
malefactores tam per vos, quam per vicecomitem
nostrum comitatus predicti arrestandos, & priso-
na nostra liberandos, & saluū & secure in eadem
per vicecomitem comitatus predicti custodiendos,
ita quod ab eadem prisoa nullo modo deliberen-
tur, sine mandato nostro speciali.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos diem
& locum, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquisitiones il-
las faciatis. Et assumpto vobiscum sufficienti posse
comitatus predicti, si necesse fuerit, dictos male-
factores coram vobis sic indictatos, arrestetis, &
ipsos prisoa nostra liberetis, in forma predicta: &
etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipsorum malefactorū
qui se subtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, postquam
de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis solenniter in-
dictati fuerint, per vicecomitem comitatus pra-
dicti, in manum nostram capiat, & ea ad opus no-
strum saluū custodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vo-
bis preceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti

nostro comitatus predicti, quod ad certos diem &
locum, quos vos prouiderere duxeritis, venire faciat,
coram vobis tot & tales, tam milites quam alios,
quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam in-
fra libertates, quam extra, per quos ipsa veritas
melius sciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes il-
los quos per inquisitionem culpabiles inuenire con-
tigerit, & quos vos sic liberaueritis, a nobis re-
cipiantur, & quorum nomina eis scire faciatis, as-
sumpto secum sufficienti posse comitatus pra-
dicti, sine dilatione arrestari, & in prisoa nostra
saluū & secure custodire faciat in forma pra-
dicta, & communitati dicti comitatus, quod si-
mul cum vicecomite predicto, vobis quotien-
scūq; opus fuerit in pramissis pareat, assistat, &
intendat, prout eis iniungetur ex parte nostra. In
cuius rei testimonium, &c. ¶ Heerevnto were
annexed certeine articles by way of instructi-
ons, of what points they should inquire, as part-
lie aboue is noted out of the addition to Mat-
thew West. but not so fullie, as in the said chro-
nicle of Abington is found expressed, and heere
for breefenesse omitted.

In the thre and thirtith yeare of his reigne, King
Edward put his sonne prince Edward in prisoa, bi-
cause that he had riotoullie broken the parke of
Walter Langton bishop of Chester; and because the
prince had done this deed by the procurement of a
lewd and wanton person, one Peers Gauaston, an
esquire of Calcoine, the king banished him the
realme, least the prince, who delighted much in his
companie, might by his euill and wanton counsell
fall to euill and naughtie rule. Mozeouer, the same
yeare, William Males was taken, and deliuered
vnto king Edward, who caused him to be brought to
London, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, he was
conueied through the streets vnto Westminster,
and there arreigned of his treason, and condemned,
and thereupon hanged, drawne and quartered, his
head was set ouer London bridge, his right side
ouer the bridge at Petuocastell upon Tine, his left
side was sent to Hertofke and there set bp, his right
leg was sent to S. Johns totowne, and his left vnto
Aberden, in which places the same were set bp for an
example of terroꝝ to others.

Also, about the same time, the king of France re-
quied the king of England by messengers and let-
ters sent vnto him, that he would banish all the Flem-
mings out of his realme, in like manner as at his
instance he had latelie before banished all the Sco-
tishmen out of France. The king of England was
contented so to do, and by that means were all the
Flemings auoided out of this land at that season, but
thortlie after, they returned againe. King Edward
accused Robert archbishop of Canturburie vnto the
pope, for that he should go about to trouble the quiet
state of the realme, and to defend and succour rebel-
lious persons, whereupon the said archbishop being
cited to the popes consistorie, was suspended from
executing his office, till he should purge himselfe by
order of law, of such crimes as were laid and oblied
against him. The king also obtined an abication of
the pope, of the oth which against his will he had ta-
ken, for the obseruing of the liberties erased by force
of him, by the earls and barons of his realme, name-
lie, touching disforrestings to be made.

This yeare, Robert Bruce, contriuing waies how
to make himselfe king of Scotland, the nine & twen-
tith day of Januarie, slue the lord John Comin at
Judfrice, whilest the kings iustices were sitting in
iudgement within the castell there, and vpon the day
of

Anno Reg. 33.
1305
Prince Ed-
ward comit-
ted to ward.
Caxton,
Fabian.

William wa-
leis taken &
put to death.
Rich. South.

N. Triuer.

Flemings
banished the
land, at con-
templation of
the king of
France.
Abington.
The archb-
shop of Can-
turburie accu-
sed by the R.
Nic. Trincer.
He is suspen-
ded.

Anno Reg. 34.
1306
John lord
Comin slaine
by Robert
Bruce.

The countesse
of Boughan
set the crowne
on Robert
Bruce his
head.

She is taken.

His punish-
ment.

An armie sent
into Scot-
land.

Prince Ed-
ward made
knight.
Three hun-
dred faith
March. West.

Prince Ed-
ward sent into
Scotland.

Robert
Bruce.

Abington.

It was the
next fundate
after midsum-
mer daie.

Rob. Bruce
put to flight
by the earle of
Penbroke.

Rob. Bruce
fled into Ken-
t.

His wife and
brother are
taken.
The earle of
Atholl taken.
Fabian.

of the Annunciation of our ladie, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland at Scone, where the countesse of Boughan, that was secretlie departed from hir husband the earle of Boughan, and had taken with hir all his great hoyses, was readie to set the crowne upon R. Bruces head, in absence of hir brother the earle of Fife, to whom (being in England) sojourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leicestershire, that office of right appertained. This countesse being afterwards taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, where other would haue had hir put to death, the king would not grant therunto, but commanded that she should be put in a cage made of wood, which was set upon the walles of the castell of Berwike, that all such as passed by night beheld hir; to tender a punishment for so great an offense. But the king counted it no honour to be seuerer against that sex whom nature tendereth, though malefactors, and therefore was content with a mild correction tending rather to some shame than smart, to recompense hir offense, whereby she procured against hir selfe no lesse reproch than she sustained, agreeable to the old saying,

Sape sum proprium fecit puer ipse flagellum.

There were present at his coronation foure bishops, five earles, and a great multitude of people of the land. Immediately upon the newes brought to the king of Bruces coronation, he sent forth a power of men, vnder the conduct of the earle of Penbroke, and of the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Robert Clifford, and others, to resist the attempts of the Scots, now readie to worke some mischief, through the encouragement of the new king. Edward prince of Wales was made knight this yeare at London upon Whitfundate, & a great number of other young bachelors with him (297 as Abington writeth) the which were sent straightwaies with the said prince towards Scotland, to ioinie with the earle of Penbroke, to resist the attempts of the new king Robert le Bruce and his complices. King Edward himselfe followed. The generall assemble of the armie was appointed at Carleill, fiftene daies after the Nativite of saint John Baptist, from thence to march forth vnder the guiding of the prince into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert le Bruce went abroad in the countries of Scotland, receiued the homages of manie Scottishmen, and got together an armie of men, with the which he approached nere to saint Johns towne, into the which the earle of Penbroke was a little before entred to defend it, with three hundred men of armes, beside footmen. Then R. Bruce sent to the earle to come out and giue battell, the earle sent vnto him word againe, that he would not fight that daie being fundate, but upon the next morow he would satisfie his request. Robert Bruce hereupon withdrew a mile backe from the towne, determining to rest himselfe and his people that night. About evening tide came the earle forth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and assailing his enemies vpon a sudden, fere diuerse per they could get their armour on their backs. Robert Bruce and others that had some space to arme themselves made some resistance for a while, but at length the Englishmen put them to the worse, so that they were constrained to flee.

The earle following the chase, pursued them euery into Kentire, not resting till he understood that a great number of them were gotten into a castell, which he besieged, in hope to haue found Robert Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the countrie. Holbert, his wife and his brother Bigell or Beall, with diuerse other were taken in this castell, and sent in safetie vnto Berwike. Also shortly after, the earle of Atholl was taken, being fled out of the same castell. ¶ But some write, that this earle

was taken in the battell last remembred, after long fight and great slaughter of Scots, to the number of seven thousand, and also that in the chase, the lord Simon de Friseill was taken, with the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasco, the abbat of Scone, and the said earle of Atholl, named sir John Chambrayes. The bishops and abbat, king Edward sent vnto pope Innocent, with report of their perjurie: but others write, that the foresaid bishops and abbat being taken indeed the same yeare, were brought into England, and there kept as prisoners within sundrie castles.

The wife of Robert le Bruce being daughter to the earle of Ulster, was sent vnto the manour of Whitwike, and there honozable used, hauing a convenient number of seruants appointed to wait on hir. The earle of Ulster hir father, in the beginning of these last wars, sent vnto king Edward two of his owne sonnes to remaine with him, in such wise as he should thinke conuenient, to assure himselfe of him, that he would attempt nothing against the English subiects. Also it was said, that the ladie hir selfe, the same daie hir husband and she should be crowned, said, that she feared they should proue but as a summer king and queene, such as in countrie towner the young folks chuse for sport to danse about maipoles. For these causes was she the more courteously used at the kings hands, as reason no lesse required.

It should appeare by Robert Fabian, that the king was present himselfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall and not his father, and that the battell was fought at Dunchell vpon the riuer of Tay. But neither the Scottish chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet (whom in the historie of this king Edward the first, we haue most folloved) make any mention, that either the king or prince should be at the foresaid battell, but that the earle of Penbroke with Robert lord Clifford, and Henrie lord Percie were sent before (as ye haue already heard) with an armie, by whome as appeareth this victorie was obtained, at a place called Methven. After this was the castell of Lochdore taken, and within it Christopher Seiton, that had married the sister of Robert le Bruce, and because he was no Scot but an Englishman borne, the king commanded that he should be led vnto Dunrisse, where he had killed one of the kings knights, and there to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

The wife of this Christopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in the monasterie of Wyrtell in Lindsey; and the daughter of Robert le Bruce, which was also taken about the same time, was sent to the monasterie of Watton. Moreover, the manour of Seiton in Whitebessford he gaue vnto the lord Edmund de Gauley, and those other lands that belonged vnto the said Christopher Seiton in Northumberland he gaue vnto the lord William Latimer. The lands that belonged to the new Scottish king he bestowed in this wise, to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, which had married one of king Edwards daughters, he gaue the lordships of Annandale, Hert & Hertnes he gaue vnto the lord Robert Clifford, sauing alwaies the right yet that belonged to the church of Durham, Totenham, and Totenhamshire; and the maner of Wrothell in the south parts he gaue to other noble men; and the earldome of Carlike which R. Bruce had holden, as by inheritance from his mother, the king gaue to the lord Henrie Percie, the earldome of Atholl he gaue to Rafe de Monthermer earle of Gloucester, who had also married (as before ye haue heard) an other of the kings daughters, after the decease of hir first husband Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester.

About the feast of saint Michell, the new Scottish king

Nic. Triuet.
March. West.

Bruce sent
his daughter
to the man.

The taking
of Robert
Bruces son.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuet.

March. West.
Methven.
The castle
of Lochdore
taken, and
Christopher
Seiton hanged
in it.
Nic. Triuet.
The last
ted.

His lands
given away
by the king.

The lands
Rob. Bruce
given away.
The earle of
Hereford.

Lord Clifford.

The lord
Ric. Percie
Rafe de
Monthermer.

The L. Percie put to flight by the Scottish king Bruce.

Regell or Rensil Bruce condemned and executed.

The earle of Atholl executed.

The summes of monie which the pope had of the archbish. of York.

The great revenues of Anthone B. of Durham.

He is kept out of the abbey at Durham.

He is summoned to appeare before the king and his council.

king Robert le Bruce returned forth of the Isles (into the which he had fled) with manie Irishmen and Scots in his companie, and remained a certeine time in Mentire, he sent certeine of his officers, to leue and gather vp the rents of the fermes due at the feast of saint Martine for such lands and possessions as they held in that countrie, wherof the lord Percie being aduertised, hasted thither; but the new king comming upon him, due certeine of his men, toke his hories and plate, with other things, and droue him into a castell, within the which he besieged him, till at length by a powler sent from king Edward, Bruce was constrained to depart. The king in this meane time was come to Lauercolf nere to Carleill, and there remained a long time. From thence he sent his iustices vnto Berwik, where they sate in iudgement vpon Regell Bruce, and the other prisoners taken with him, which were condemned to die, and so they were hanged, drawen and quartered. The earle of Atholl was conueied to London, and although he sued for pardon in respect of that he was of kin to the king, yet was he hanged vpon a gibbet higher than all the residue, his bodie burned vnder the same gibbet, and his head first cut off, was set vpon a pole ouer London bidge for example sake that traitors should looke for no pardon.

The elect archbishop of York William Grænefield was confirmed this yeare by pope Clement the first, at the cite of Lions in France, where the same pope was crowned about the same time, and held his court there, liuing chæstie by the monie which he got of bishops that came to him for their confirmations: he had of the said archbishop of York within one yeare, nine thousand and 500 markes, besides the expenses which he was at whilst he laie there, and so when this archbishop was returned into England, through pouertie he was diuised to gather monie of the persons, priests, and religious men within his prouince at two sundrie times in one yeare, as first, in name of a courtelle and gracious beneuolence, and the second time by waie of an aid.

Afterward, pope Clement ordeined Anthone bishop of Durham, patriarch of Jerusalem, dispensing with him, so as he held still the bishopricke of Durham, notwithstanding his other promotion; and this was, because the bishop was rich, and the pope poore. For this bishop might dispend in yearelie revenues by purchases & inheritances, besides that belonged to his miter, aboue fise thousand marks, and he gaue great rewards to the pope, and to his cardinals, by means wherof he obtained in suit against the prior of Durham, so that he had the charge and ouersight of the monastirie of Durham, both the spirituall gouernement and tempozall, through informing the pope, that the prior was not able in discretion to rule the house. At his returning home, he caused a crosse of siluer and gilt, adornoed with an image of the crucifix, to be borne afore him.

But where he appointed certeine persons as his deputies to enter into the priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof in place of the prior, the monks shut the gates against them, appealing to the pope, and pretending the kings protection, which they had purchased. But those that thus came in the bishops name, accursed the monks, & so departed. The king herewith was higlye offended, so that he caused them to answer the matter afore the iustices of his bench, and for their presumption in pronouncing the curse, without making the king priue to their doings, they were put to their fines. And whereas the bishop was summoned to appeare before the king in person at a certeine daie, he made default, and departing out of the realme, got backe againe to the pope, contrarie to the kings prohibition: whereupon

the liberties of the see of Durham were seized into the kings hands, and the king placed his iustices and chancelor there, and in the yeare next ensuing, he exacted of the tenants of the archbishopricke, the thirtieth partie of their goods, and otherwise bered them with sundrie talages.

The conclusion of this matter was this, that the prior was cited by the pope, to appeare at his consistory, whether he went, hauing the kings letters in his fauour directed to the pope; whereupon, when the pope had examined the matter, and heard the prior speake in his owne person, he perceiued him to be otherwise than he was informed (a sober and discret man) and therefore ressozed him againe to the gouernment of his house; but he remained in the popes court, till after the kings death, and finallie died there himselfe in the yeare 1307. But now to returne to other doings of king Edward. We find, that whilst he lay still at Lauercolf, he gaue to the earle of Warwik Bernards castell, the which he had by escheat, through forfeiture thereof made by John Balioll late king of Scotland. He also toke and seized into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

In the octaues of S. Hilarie, the king held a parliament at Carleill, in the which, by the paires of the realme, great complaint was made of the oppressions done to churches, abbeies, and monasteries, by reason of payments latelie raised and tared by one maister William or Guillemo Testa the chæpleine. Commandement therefore was giuen to the same chæpleine, that from thenceforth he should not leaue anie such payments; and for further remedie, messengers were made forth vnto the pope, to declare vnto him the inconuenience thereof. This Testa was sent from pope Clement into England with bulles, in the contents wherof it appeared, that the pope had reserued to himselfe the first fruits of one yeares revenues of euerie benefice that fell void by anie manner of meanes within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and likewise of all abbeies, priories, and monasteries; so that it may well be said of him & his retinue, according to the proceesse of all their actions, as it was said of old,

Curia Romana non querit ouem sine lana.

But the king and lords of the land thought it against reason, that the pope should take and receiue the profits of those abbeies and monasteries, which had bene founded by their predecessors for the seruice of God, and the maintenance of almesdeeds, and god hospitalitie to be kept: and so the pope changed his purpose, touching abbeies, but granting to the king the tenth of the English churches for two yeares, he obtained the first fruits of the same churches for himselfe, as before he required. In the same parliament were statutes made concerning religious men, which had their head and chæfest houses in foreign regions.

There came also at the same time, a cardinall from the pope, named Petrus Hispanus, to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixt the prince of Wales, and the French kings daughter; for the same was delayed, by reason that all couenants were not kept on the French kings behalfe, touching the deliuerie of the towne of Calcoine. For whereas in times past, the French king had giuen one of those towne that were taken from the Englishmen, named Bauleon, vnto a French knight; he kept the same still, and would not deliuer it now at the French kings commandement, where-through (as was said) the marriage had bene hitherto deferred. The same cardinall by vertue of his bull, would haue had of euerie cathedrall church, colledge, abbey, and priorie, twelue marks of sterling monie; and of euerie person of parish churches eight pence of euerie

The conclusion of the strife betwixt the bishop and monks of Durham.

Bernards castell giuen to the earle of Warwik.

Anno, Reg. 35. 1307. A parliament at Carleill.

William Testa the popes chæpleine inhibited to leaue monie.

Abington.

A statute against the religious persons.

Petrus Hispanus a cardinall sent fro the pope.

The cause of his coming.

Moth. West. His demand of monie of religious houses.

rie

The cardinal
preacheth.

He accuseth
Rob. Bruce.
Nic. Trivet.

Thomas
Bruce and
Alexander
Bruce taken.

Math. West.

Tho. Bruce
executed.
Alexander
Bruce & Re-
ginald Cra-
ford executed.

The earle of
Denbroke
purto fight.

Bruce belie-
geth the earle
of Gloucester.

He is chased
fro that siege.

The death of
K. Edward
the first.
He is buried
at westmin-
ster.
His issue.

ric marke of his revenues. But the English clea-
re appeared from this cracion, so that by the king
and his counsell it was ordeined, that he should haue
no more than in times past cardinall Ethobon did
receiue, that is to saie, the halfe of his demaund. More-
ouer, this cardinall being at Carleill, and hauing
made a sermon in praise of peace, vpon the conclu-
sion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and
the French kings daughter, in the end he reuersed
himselfe and the other bishops which were present,
and then with candels light, and causing the bells to
be rung, they accuseth in terrible wise Robert Bruce
the blasper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his
partakers, aiders and maintainers.

Peuerthelesse, Robert Bruce in this meane while
slept not his businesse, but ranging abroad in the
countrie, sue manie that would not obeye him, and
sent forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a
knight, and Alexander that was a priest, with part
of his armie into an other quarter of the countrie, to al-
lure the people vnto his obedience, partlie with gen-
tlenesse, and partlie with menaces. But the English
men came vpon them in the night and toke them
both, so that being brought before the iustices they
were condemned, and there vpon hanged, drawen
and quartered. ¶ Some write, that Duncan Spag-
drell, a man of great power in Galloway, toke these
two brethren prisoners, together with Reginald
Crawford (being the principall) on the ninth daie
of Februarie, as they with certeine other captiues
and men of war came by sea, and landed in his coun-
trie, vpon whome being seuen hundred men, he with
three hundred or fewe about that number boldlie gaue
the onset, and not onelie toke the said three persons
prisoners, sore wounded as they were, with diuerse
other, but also sue Spalcolme Spakille a lord of Kent-
frie, and two Irish lords, whose heads, and the fore-
said prisoners, he presented vnto king Edward, who
caused Thomas Bruce to be hanged, drawen and
quartered, but the other two were onelie hanged and
quartered at Carleill, where their heads were set by
aloft on the castell and gates of the citie.

After Easter their brother Robert Bruce, calling
himselfe king of Scotland, and hauing now aug-
mented his armie with manie souldiers of the out-
Ales, fought with the earle of Denbroke, and put him
to flight, and sue some of his men though not manie.
Within a few daies after, he chased also the earle of
Gloucester, into the castell of Aire, and besieged him
within the same, till an armie was sent from king
Edward to the rescue: for then the said Robert was
constrained to flee, and the Englishmen followed, till
he got into the woods and marshes, where they might
come nere him without manifest danger, to chase
themselves awaie. ¶ The king of England, min-
ding to make a full conquest of the Scots, and not to
leane off untill he had wholie subdued them, sent his
commissions into England, commanding all those
that ought him seruaice, to be redie at Carleill with-
in thre weekes after Midsummer. He sent his sonne
Edward into England, that vpon knowledge had
what the French king did touching the agreement, he
might accordingly proceed in the marriage to be
made with his daughter.

After the prince was departed from the campe,
his father king Edward was taken with sore sick-
nesse, yet he remoued from Carleill, where the same
sicknesse first tooke him, vnto Burrough vpon Sand,
and there the daie after being the seuenth daie of Ju-
lie, he ended his life, after he had reigned 34 yeares,
six moneths and one and twentie daies. He liued 68
yeares and twentie daies. His bodie was conueied
to London, and in the church of Westminster lieth
buried. He had issue by his first wife queene Elianoz,

foore sons, John, Henrie, Alfonso, & Edward which
succeeded him, the other died long before their father.
Also five daughters; Elianoz, Ione, Margaret, and
Elizabeth, were bestowed in marriage as before in
this booke is exprest: the first named Marie became
a nunne. By his second wife queene Margaret, he
had two sonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Ed-
mund of Woodstocke, with one daughter named
Margaret after hir mother.

He was tall of stature, some what blacke of colour,
strong of bodie, and leane, auoiding grossenesse, with
continual exercise, of comelie fauour, and iettie eyes,
the which when he waied angrie, would suddenly be-
come reddish, and seme as though they sparkled with
fire. The haire of his head was blacke and curled,
he continued for the most part in good health of bo-
die, and was of a stout stomack, which neuer failed
him in time of aduersitie. Moreouer, he had an ex-
cellent good wit, for to whatsoeuer he applied his stu-
die, he easilie attained to the vnderstanding thereof:
wise he was and vertuous, an earnest enemy of the
high and presumptuous insolencie of priests, the
which he iudged to proceed chiefe of too much wealth
and riches: and therefore, he deuised to establish the
statute of Mortmaine, to be a bide to their inordi-
nate lusts and riotous excess. He built the abbey of
the vale roiall in Cheshire, he was a constant friend,
but if he once toke displeasure or hatred against any
person, he would not easilie receiue him into fauour
again: whilst he had any vacant time from weighty
affaires, he spent lightlie the same in hunting.

Towards the maintenance of his warres and o-
ther charges, besides the subsidies which he leuied of
his people, and other reuenues coming to his cof-
fers, he had great helpe, by reason of the silver mines
which in his daies were found in Deuonshire, and
occupied greatlie to his profit, as in the records re-
mainin in the exchequer, concerning the accompts
and allowances about the same it doth and may ap-
peare. For in the accompts of master William de
Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixt the twelfth
daie of August, and the last of October, in the 22
yeare of this king Edwards reigne, there was tried
and fined out at Spartineslowe in Deuonshire by
times, so much of fined silver, as amounted to the
summe of 370 pounds weight, which being brought
to London, was there refined by certeine finers, that
plate might be forged thereof, for the ladie Elianoz
duches of Bar, and daughter to the said king, married
in the yeare then last past to the duke of Bar, as be-
fore ye haue heard.

In the 23 yeare of his reigne, there was fined at
the place also, said 521 pounds & ten shillings weight
of silver by times, which was also brought to Lon-
don. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, there were taken
by 337 miners, within the wapentake of the Peake
in Darbithire, and brought into Deuonshire, to
worke there in those silver mines, as appeareth by the
allowance demanded by the said master William de
Wimondham in his roll of accounts, deliuered that
yeare into the exchequer: and there was brought from
thence to London the same yeare of silver fined and
cast in wedges 700 foure pounds, three shillings, one
penie weight. In the 25 yeare of his reigne, there
were thre hundred and fourtie eight miners brought
again out of the Peake into Deuonshire, and out
of Wales there were brought also 25 miners, which
all were occupied about those silver mines, beside o-
thers of the selfe countrie of Deuonshire, and other
places. Also Will. de Aulton cleahe, keeper of the
kings mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, was
accountant of the issues and profits of the kings
mines there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26 of
his reigne, till the eighteenth of Aprill, Anno 27, and
prelud

voided by his account, both of the silver and lead.

But now to conclude with this noble prince king Edward the first, he was sure not onely valiant but also politike, labouring to bring this divided Ile, into one entier monarchie, which he went verie nere to haue achieved, for whereas he was fullie bent to make a conquest of Scotland, in like case as he had already done of Wales, if he had liued any longer time to haue dispatched Robert le Bruce, that onely stood in his waie, it was verie likelie that he should haue found none other to haue raised banner against him about the quarrell or title to the claime of that realme. For as he was a right warlike prince of him selfe, so was he furnished with capitains and souldiers answerable to his desire, who being able to lead and command them of him selfe, had them at length obedient enough to serue him, although (as partlie yet haue heard) some of the peeres shewed themselves at times disobedient and stubborne, whom yet in the end he tamed well enough, as the earles of Hereford and Dorset, the which in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne resigned their castles and manours into his hands, as by the records of the tower it further may appeare.

Now to follow, as in other kings I haue done heretofore for learned men, these I find to haue flourished in this kings daies, Henrie de Henna a Carmelite frier, Godwine the chanon of the church of Salisbury, Adam de Marisco or Mareis bozne in Summersetshire an excellent diuine as he was reputed in those daies, Gregorie Huntington a monke of Kamesey verie expert in the tonges; Seuall archbishop of Poike a man singularlie learned and stout in defending the cause of his cleargie against the pope, Haimo de Feuertham, Peter Swanington, Helias Trickingham, Helias de Cuesham, Radulfe Boeking bozne in Suffex, Alfhred surnamed Anglicus, James Cisterciensis, William of Ware, Robert Drenford, Thomas Docking, John surnamed Grammaticus, Robert Dodeford; but the more part of these are rather to be ascribed vnto the time of Henrie the third, the father of this king Edward, where these that follow are thought to flourish in the time of king Edwards reigne, after the decesse of his father king Henrie, Thomas Spot a chonographer, Peter de Ickeham a Kentishman bozne as Bale thinketh, John Beckton a doctor of both the

lawes, William Vanaberge a Carmelite frier, prouinciall gouernour of his order here in England; Robert Biltwarbie bishop of Canturburie, and after made a cardinall and bishop of Portua; Gilbert surnamed Pagnus, a monke of the Cisterciur order; Helias Ros, Walter Kicluste, Hugh le Cuesham, John Cuesden a writer of annales, whome I haue partlie followed in this kings life; William Pagham, Henrie Essebozne, John de Haida, Roger Bacon a Franciscane frier, an excellent philosopher, and likewise a mathematician, John Derlington a dominike frier, John Chelmston, Thomas Bosfale a Dorsetshire man bozne, Gregorie Cairugent a monke of Glocester a writer of annales, Gregorie de Bedlington, Thomas Bungey a frier minor bozne in Dorsetshire, an excellent mathematician, prouinciall ruler of his order here in England, he flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, although there were another of the same name that liued in the time of king Edward the third, Hugh de Sandchester a Dominike frier, & prouinciall gouernour of his order here in England, Richard Knappwell a Dominike frier, John Beckham bozne in the dioces of Chichester, a Franciscane frier, excellentlie learned, as by his woorkes it appeareth, he was aduanced by pope Honorius the third, to the archbishops see of Canturburie; Thomas de Illey a Suffolk man bozne, and a write of Carmelite frier in the house of Cipestwich, Michaell surnamed Scot, but bozne in the bishoprike of Durham (as Leland saith) an excellent physician, and likewise verie expert in the mathematical, Hugh de Petuocastell a frier minor, professed in the same towne, Thomas Sutton a blacke frier, that is of the order of S. Dominike, John Kead an historiographer, William de la Mare a frier minor, Thomas Wiche a chanon of Olney in Drenford, Simon de Gaunt, William Hothun, prouinciall of the friers Dominiks in England, John de Hyde a monke of Winchester, Robert Crouch, a cordelier, or a Franciscane frier, Richard Wileton a frier minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke frier, William Lodington a doctor of diuinitie, and a Carmelite frier in Stanford, John Fibertie or Beuer, a monke of Westminster, William Wakefeld bozne in Geshire, in a market towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke frier by profession, and an excellent philosopher.

Thus farre Edward the first, surnamed
Longshanks.



Hh.j.

Edward



Edward the second, the sonne of Edward the first.

1307

Continuation
of Matt. West.The bishop of
Conventrie
committed
to prison.Officers re-
moued.

Polydor.

Piers de
Caueson.

Edward, the second of that name, the sonne of Edward the first, bozne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the seauenth day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1307, of the world 5273, of the coming of the Sarons 847, after the conquest 241, about the tenth yere of Albert emperor of Rome, and the two and twentieth of the fourth Philip, surnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yere after that Robert le Bruce had taken upon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers cosple was conueied from Burgh upon Sands, into the abbey of Waltham, there to remaine, till things were ready for the buriall, which was appointed at Westminster.

Within three daies after, when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield (thorowh whose complaint Piers de Caueson had bene banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparation for the same buriall, he was upon commandment from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after delivered to the hands of the said Piers, being then returned againe into the realme, who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tene-ments were seized to the kings vse, but his mouera-bles were given to the foresaid Piers. Walter Beig- nold that had bene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treasurer, and after when the see of Worcester was void, at the kings instance he was by the pope to that bishoprike preferred. Also, Rafe bishop of London was deposed from the office of lord Chancellor, and John Langton bishop of Chichester was thereto restored. Likewise, the barons of the exchequer were remoued, and other put in their places. And Americ de Valence earle of Penbrooke was discharged of the wardenship of Scotland, and John de Britaine placed in that office, whom he also made earle of Richmond.

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered manners brought himselfe and manie others unto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightnesse, yet being restrained with the prudent aduertisements of certaine of his coun- cellors, to the end he might shew some likelihood of good p^{ro}vide, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, ver- tue and modestie; but yet he could not thoroughlie be so bidden, but that forthwith he began to plaie diuers wanton and light parts, at the first indeed not out- ragiouslie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For hauing reuoked againe into England his old mate the said Piers de Caueson, he receiued him

into most high fauour, creating him earle of Corn- wall, and lord of Span, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, though whose com- panie and societie he was suddenly so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then vsing the said Piers as a procurer of his disordered doings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to set no- thing by their instructions, and to take small heed un- to the good gouernement of the commonwealth, so that within a while, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous exerce: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Piers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ri- balds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaing, banqueting, and in such o- ther filthie and dishonorable exercises: and more- ouer, desirous to aduance those that were like to him selfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwile, both to the giuer and the receiuer, sith

*Sufficiens honor est homini, cum dignum honore est,
Qui datur indigno non est honor, est onus, imo
Ludibrium, veluti in scena cum ludine est rex,
Quippe honor est soli virtuti debita merces.*

About the thirtieth day of October, a parlement was holden at Po:thampton, in the which it was or- deined by the kings appointment, that the come of his father king Edward should be still currant, not- withstanding the basenelle thereof, as some reported it, and therefore it was moued in the parlement to haue it disannulled. Also, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers cosple, which was sollempnely conueied from Waltham, and brought to Westmin- ster the seauen and twentieth day of October follow- ing, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreover, at the same parlement, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornwall Piers de Caueson, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which he had by his wife the coun- tess Joane de Acres the kings sister, which marri- age was sollempnized on All hallowes day next in- suing.

About the two and twentieth of Januarie, the king sailed ouer into France, and at Ballongne in Pic- cardie on the foure and twentieth day of Januarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Cal- coine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, married Isabell the French kings daughter, and on the se- uenth of Februarie he returned with her into Eng- land, and coming to London, was iolifullie recei- ued of the citizens, and on the five and twentieth daie

The pre-
next insin-
the 31st of
April was
ken to the
bert 1307.

Parlement
at Po:thampton.

Parlement
at Po:thampton.

The king
left out of
France.

He was re-
ceiued there
the 11th of
Februarie.

The king and
quene crowne
ned.

The Walsin.
Sir John
Blackwell
sawethred
and thrust to
death.
Continuation
of N. Truett.

The order
taken for the
apprehension
of the repleiers.

of Februarye, being Shrouesundate in the leape
yeare, they were solemnly crowned by the bishop of
Winchester, because that Robert the archbishop of
Canturburie was not as then within the realme.
There was such ptease and throng of people at this
coronation, that a knight called sir John Bakewell
alias Blackwell, was thrust or crowded to death. On
the day of the circumcission this yeare, a great tem-
pest of thunder and lightning began about evenlong
time, that continued the most part of the night fol-
lowing.

On wednesday after the Epiphanie, the knights
templers in England were apprehended all in one
day by the kings commandement, vpon suspicion of
hainous crimes & great enormities by them practi-
sed, contrarie to the articles of the christian faith. The
order of their apprehension was on this wise. The
king directed his writs vnto all and euerie the shir-
riffes of counties within the realme, that they should
giue summonis to a certeine number of substantiall
persons, knights or other men of god accompt, to be
afore them at certeine places within their gouerne-
ments, named in the same writs, on the sunday the
morrow after the Epiphanie then next insuing, and
that the said shiriffes faile not to be there the same
day in their owne persons, to execute that which in o-
ther writs to them directed, and after to be sent,
should be contained. The date of this writ was the
fiftenth of December.

The second writ was sent by certeine chapeins, in
which the shiriffes were commanded vpon the ope-
ning of the same, forthwith to receiue an oth in pre-
sence of the said chapeins, to put in execution all
that was therein contained, and not to disclose the
contents to any man, till they had executed the same
with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth
of those persons, whom by vertue of the first writ they
had summoned to appeare afore them. An other writ
there was also framed & sent by the same chapeins,
by the which the said shiriffes were commanded to
attach by their bodies, all the templers within the
precinct of their gouernements, and to seise all their
lands and goods into the kings hands, together with
their writings, charters, deeds, and miniments, and
to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in
presence of the warden of the place, whether he were
hoyther of that order, or any other, & in presence of ho-
nest men being neighbors; of which indenture, one
part to remaine in the custodie of the said warden,
and the other with the shiriffe, vnder his seale that
should make seizure of the said goods: and further,
that the said goods and chattels should be put in safe
custodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell should
be kept and found of the premisses as should same
most expedient, and that their lands and possessions
should be manured and tilled to the uttermost con-
moditie.

Further, that the persons of the said templers be-
ing attached, in manner as before is said, should be
safely kept in some competent place out of their
owne houses, but not in streight prison, but in such
order, as the shiriffes might be sure of them to bring
them forth when he should be commanded, to be
found in the meane time according to their estate of
their owne goods so seised, and hereof to make a true
certificat vnto the treasurer and barons of the exche-
quer, what they had done concerning the premisses,
declaring how manie of the said templers they had
attached, with their names, and what lands and goods
they had seised by vertue of this precept. The date of
these two last writs was from Wistec the 20 of De-
cember, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the
exchequer, was the morrow after the Purification.
There were writs also directed into Ireland, as we

haue there made mention, and likewise vnto John
de Britaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of
Scotland, & to Cusace de Cotesbach chamberclene
of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iustice of
Westwales, and to Hugh Albighle alias Audle ius-
tice of Northwales, to Robert Holland iustice of
Chester, vnder like forme and maner as in Ireland
we haue expressed.

The malice which the lords had conceiued against
the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more in-
creased through the high bearing of him, being now ad-
uanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman
and a stout, he would not once yeild an inch to any of
them, which worthilie procured him great enuie a-
mongst the chiefeest perces of all the realme, as sir
Henrie Lacie earle of Lincoln, sir Guic earle of
Warwike, and sir Almer de Valence earle of Pen-
broke, the earles of Gloucester, Hereford, Arundell,
and others, which vpon such wrath and displeasure as
they had conceiued against him, thought it not con-
uenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that
the kings mind might hapilie be altered into a bet-
ter purpose, being not altogether conuerted into a be-
nignous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if
the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

Herevpon they assembled together in the parle-
ment time, at the new temple, on saturday next be-
fore the feast of saint Dunstan, and there ordeined
that the said peers should abiure the realme, and de-
part the same on the morrow after the feast of saint
John Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne
into the same againe at any time then after to come.
To this ordinance the king (although against his
will) because he saw himselfe and the realme in dan-
ger, gaue his consent, and made his letters patents
to the said earles and lords, to witnesse the same.

Tho. Wals.
Continuation
of N. Truett.

The tenour of the kings let- ters patents.



*N*otum vobis facimus per presentes,
quod amodo usque ad diem dominus
Petrus de Gauesdon regnum nostrum
est abiuraturus & exsturus, videli-
cet in crastino natiuitatis S. Iohan-
nis Baptiste proximo sequenti: nos in quantum
nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permitte-
mus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo
poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum for-
mam a prelatibus, comitibus, & baronibus regni no-
stri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confir-
matam, plenarie perficiatur. In cuius rei testimo-
nium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.
Datum apud Westm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni
nostri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the
presence of all the noble men of this land, the day
and yeare abovesaid. The archbishop of Cantur-
burie, being lately returned from Rome, where he
had remained in exile in the late deceased kings
daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said
peers accursed, if he taried within the realme lon-
ger than the appointed time, and likewise all those
that should aide, helpe, or mainteine him, as also if he
should at any time hereafter returne againe into
the land. To conclude, this matter was so follow-
ed, that at length he was constrained to withdraw
himselfe to Bristol, and so by sea as a banished man
to saile into Ireland.

The king being sore offended herewith, as he that
fauoured the earle more than that he could be with-
out

Anno Reg. 2.
The earle of
Cornewall
banished the
realme.

The kings
fauour to-
wards the
earle of Corn-
wall.

Polydor.
Fabian.
The earle of
Cornwall
deputie of
Ireland.
Hen. Marle.

out his companie, threatened the lords to be reuenged for this displeasure, and ceased not to send into Ireland vnto Piers, comforting him both with frendlie messages, and rich presents, and as it were to shew that he meant to reteine him still in his fauour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king should be so inchant- ed with the said earle, and so addict himselfe, or rather fix his hart vpon a man of such a corrupt humor, a gainst whome the heads of the noblest houses in the land were bent to deuise his ouerthrow: but the lesse maruell it is that the king bare him such a feruent affection, and set his hart vpon him, considering that

*vetus auctorum sententia, mores
Quod similes, simile & studium sunt fomes amoris,
sic vanus vanum, studiosum sic studiosum
Diligat, & socios aduenit animalia ceteris.*

The lords perceiuing the kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lauishly as before, thought with themselves that it might be that the king would both amend his passed trade of life, and that Piers being restored home, would rather aduise him there- to, than follow his old maners, considering that it might be well perceiued, that if he continued in the incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times past he had done, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Here- vpon to reteine amitie, as was thought on both sides, Piers by consent of the lords was restored home againe (the king meeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and reioicing for the time, although the malice of the lords was such, that such ioy lasted not long.

In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a coun- cell holden at London against the templers, the which counsell indured from the beginning of Aprile, till June. In this counsell they confessed the same, but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, ex- cept two or three ribalds that were amongst them: but because they could not cleare themselves, they were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within certeine monasteries. The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the lords against Piers de Cauesion, placed him for his more safetie in Wambourgh cas- tle, bearing the prelates and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to prison for their plea- sures.

This yeare also there were ordinances made for the state and gouernement of the realme, by the pre- lates, earles, and barons, which were confirmed with the sentence of excommunication against all them that should go about to breake the same. The king neither allowed of them nor obserued them, although he had confirmed them with his seale, and sent them to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be regi- stred in perpetuall memorie thereof. The king indeed was lewdlie led, for after that the earle of Cornwall was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no changeling (as writers doe affirme) but through sup- port of the kings fauour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he seemed to disdain all the peeres & barons of the realme. Also after the old sort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and hauing the custodie of the kings iewels and treasure, he toke out of the iewel-house a table, & a paire of tre- sseles of gold, which he belluered vnto a merchant cal- led Aimerie de Friscobald, commanding him to conueie them ouer the sea into Gascoine. This table was iudged of the common people, to belong some- time vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme.

The king this yeare raised a great power to go

into Scotland. And about the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, hauing with him Piers de Cauesion earle of Cornwall, and the earles of Gloucester and Warren, he came to Berwik, which towne he cau- sed to be fortified with a strong wall, and a mightie deepe ditch, and although the other earles would not come to serue him in that voyage, by reason of a new variance risen amongst them, yet he marched forth into Scotland, to seeke his aduersarie Robert le Bruce: but Robert refusing the battell, kept him forth of the waie, so that the king was driuen to re- turne to Berwik againe, without meeting with his enimie. And he was no sooner come backe, but the said Robert and his people entred into Louthian, soe molesting such as were yelded to the king of Eng- land. The king aduertised therof, followed them, but could doe no good, & so returned. The earle of Corn- wall late at Rockesburgh, and the earle of Glouc- ester at Roxham to defend those parts. After Can- dlemasse, the king sent the earle of Cornwall, with two hundred men of armes to St. Johns towne, be- yond the Scottish sea, who receiued to the kings peace all those that inhabited beyond that sea vnto the mountains. The king late still at Berwik, but the earles of Gloucester and Warren, after the begin- ning of Lent, rode into the forest of Solihirke, and receiued the foresters & other the inhabitants there to the kings peace. ¶ In this fift yeare of the kings reigne, but somewhat before this present, in the yeare 1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincoln gouernour of England in the kings absence departed this life, in whose place the earle of Gloucester was chosen gou- ernour, and therefore he returned not into England. This erle of Lincoln was buried in the new towke at Paules. When on his death bed, he requested (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had married his daughter, that in any wise he should stand with the other lords in defense of the common- welth, and to mainteine his squarell against the earle of Cornwall, which request earle Thomas faithfu- lie accomplished: for by the perswade of him, and of the earle of Warwick chesellie, the said earle of Corn- wall was at length taken and beheaded (as after shall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the first vpon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lin- colne, Warwick, and Penbrooke, to forese that the foresaid Piers returned not againe into England, least by his euill example he might induce his sonne the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had already done.

Thomas earle of Lancaster came toward Ber- wik, to doe homage to the king for the earldome of Lincoln fallen to him in right of his wife, now af- ter the deceasse of his father the late earle of Lin- colne. But he was counselled not to go forth of the realme to the king, so that thereupon rose no small displeasure, and great doubt lest there would haue followed ciuill warres about it. Neuerthelesse, at length the king was perswaded to come ouer the wa- ter vnto Hagerston, foure miles distant from Ber- wik, and there receiued homage of the earle, and so they continued frends, and for that time departed a- sunder in louing maner. The lords perceiuing the mischaeffe that dastie followed and increased by that naughtie man (as they toke it) the earle of Corn- wall, assembled at Lincoln, and there toke counsell together, and concluded effionies to banish him out of the realme, and so thereupon hostilely after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other haue, within the quindene of saint Epichaell, he was eriled into Flanders, soe against the kings will and plea- sure, who made such account of him, that (as appea- red) he could not be quiet in mind without his com- panie, & therfore about Cantlemasse he effionies re- nosed

Rich. Sc.
Anno Reg.

Berwick
taken.

The king
red into
Scotland.

1309
Anno Reg. 3.
Hen. Marle.

1310
Anno Reg. 4.
The addition
to Triuer.

The earle of
Cornwall
placed in
Wambourgh
castell.

Polydor.

Caxton.

Fabian.
Hen. Marle.

Rich. Sc.
The earle
of Cornwall
banished
Flanders.

uoked him home.

But he being nothing at all amended of those his
enill manners, rather demeaned himselfe worse
than before he had done, namelie towards the lords,
against whome using reprochfull speech, he called the
earle of Gloucester bastard, the earle of Lincolne lat-
tie decailed burthen bellie, the earle of Warwike the
blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster
churle. Such lords and other more that were thus a-
bused at this earle of Cornwells hands, determined
to be reuenged vpon him, and to dispatch the realme
of such a wicked person: and thereupon assembling
their powers together, came towards Herecastell,
whither the king from Doke was remoued, and now
hearing of their approach, he got him to Winmouth;
where the quene laie, and understanding there that
Herecastell was taken by the lords, he leauing the
quene behind him, toke shipping, and sailed from
thence with his dearelie beloued familiar the earle
of Cornwell, into Scarbourgh, where he left him
in the castell, and rode himselfe towards Warwike.
The lords hearing where the earle of Cornwell was,
made thither with all speed, and besieging the castell,
at length constrained their enemie to yeld himselfe
into their hands, requiring no other condition, but
that he might come to the kings presence to talke
with him.

Maister Fox,
Thom. Wall.

The earle of
Cornwall
taken.

The kings
request for
his life.

The earle of
Dorset
sent to the
other lords.

Continuation
of Truer.

Genera heath
of Sauerbach
The earle of
Cornwall be-
headed.

The kings
displeasure.

The king hearing that his best beloued familiar
was thus apprehended, sent to the lords, requiring
them to spare his life, and that he might be brought
to his presence, promising withall that he would
see them fullie satisfied in all their requests against him.
Whereupon the earle of Dorset persuaded with
the barons to grant to the kings desire, vndertaking
vpon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the
king and backe againe to them, in such state and con-
dition as he receiued him. When the barons had
consented to his motion, he toke the earle of Corne-
wall with him to bring him where the king laie; and
continuing to Wedington, left him there in safe kee-
ping with his seruants, whilst he for one night
went to visit his wife, lying not farre from thence.

The same night it chanced, that Gise erle of War-
wike came to the verie place where the erle of Corne-
wall was left, and taking him from his keepers,
brought him into Warwike, where incontinently it
was thought best to put him to death, but that some
doubting the kings displeasure, aduised the resolute
to staie, and so they did, till at length an ancient
grauie man amongst them exhorted them to be the
occasion now offered, and not to let slip the meane to
deliuer the realme of such a dangerous person, that
had wrought so much mischief, and might turne
them all to such perill; as afterwards they should not
be able to auoid, nor find shift how to remedie it. And
thus persuaded by his words, they caused him streit-
waies to be brought forth to a place called Blacke-
lode, other wise named by most writers, Caneulle
heath, where he had his head smitten from his shoul-
ders, the twentieth day of June being the daie. A
full reward for so cornecfull and contemptuous a
merchant, as in respect of himselfe (because he was in
the princes fauour) esteemed the Nobles of the land
as men of such inferioritie, as that in comparison of
him they deserued no little tot or nite of honour.
But to the vice of ambition, accompanied with a ra-
ble of other outrages, euera reprochfull with an
enueiling mark of Infamie, which he pulled by the
lenit meane on himselfe with the robes of his owne
letwemess, and could not escape this fatal fall. For

Ad male patrata sunt ara theatralia. All
When the king had knowledge hereof, he was
wonderfullie displeased with those lords that had
thus put the said earle unto death, making his voto

that he would see his death reuenged, so that the ran-
cour which before was kindled betwixt the king and
those lords, began now to blase abroad, and spred so
farre, that the king euer sought occasion how to
worke them displeasure. This yeare, the thirteenth of
November, the kings eldest sonne named Edward
(which succeeded his father in the kingdome by the
name of Edward the third) was borne at Walsinforpe,
King Edward now after that the foresaid Piers Ca-
uention the earle of Cornwell was dead, nothing
reformed his manners, but as one that detested the
counsell and admonition of his Nobles, chose such to
be about him, and to be of his priue counsell; which
were knowne to be men of corrupt and most wicked
living (as the writers of that age report) amongst
these were two of the Spensers, Hugh the father,
and Hugh the sonne, which were notable instruments
to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie
and euill rule.

Anno Reg. 6.
Edw. 3.
third borne.

Polydor.

The Spens-
ers.

By the counsell therefore of these Spensers, he
was wholie lead and gouerned: therewith manie
were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbi-
shop of Canturburie, who foresaw that mischief
was like to insue: and therefore to prouide some re-
medie in time, he procured that a parlement was cal-
led at London. In the which manie good ordinances
and statutes were deuised and established, to oppresse
the riots, misgouernance, and other mischeifes which
as then were vsed: and to keepe those ordinances, the
king first, and after his lords receiued a solempne oth,
that in no wise neither he nor they should breake
them. By this meane was the state of the realme
newlie restored, and new counsellours placed about
the king. But he neither regarding what he had
sworne, neither louing the force of an oth, obserued
afterwards none of those things, which by his oth he
had bound himselfe to obserue. And no maruell: for
suertie (as it should seeme by report of Thomas de la
More) the lords trusted him too much, and beyond
the bounds of reason, causing him to receiue to be a-
bout him whome it pleased them to appoint. For the
younger Spenser, who in place of the earle of Corn-
wall was ordeined to be his chamberlaine, it was
knowne to them well enough, that the king bare no
good will at all to him at the first, though afterwards
through the prudent policie, and diligent industrie of
the man the quickie crept into his fauour, and that
further than those that preferred him could haue
wished.

Fabian.
A parlement.

The Hugh
Spenser the
sonne at the
first not fau-
ored of the K.

But now to our purpose. About the same time, to-
wit, vpon the eleventh of Aprill, the foresaid Ro-
bert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life,
nine seuer peeres after his first entrance into the go-
uernment of that see. After him was Walter bishop
of Worcester translated vnto the see of Canturbu-
rie, and was the same and fourth archbishop that had
ruled the same. Also William the archbishop of
York deceased, and one William Gifford succeeded
him the two & fortieth archbishop that had gouerned
the see. This archbishop Gifford, though he was
most studious of things pertaining to religion, be-
louing almost his whole time about the same, yet
was he leueller, and was not vnacquainted of that which he
longed to the aduancement of the commonwealth,
and therefore being at London vpon a time, Simon
the elect bishop of Ely theene came to visit him, that he
might be collected at of him: wherefore this archbi-
shop gaue continuance to John the bishop of
Carlisle, to consecrate the said Simon, and in his
name to receiue of him his oth of obedience, with
commandement to the said bishop of Carlisle to be like-
wise to do.

Continuation
of Truer.

I. 3. 1. 3. 0

Polydor.

The bishop of
Ely theene
consecrated at
York by the
bishop of
Carlisle.

The king and quene this yeare in Aprill went
into France; where they were present in the bat-
tle of Herry.

Continuation
of Truer.
Thom. Wall.

Anno Reg. 7.
Record. Tur.

Hen. Marle.
Marriages.

1314
The success
of Robert
Bruce.

The king of
England pas-
sed into
Scotland.

The English
men chased.

The king
escaped.

The battell
of Banock-
burne.

The great
slaughter of
Englishmen.
Polydor.

Fabian.
Croxden.
Addition to
Triuer and
Marth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 8.
den at York.

Sir Peter
Spalding.

1315
The Scots
in Ireland.

Whitsunday at the coronation of Philip sonne to the French king, created that day king of Navarre. ¶ John de Drogheda bishop of Bath and Wells was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Julie the king returned backe from his iourne into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feast of S. Margaret, having dispatched his businesse with the French king in good and honorable maner, for his lands and countrie of Gascoigne. ¶ About this season Maurice Fitz Thomas, and Thomas Fitz John married two sisters that were daughters to Richard earle of Ulneffer. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recovered the most part of all Scotland, winning out of the English mens hands such castles as they held within Scotland, chasing all the souldiers which laie there in garrison, out of the countrie, and subduing such of the Scots as held on the English part.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furnished, and gorgeouslie appareled, more seemlie for a triumph, than meet to encounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpose speciallie to rescue the castell of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scotchmen. But at his approaching nere to the same, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to give him battell. At the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of losse, had so vnwiselie ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that euen at the first ioining, they were not onelie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by those that coped with them at hand, but also were wounded with shot a farre off, by those their enimies which stood behind to succour their fellows when need required, so that in the end the Englishmen fled to saue their lines, and were chased and slaine by the Scots in great number.

The king escaped with a few about him, in great danger to haue bene either taken or slaine. ¶ Some were drowned in a little river called Banockburne, nere to the which the battell was foughten. There were slaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Gloucester, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Paine Tipot, the lord William Warhall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Pauley the kings steward, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and baronets to the number of 67. There were slaine of all sorts vpon the English part that date about ten thousand men, ouer and beside the prisoners that were taken. Amongst the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord John de Graue, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkeley, and others. He that listeth to heare more of this discomfiture may read thereof further at large in the Scotch historie.

The king of England hauing escaped from this battell, which was fought on Whitsunday in the yere aforesaid, came to York, where he held a council of his lords, to haue their aduise by what means he might best restore his armie, and reuenge the losse which he had sustained at the hands of his enimie R. Bruce. And shortly after was Sir Peter Spalding sent vnto Berwick, with a crew of souldiers to defend the towne against the said Bruce, who intended shortly to laie siege to that towne, as the king had certaine understanding. Also the Scotchmen advanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten victory, passed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, so as affixing that countrie, by spoile, sword, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and castles which they wan were sacked, and after fired, so bitterlie to deface them.

The Irishmen being put in grea feare herewith,

assembled together, and ioined themselves with such Englishmen as laie there in garrisons, cuer the which the lord John Bermingham as deputie had the charge. Thus being ioined together, they made earnest resistance against the attempts of their enimies in defense of the countrie. And so by that means they warred and fought one against another, with great slaughter on both sides, the Scotchmen on their part doing their best to obtaine the gouernment of the countrie, hauing already obtained no small portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there; and the Irishmen on the other part, inforcing their whole indenor to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obstinatnesse of the Irishmen prevailed, through aid of the Englishmen (as after shall appeare.) Peruerthesse in the meane while, as some English chronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in these warres to the number of thirtie thousand, and aboue fiftene thousand Irishmen.

The Scots not onelie thus inuaded Ireland, but also continued their rage against England. For the same yere about the feast of Peter and Paul, they entered into the bishoppe of Durham, & spoiled the countrie vnto Hartlepole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the inhabitants being fled with their liues to the sea. About Whandelentide following, the king of Scots entred England with a mightie armie on the west borders, and coming to Carlisle besieged the citie, remaining before it ten daies, but they within so valiantlie defended themselves and their walls, that the Scots lost more than they wan, sauing that during their abode at this siege, they robbed and wasted the countries of Alledale, Copeland, and Westmerland. The 11 day after their coming thither, when they had assaied all their force and policie to win the citie, and saw themselves nothing to preuaile, but to lose their men and trauell, they raised their field, and returned into Scotland with dishonour, leaving behind them all their engines of warre, so that besides the dishonour which he sustained by the repulse, in lieu of lucre he suffered losse, and therefore this lesson by exemplification would be learned and practised, that

Res bene quisque gerens lucra sua inde ferens.

Now as they went their waie, certaine Englishmen following them, took John de Spurrey, who in the battell of Strueling had for his part 13 English knights prisoners, beside squires and others. They took also with him one Robert Berdolf a great enimie of the Englishmen.

This yere there fell exceeding great raine and abundance of wet, in the moneths of Julie and August, that the husbandmen of the countrie could not get in that small crop which then stood on the ground, and that which they inned, yielded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threshing well appeared. ¶ On the day of the Assumption of our ladye, John the kings second sonne was borne at Clatham.

¶ A knight of Lancashire called Sir Adam Banister raised war in this yere of king Edwards reigne, against his lord the earle of Lancaster; but about the feast of saint Martine he was taken and beheaded. ¶ Also this yere, Edward de Bruce brother to the king of Scots, entred into the north parts of Ulneffer with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Augustine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Argile. The Irishmen also burnt the church of Athro. Moreover in the battell of Comeran in Ulneffer, Richard earle of Ulneffer fled, and Sir Richard Bourgh, & Sir John Spandeville, and Sir Alane Fitz Warren were taken prisoners. The castell of Rathfronch was also taken, & at Berils in Meth the lord Roger Doxtimer was discomfited by the

The lord
Bermingham

Great
Gallie
ter of
Ireland

Ri. South.

The bishop
of Durham
& spoiled
the town

Anno Reg.
1297. John
de Spurrey
taken.

The king
raised.

Great
rain.

John de
Clatham

Hen. Mar.
Dundalke
burnt.
The burnt
Comeran.

the foresaid Edward Bruce, and marie of the said
for Rogers men were slaine and taken.

A blasing star
dearth and
death.

The decaie
of the earle
of Warwike.
Crowden.

1316
Rich South.

Also in the ninth years of king Edwards reigne,
before Christmas, a blasing starre or comet appeared
in the north part of the element, by the space of a mo-
neth together, and after followed dearth and death (as
after shall appeare.) Que earle of Marlowe, a man
of great counsell and skilfull prouidence, departed
this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbey of
Bordesley. ¶ About this summer the Scots entred
10 entred into England, doing much mischefe with fire
and sword, in like sort as they had vled to do before
time, not sparing (as some write) so much as those
houses wherein women late in childbed. At their com-
ming to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie
that were got into the castell to defend it, compoun-
ded with the enemies for a great summe of monie,
to spare the towne and countrie about it, without do-
ting further damage thereto at that iournie.

Anno Reg. 10.
The deareth
increased.

The Scots hauing receiued the monie, turned
their march toward the west parts, and iournieng
thre score miles, came to Jorneis, burning all the
countrie thereabouts, and toke awaie with them all
the goods and prisoners, both men and women which
they might laie hands on, and so returned, relouing
most of such iron as they had got in that iournie, for
they had great want in Scotland of that kind of me-
tall in those daies. The dearth by reason of the unsea-
sonable weather in the summer and harvest last past
still increased, for that which with much adoe was in-
ned, after when it came to the prowe, yelded nothing
to the value of that which in thease it seemed to con-
teine, so that wheat and other graine which was at a
lowe price before, now was enhanced to a farre higher
rate, the scarcitie thereof being so great, that a quar-
ter of wheat was sold for fortie shillings, which was a
great price, if we shall consider the allate of monie
then currant. ¶ Also by reason of the murren that
fell among cattell, beases and muttons were vnre-
nable priced.

The lord Be-
aumont dis-
comfited.

1317

Lewes Beau-
mont taken
by sir Gilbert
Spiddleton.

Caxton.

Sir Gilbert
Spiddleton
proclaimeth
himselfe duke.

Scotlond
and other
partes.

About this season, the lord Henrie Beaumont a
man of high valtancie and noble courage, hauing
gotten together a power of men, entred into Scot-
land, and after he had taken great booties and spoiles
in the countrie, he being intrapped by sir James
Douglas, lost the most part of his men, together
with the prey which they had gotten. The displeasure
of these mishaps was increased with the naughtie
and bold presumption of sir Gilbert Spiddleton
knight, who being offended that maister Lewes
Beaumont was preferred unto the bishops see of
Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that
was first elected and after displaced by the kings suit
made unto the pope, toke the said Lewes Beau-
mont and his brother Henrie on Wingleston more
nere unto Darlington, leading the bishop to Por-
path, and his brother the lord Beaumont unto the ca-
stell of Spifford, and so deteined them as prisoners,
till they had redeemed their libertie with great summs
of monie. Herewith the said sir Gilbert being ad-
uanced in pride, proclaimed himselfe duke of Nor-
thumberland, and ioining in friendship with Robert
Bruce the Scottish king, cruelly destroyed the coun-
tie of Richmond. With such traitorous parts Will-
iam Jfelton, and Thomas Heton, being not a little
stirred, first wan by force the castell of Spifford, and
after apprehended sir Gilbert Spiddleton, with his
companion Walter Selbie, and sent them by to
London, where shortly after they were drawne, han-
ged and quartered.

Some write that the said sir Gilbert was put to
death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Cancellins
the popes chancellor, and Lucas de Phico, that
were sent from pope John the two and twentieth, to

consecrate the foresaid Lewes Beaumont bishop of
Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realmes
of England and Scotland, and also to make an a-
greement betwixt the king and the earle of Lanca-
ster. The which being met with upon Wingleston
more in Yorkshire by the said Gilbert, were robbed
of such stuffe & treasure as they brought with them,
but yet escaped themselves and came to Durham,
and from thence sent messengers to Robert Bruce,
to persuade him to some agreement. But whereas he
would not condescend to any reasonable conditions
of peace at that time, they determined to go into
Scotland to talke with him themselves: but before
they came to the borders, king Robert, who iudged it
not to stand with his profit to haue any peace in that
season, sent certeine of his people to forbid the cardi-
nals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being
thus inturously handled, pronounced the Scots by
their legantine power accursed; and interdicted their
whole realme. And because they saw nothing lesse
than any hope to do good with king Robert touching
any composition or agreement to be had, they retur-
ned againe to the pope, without any conclusion of
that for the which they were sent.

Thom. Wals.

Fabian,
Caxton.

Polydor.

The curse
pronounced
against the
Scots.

Rich. South.

After that Edward Bruce had attained such en-
terprises in other parts of Ireland, as in the last yere
we haue heard, he went unto Fench, and to She-
res in Leinster, and there the lord cheefe iustice Ed-
mund Butler rose against him, with the lord John
fitz Thomas, that was after earle of Kilbare, sir Ar-
nold Power, and diuerse other, with a great armie.
But by reason of discorde that chanced amongst them,
they scaled their armie, and departed out of the field
on the 26 date of Februarie. Edward Bruce then
burned the castell of Leis, and after returning into
Winester, he besieged the castell of Knockfergus,
and slue Thomas Pandulle, and his brother John,
at a place called Down, as they came thither out of
England. After this the foresaid Edward returned
into Scotland.

40

In this season vittels were so scant and dere, and
wheat and other graine brought to so high a price,
that the poore people were constrained thorough fa-
mine to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, and other vile
beasts, which is wonderfull to beleue, and yet for de-
fault thereto died a great multitude of people in di-
uers places of the land. Foure pence in bread of the
courser sort would not suffice one man a day. Wheat
was sold at London for foure marks the quarter and
above. Then after this dearth and scarcitie of vittels
infused a great death and mortallitie of people, so
that that by warre of the Scots, and what by this
mortallitie and death, the people of the land were
wonderfullie wasted and consumed. A pitifull depo-
pulation!

A pitifull
famine.

Tho. Wals.
Fabian.

A sore mor-
tallitie of people.

Edward Bruce before the feast of Easter retur-
ned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Marrey
and other noble men of Scotland, hauing with them
a great armie, and besieged the castell of Knockfer-
gus, and after they went to another castell where
they toke a baron prisoner: there Edward Bruce
late for a season. Also Richard earle of Winester lay
in saint Patres abbey by Dublin, where the maior
and communalitie of the citie toke him, and put him
in prison within the castell of Dublin. They also
slue his men, and spoiled the abbey. After this the
foresaid Edward Bruce went to Limerike, after
the feast of saint Pathew the apostle, and there so-
journed till Easter was past.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings
deputie arrived at Waterford with a great armie,
by reason wherof Edward le Bruce for feare depart-
ed, and got him into the uttermost parts of Wine-
ster, and John fitz Thomas was made earle of Kil-
bare.

John fitz
Thomas earle
of Kilbare.

date.

dare. Also Decomer of Conneigh, and manie other Irishmen of Cor nagh and Meth were slaine nere to Aurie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen nere unto Chiffildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Balitcham of Dmo: by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Alnester out of prison, and after Whitfuntide banished out of Meth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giving their Lands awaie from them unto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it should appeare.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11.
Ri. Southwell.
1318
Berwick be-
trayed to the
Scots.

Castles won
by the Scots.

Northalerton
and Bourgh-
bridge burnt.

Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to
Triuer.
The king &
the earle of
Lancaster
made friends.

Rob. Bruce
pronounced
accused.

Hen. Marl.

Th. Walsing.
Continuation
of Triuer.

In the eleventh yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, upon the saturday night before Midlent sundaie, the towne of Berwick was betrayed to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalving. The castell held god tache a while, till for want of vittels they within were constrained to deliuer it into the Scottismens hands, who wan also the same time the castell of Harbottell, Werke, and Spedford, so that they possessed the more part of all Northumberland, euen unto Newcastle upon Tyne, saving that certeine other castles were defended against them. In Apraie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Ripon, which towne they spoiled, and tarteng there three daies, they received a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, for that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had already done the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwarde. In their going backe they burnt Lancasterburgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the midst of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a marvellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poxe people, which they toke with them to helpe to drie the cattell.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the seconds reigne, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke together in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made friends to the outward shew, so that in the yeare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwick. About the feast of the Nativite of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, sent forth com mandements unto all the prelates and priests with in the realme, that three times in euerie solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that cal led himselfe king of Scotland accused, with all his counsellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all ho nour, and put all his lands under interdiction, dis abling all their children [to the second degree] that held with him, as unworthie & unfit to receive or take upon them any ecclesiasticall function. They de nounced also all the prelates of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accused.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander, Bisco: was made chiefe iur vice of Ireland. Also Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arrived at Dundalk, on the day of saint Calixs the pope. But nere to the same place sir John Wymingham, Richard Eute, and Miles of Geydon, with a power of 1224 men incountered them, and slue the said Edward Bruce, and about the number of 8200 men, or (as other haue) but 7800. The said sir John Wymingham brought the head of Edward Bruce

ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Whereupon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue unto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

About this season, or some what before, about Spid sumner (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called John Poidras, or (as some books haue) Ponderham, a tanners son of Grecester comming to Drford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the wals, gaue forth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fostered and brought up in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Drford, trusting there to be safe through the immunitie of the place, because king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not keepe his tongue, but still fondlie uttered his folie, and stood in his opinion, so that great rumoz thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & carried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemn ed, and had forth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but specially this yeare it reigned most in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leue a mightie armie; and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places to wards the north parts, the king caused much people to come unto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the cite of London was constrained to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Porke, where the generall assemble of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwick, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secret wise to the marches of Porke shire, and there slue the people, and robbed them in most cruell wise.

Wherefore the archbishop of Porke, meaning in time of such necessitie to do his indeuour in defense of his countrie, assembled such power as he could get together, of clerkes, monks, canons, and other spirituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men, and few warlike or discret chiefe men, he together with the bishop of Elie, as then lord chancellor, came forth against the Scots, and incountered them at a place called Spittun upon Swale; the thirteenth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed ouer the water of Swale, the Scots set upon them with a flock of hate, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the Englishmen might not see where the Scots stode. And when the English men were once got ouer the water, the Scots came upon them with a living in god order of battell, in fashion like to a shield, egerlie assailing their enemies, who for lacke of good government were easilie broken downe and discomfited, without shewing any great resistance: so that there were slaine to the number

1319
Shirren of
cattell.

Anno Reg. 11

The king
eth to Ber-
wick.

The Scots
came into
parts of
York.

Aucubin

The differ-
ence of
ten upon
Swale.
Caxton.

Ware. Also Deconer of Conneigh, and manie other Irishmen of Cor nagh and Deth were slaine nere to Lucie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen nere unto Chiffildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Baliteham of Dmoth by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Ulmeister out of prison, and after Whitfuntide banished out of Deth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giving their lands awaie from them unto his knights, and they went over into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it should appeare.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11.
Ri. Southwell.
1318

Berwick be-
trayed to the
Scots.

Castles won
by the Scots.

Northalerton
and Bourgh-
bridge burnt.

Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to
Triuer.
The king &
the earle of
Lancaster
made friends.

Rob. Bruce
pronounced
accused.

Hen. Marl.

Th. Walsing.
Continuation
of Triuer.

In the eleventh yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, upon the saturday night before Spidont fundate, the towne of Berwick was betrayed to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The castell held good tacks a while, till for want of vittels they within were constrained to deliuer it into the Scottishmens hands, who wane also the same time the castell of Harbottell, Werke, and Medford, so that they possessed the more part of all Northumberland, even unto Newcastle upon Tyne, saving that certeine other castles were defended against them. In Maie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Alton, which towne they spoiled, and tarding there three daies, they receiued a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, for that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had already done the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Banerburgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middell of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a marvellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poore people, which they toke with them to helpe to drine the cattell.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the seconds reigne, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke together in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made friends to the outward shew, so that in the yeare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwick. About the feast of the Purification of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, sent forth com mandements unto all the prelates and priests with in the realme, that three times in euerie solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that cal led himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his counsellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they deposed him by denunciation of all ho nour, and put all his lands under interdiction, dis abling all their children [to the second degree] that held with him, as unworthie & unfit to receiue or take vpon them any ecclesiasticall function. They de nounced also all the prelates of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accursed.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander Bruce was made chiefe iur vice of Ireland. Also Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arrived at Dundalke, on the day of saint Calixt the pope. But nere to the same place sir John Belmingham, Richard Lute, and Giles of Wyndon, with a power of 124 men incountried them, and slay the said Ed ward le Bruce, and about the number of 800 men, or (as other haue) but 500. The said sir John Belmingham brought the head of Edward le Bruce

ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Thereupon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue vnto him the earldome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires general.

About this season, or some what before, about Spid sumner (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called John Doidras, or (as some books haue) Ponderham, a tanners son of Creesler comming to Drford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the walls, gaue forth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fostered and brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white stiers in Drford, trusting there to be safe through the immuni tie of the place, because king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not keepe his tongue, but still fondlie vttered his folie, and stood in his opi nion, so that great rumour thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & carried to North hampton, where he was there arreigned, condemn ed, and had forth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was dratone, hanged, and as a traitour botwelled. At the houre of his death he con fessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but spe ciallie this yeare it reigned most in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leue a mightie armie; and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places to wards the north parts, the king caused much people to come vnto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the citie of London was constrained to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Pothe, where the generall assemblie of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwick, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secret wise doونه into the mar shes of Potheshire, and there slew the people, and rob bed them in most cruell wise.

Wherefore the archbishop of Pothe, meaning in time of such necessitie to do his indendour in defense of his countrie, assembled such power as he could get together, of clarkes, monks, canons, and other spi rituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such other brapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men, and few warlike or discret chiefe men, he together with the bishop of Elie, as then lord chancelour, came forth against the Scots, and incountried them at a place called Spitton upon Swale; the twelfth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed ouer the water of Swale, the Scots let fire vpon certeine stacks of hale, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the Englishmen might not see where the Scots stode. And when the English men were once got ouer, the watring the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battell, in fashion like to the helde, egerlie assailing their enemies, who for lacke of good gouernement were easilie bray ten downe and discomfited, without the losing any great resistance, so that there were slaine the number

1319
Spitton
cattell.

Anno Reg.

The king
eth to Ber-
wick.

The Scots
came into a
parts of
Pothe.

Aucubus.

The differ-
ence of op-
ten upon
Swale.
Cotton.

number of two thousand and the residue shamefullie put to flight.

The archbishop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their swift horses escaped, and diuerse other. The maior of Pothe named Nicholas Fleming was slaine, & sir William Wieremin prais taken prisoner. Manie were drowned, by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Englishmen and the bridge, so that the Englishmen fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compassed the Englishmen about on the one side, as the wing did upon the other. And because so manie spirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers The white battell. The king of England informed of this overthrow giuen by the Scots to the Potherne men, he brake vp his siege incontinentlie, and returned to Pothe.

Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernment of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good aduilement ordered his doings, which thing so grieved the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to loke better to his office and dutie; which they iudged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogether euill, if they might find thist to remoue from him the two Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was done, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (sith

linor non deerit iniquus

Dulcius & Latius, qui se confundat amarum

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times past was Ivers de Gaueson the late earle of Cornuall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spencers, but that the king ment as much their aduancement, so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so haucie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit seemed good.

In this thirteenth yeare of his reigne, in June king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whom he received the countie of Pontien, which the said French king upon his comming to the crowne had seized into his hands, because the king of England had not done to him his homage due for the same. Also this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of ecclesiasticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewise done. About this season, pope John, being informed of the great destruction and vnnecessfull warre which the Scots made vpon the Englishmen, and namelie for that they spared neither church nor chapell, abbey nor priory, he sent a generall sentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and Pothe, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scottish king would not recompense king Edward for all such harmes as the realme of England had by him sustained, and also make restitution of the goods that had bene taken out of churches and monasteries, they should pronounce the same sentence against him and his complices.

Whereupon when the Scots toke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbishop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foresaid sentence, so that Robert Bruce, James Douglas, and Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, and all other that kept him

companie, or them in any wise mainteined, were accursed throughout England euery day at masse three times. Holbeit, this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great cost and charge, and in the meane season the commons of the realme were sore oppressed by sundrie waies and means, diuerse of them lost their goods and possessions, being taken from them vpon surmised and feined quarels, so that manie were bitterlie vndone, and a few singular and misordered persons were aduanced.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the bishoprike of Durham. The earle of Murray staid at Darlington, but James Douglas and the steward of Scotland went forth to waste the countie, the one towards Hartlepole and Cleueland, and the other towards Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had done) gaue a great summe of monie to saue their countie from inuasion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the space of sixtene daies or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaster that late the same time at Bomfret, offering to go forth with him to giue the enimies battell, if he would assist them: but the earle seemed that he had no lust to fight in defense of his prince, that sought to oppresse him wrongfullie (as he toke it) and therefore he dissembled the matter, and so the Scots returned at their pleasure without encounter.

About this season, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good gouernment was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gouers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerse noble men that had their lands adioining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the vnckle & nephue, albeit the lord Mortuzaie that had married the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spencer the younger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (because it late liere on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had bene in hand to buie it.

Whereby such hartburning rose against the Spencers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaster, of their presumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as seemed best to their likings, it was thought expedient by the said earles that some remedie in time (if it were possible) should be provided. Whereupon the said earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the lords Roger Luchet, Roger Clifford, Jocelin Deicuille, Roger Bernisfield, the two Mortimers, Roger the vnckle and Roger the nephue, William de Sullie, William de Elmbrige, John Gifford of Wymsheld, and Henrie Tets, all barons; the which with diuerse other lords and knights, and men of name, assembling together at Shierborne in Childebane, sware each of them to stand by other, till they had amended the state of the realme. But yet notwithstanding this their oth, the most part of them afterwards forsaking the enterprise, submitted themselves to the king.

Peuerthelesse, whether for that the king by a proclamation let forth the sixteenth of March, had commanded (as some write) that the lords Mortuzaie,

1 2 2 1
Rich. South,
The Scots
inuate Eng-
land.

Thom. Walc

The chiefe
cause of the
variance bet-
twixt the lords
and the Spen-
cers.

1 3 2 0
Additions to
N. Tricet.

Tenth of the
ecclesiasticall
kinges gran-
ted to the k.
Anno. Reg. 14.
Caxton.

Scots ef-
fains accursed

Clifford, and Deneville for disobedience to make their personall appearance before him, should avoid the land within ten daies next ensuing, or for that they meant with all speed to put their enterprise in execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Spontiner, the uncle and nephew, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord John Spontwaite, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his sonne named also Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord John Gifford of Wynterfield, the lord Porice Berkeley, the lord Henric Tiers, the lord John Spatrauers, with manie other that were alied together, having the consent also of the earle of Lancaster, on the wednesday next after the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, having with them to the number of eight hundred men of armes, five hundred hoblers, and ten thousand men on foot, came with the kings banner spread vnto Helport in Wiltshires lands, where they toke the castell that belonged vnto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the younger.

The lords
take armes
vpon them
against the
Spensers.

They invade
the Spensers
lands.

They also toke Baerbie, Berillie, Lantrellane, Taluan, Lambethan, Kenefegis, Peoth, Wustellan, and Diuenor; part of his men which in the foresaid places they found, they slew, as sir John Iwain, and sir Pathew de Sozges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welshmen: part they toke and put them in prison, as sir Rafe de Randulfe de Sozges being sore wounded, sir Philip Joice, sir John de Fressingfield, sir John de Dunstable, William de Dunstable, and manie other, of the which the most part were put to their ransom. They toke, spoiled and destroyed so much in value of his goods as amounted vnto two thousand pounds. They toke by in such debts as were owing to him in those parts, to the summe of three thousand pounds, and of his rents to the value nere hand of a thousand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in those parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did that hurt they could deuise, burning or taking alwaie all his writings and euidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and disorder invading his castles, manors and possessions, so that the damage which they did here vnto the said lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thousand pounds.

The king
senteth to the
lords.

The lord Babelinere
rejoiceth to
see the
barons.

The king advertised of their doings, sent vnto them the archbishop of Cantuarburie, and the lord Bartholomew de Babelinere lord steward of his house, to request them to desist and leaue off from such their outrageous doings, and comming to the parlement which he had already summoned, they might put in their complaints and grievances, & he would see that they should haue iustice, according as equitie should require. The lord Babelinere for taking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and so the archbishop was glad to returne alone, leaving the lord Babelinere behind him, who sent the king word by the archbishop, that till they had expelled the Spensers out of the realme, they would not giue euer their enterprise. On saint Barnabies day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenser the father called Faserne, in the countie of Wiltshire, and spoiled the same with diuerse and manie other manors, as well in Wiltshire, as else where, to wit, in Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrie, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Cheshire, and Warwickshire, making such hawock of all such goods or cattell as belonged to the said Hugh Spenser the father, that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thousand pounds, burning his houses, beating, maiming and ransoming his men.

Furthermore not contented to spoile those places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbey

of Stanlie he had laid by monie and euidences, they brake into that abbey, and toke out there of a thousand pounds in readie coine, beside euidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of six thousand pounds, and likewise entering into the castell of Sparleburgh, where the said Hugh Spenser the father had laid up in toall to the number of 36 sacks, they toke the same and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of six thousand pounds. And they did not onelie spoile the possessions, houses, goods, and cattels of the two Spensers, whersoever they could heare that the same were to be found, but also they used the like disorder against all such as were knowne to be friends or wellwillers, to either the father or sonne, sending commissions vnto such as should see the same executed to the most extremite, so that in this rage of cruie and hot reuenge there was no parcialitie, but that one with another, the innocent with the norent, the guiltlesse with the guiltie went to wracke, and as the old proverbe saith concurring with common practise

Quod unus peccauit, succula (sepe) haurit

finalie, after they had satisfied their desires in such riotous sort, they raised the people, and constrained them to sweare to be of their accord, and so came forward with the like force towards the parlement that was summoned to be holden at London three weeks after Midsummer. At their comming to London, they sent the bishops of London, Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king with their humble suit in outward apperance, though in effect and verie deed more presumptuous than was requisite. Their cheefe request was that it might please his highnesse to put from him the Spensers, whose countell they knew to be greatlie against his honour, and hercof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They also required letters patents of him, containing a generall pardon for the indermitie of themselves, and all those that had bene in armes with them, so as they should not be impeached by the king for any transgressions past or present, in time hereafter to come.

The king herevnto answered, that as concerning Hugh Spenser the father, he was abroad on his business beyond the seas, and that Hugh the sonne was on the sea for the safe keeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he was bound, and that they ought not by any right or custome to be banished, before they haue made answer to the crimes obieded against them. He added further, that their request wanted foundation of law and reason. And if it might be proued that the Spensers had in any wise offended against the statutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies readie to make their answer as the lawes of the realme should require. Lastly he added this with an oth, that he would not be so sworn contrary to that which at his coronation he had taken vpon him by oth, through granting letters of peace and pardon to such notorious offenders in contempt of his person, and to the trouble and disquieting of the whole realme.

The barons vpon knowledge had what answer the king made to their request, withouth got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the king had summoned to begin at Westminster three weeks after Midsummer. Their retinue were appareled in a sute of iakets or coats of colours demie, partienced low and greene, with a band of white ruff overthwart. By reason whereof that parlement long after was called The parlement of white bands. Then to see the kings peace kept within the citie, the maiors raised a thousand men well armed to watch dailie in diuerse wards, & at diuerse gates of the citie, which

The barons
raise the
people and
come in
armes to
swear to
the
parlement.

They sent
the king.

The king
rejoiceth.

The king
answers.

Fabian
Caxton.

The king
which the
mayor of
London

watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so continued till six at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the same till the houre of five in the morning. And for the moze surtie that this night watch should be well and sufficientlie kept, two aldermen were assigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to see the watchmen well and discretlie guided. The gates were shut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at seauen in the morning. Also euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occasion when he should be called.

MacVell.

The Spensers banished by the decree of the barons.

After theselle the barons being come in forceable wise (as ye haue heard) vnto this parlement, they constrained the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Warren, and Penbroke, to agree vnto their purpose; and likewise some of the bishops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpose, for the expelling of the Spensers out of the realme, and so comming all together before the king, they published certeine articles against the said Spensers, both the father and sonne, wherevpon they made an award, that they should be disherited and banished the land during their liues, if by the king and consent of all the lords in parlement assembled, they should not be restored. They had day and place appointed where to passe forth of the land, to wit, at Dover, and not elsewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feast of the decollation of saint John Baptist, that day to be counted for one. Divers articles (as before is said) were laid to the charge of those Spensers.

Articles where with the barons charged the Spensers.

Amongst other things it was alledged; first that Hugh Spenser the sonne, being on a time angry and displeased with the king, sought to alie and confederate himselfe with the lord Gifford of Wynterfield, and the lord Richard Gray to haue constrained and forced the king by strong hand to haue solowed his will and pleasure.

Secondlie it was alledged, that the said Spensers as well the father as the sonne, had caused the king to ride into Gloucestershire, to oppresse and deströie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.

Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against one Chlewillin Blen, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorganshire, whiles the lands of the earle of Gloucester were in the kings hands, the same Chlewillin yelded himselfe to the said earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promise that he should haue the kings pardon, and so the king received him. But after that the said earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers taking to them roiall power, toke the said Chlewillin and led him vnto Hardif, where after that the said Hugh Spenser the sonne had his partie of the said earle of Gloucesters lands, he caused the said Chlewillin to be drabone, heaped and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.

Fourthlie, the said Spensers counselled the king to foreiudge sir Hugh Audie, sonne to the lord Hugh Audie, and to take into his hands his castels and possessions. They compassed also to haue atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioied the whole earldome of Gloucester.

These and other articles of misdeemeanour in the Spensers were exhibited, to perswade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthy of those places

which they occupied. Also after that their disheriting and banishment was concluded in manner as before is said, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had prosecuted the quarell against them, came before the king, and humbly on their knees besought him of pardon for all things which they had committed against him, his lawes, or any other person in the pursuit of the said Spensers. The king, being brought into a streit, durst not but grant vnto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.

The parlement being thus ended, the king and quene went to Canturburie, there to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket sometime archbishop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might meet with his deare & welbeloued counsellour Hugh Spenser the yonger, whome he had of late sent in ambassage vnto the French king, and now being returned by sea into those parts, he was desirous to see him, that he might haue conference with him: and so conning together, they spent certeine daies in communing of such matters as they thought good. The king calling to him the mariners of the cinque ports, committed to them the custodie of the said Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ships, and the king sailing alongst the coast to Poorechester, conferred with him of manie things.

From Poorechester the king ment to returne vnto London, there to meet the quene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the castell of Leeds, which the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere late steward of the kings house had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with other of his friends and treasure in the same castell. Those that were put in trust with keeping this castell, would neither permit quene nor other to enter therein, without expresse commandement from their lord and maister, and so they signified not one lie to the quenes seruants that came before to make prouision for hir, but also declared the same to hir selfe comming thither in person.

This chanced verie vntucklie for the barons: for where the quene had euer sought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his lords, she toke such displeasure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that castell, that vpon hir græuous complaint sent to the king, he forthwith raised a mightie armie out of Kent and Essex, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle Marshall, and Edmund earle of Kent, also the earls of Richmond, Penbroke, Arundell, and Atholl, he hastid thither, & laid siege about the castell; constraining them within by all means that might be deuised.

In the meane time, at the suit of the lord Badelismere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingstone, about the feast of Simon and Jude, and there staleng certeine daies for some of their companie that were to come vnto them, they sent vnto the king the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, with the earle of Penbroke, requiring him to remoue his siege, till by parlement some order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their suit, but continued his siege till the castell was yelded to him. For those that were at Kingstone cowardlie leuing their enterpryse, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the castell, hauing simplie submitted themselves to the king, caused twelue or thirtene of them to suffer death. Amongst other was one Walter Calpepper reckoned for the chiefe of them that defended the castell against the king. The wife of the lord Badelismere,

The king goeth to Canturburie.

He cometh to talke with the lord chamberlaine.

The quene not suffered to lodge in the castell of Leeds.

The king besiegeth the castell of Leeds.

The lords came with a power to raise the siege.

The castell of Leeds yelded

Walter Calpepper executed.

more, with his nephew Bartholomew de Burgh was sent to the tower of London, but his sister was sent to Dover castle, there to remaine in safe keeping. The castle of Lords being thus yielded to the king, he entered the same on Allhalowes daie, and shortly after the castle of Chatham was deliuered, and the castle of Lumburgh left void by them that had it in keeping. The king thus bestirring him, came into Essex, and seized into his hands the lands of the lord Radcliffe, and likewise the lands of such as were his maintainers, abbetots, friends, fauourers, and furtherers; of the which such as he could meet with he put in prison, and hereby summoned an armie to meet him at Cirencester about saint Lucies day the virgine. And then about saint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbishop of Canturburie had called a prouinciall counsell.

The lord chamberlaine berth him selfe to the law.

At the same time Hugh Spenser the sonne, being lately come from the sea, yielded himselfe prisoner to the kings ward, beseeching the king that he might haue right ministred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him done by the barons in manner as before ye haue heard, speciallie for the award which in parliament they had procured to be enacted against him, the errors committed in the processe, whereof he besought the king that he might be admitted to shew: as first, in that they made themselves iudges: seconddie, in that he was not called to answer: thirdlie, for that the same award was made without the assent of the prelates, who are peeres of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the said barons had no record in their pursuit upon the causes contained in that award: fifthlie, in that the award was made against the forme of the great charter of franchises, wherein is contained that none shall be foreiudged nor destroyed but by lawfull iudgement of his peeres, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be considered, how the said barons and great men being summoned to come in due maner vnto that parlement, they came in forceable wise with all their powers. A like petition was also exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenser the father, for redresse to be had of the wrongs and losses, which in like case he had susteined.

Anno Reg. 15.

The king al-
lecth the opi-
nions of the
prelates.

The declara-
tion of the
prelates.

The declara-
tion of the
earles.

The king fauouring inough the causes and petitions of the Spensers, granted their requests, and deliuered the petitions vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and his suffragans, the which at the same time were there assembled in their prouinciall counsell as foresaid, requiring to haue their aduise and opinion therein. He likewise requested of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the counsellors in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelates byon deliberation had, declared that in their opinion, the said award as touching the disheriting and banishing of the Spensers, the father and sonne was erroneous, and not rightlie decreed, and for themselves they denied that they either did or could thinke it reason to consent therevnto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, John de Britaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Pembroke, and Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in presence of the king, and likewise of the foresaid prelates, affirmed that the said award pronounced against the Spensers was made contrarie to law and right, and therefore as the prelates requested, that the same might be repealed.

Further, the said earles alledged, that the assent which they gaue in the said award, was for doubt of the vnlawfull force which the barons brought vnto the said parlement, when they made that award, and

for that the said earles that now were with the king, had counselled him to suffer the said award to passe, for feare of the said force, and confessed they had done euill, and besought him of pardon for their offences in so doing. The king thus hauing caused the prelates, earles, barons, and lawiers there present to utter their iudgements in manner aforesaid, he iudicially reuoked and quite disanulled the processe of the said award, made as well touching the banishment, as the disheriting of the Spensers, and restored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former estates, in all conditions as they inioied the same before the making of the said award, notwithstanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaster, and other lords of his faction, which for the approuing and ratifieng of the said processe they directed vnter their scales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote also to the prelates, iustices, and barons of the exchequer, to induce the king to giue his assent to that which in the tenor of their letters was contained. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cheshire, and the lord Roger Spottimer of Glamorg, entering the marches of Wales, came to Gloucester, and took that citie. The castle was also deliuered vnto them by the constable thereof. The king hauing his people comming daillie vnto him, where by his armie was hugelie increased, about the feast of saint Nicholas he set forth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and manie other great lords and barons. The quene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord John de saint John comming to submitt himselfe vnto the king, at the intercession of diuerse noble men, with much adoe had his pardon at length granted him.

The king passing forward, seized into his hands the towne, castles, manors, and goods of them that were against him. But in the meane time the lord Henrie de Eweis, with certeine other that were entered into Gloucestershire, hearing that a great multitude of people was assembled out of the countrie of Cirencester by the kings commandement, came thither and chased them home to their houses, putting them in feare of their liues, if they should offer to resist him. The king comming to Cricklade after the feast of saint Lucie the virgin, wrote to the earle of Lancaster an answer of his letters, which he had received from him at London, modestlie reponing him, for that he had so graueouslie and vndutifullie reproched him, without respect had to his roiall estate, and also presumed to assigne him a daie within the which he should reforme those things which he mistaked in him, as if he were his subiect and vnderling, & beside this was now ioined with his aduersaries against him, where on his behalfe there had bene no let nor staie at any time, but that they might be friends & remaine in quiet together. Wherein though he did more than stood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in somuch as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tolerated such insolencie of behauiour, as was vnkemlie to be shewed against the person of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highlie therein to be commended; though his forbearing and seeking means of quietnesse did neuer a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whose hart was so enchanted with ambition and supereminent honour, that he quite forgot this good lesson of submission and due allegiance,

Et neque a ladi maiori semper obedi.

From Cricklade the king went to Cirencester, where he held the feast of Christmasse, the earles of Norfolk, Pembroke, Surrie, and other great lords comming

The barons against the king.

The king's army.

The king's army.

The king's army.

The king's army.

The king's army.

Carles that
came to the
king to the
100.

1 2 2

The Scots
invade the
thumocland.

Cassels taken
by the welsh-
men.

The earle of
Lancaster writ-
teth to the earle
of Hereford.

The earle of
Hereford com-
meth to ioune
with the earle
of Lancaster.

The lord
Draley sub-
mitteth him-
selfe to the K.

The appoin-
ted to meet at
Coventrie.

M. Sutton.

comming thither to ioune their powers with his. Thither came also a great strength of footmen, part of the which under the leading of one Robert Aquarri, a right famous capteine, took the castell of Bromfield, those that had the keeping of it fleeing forth of it. The king comming to Worcester about September tide, caused the walles of the cite to be repaired, committing the custodie thereof unto William de Longchamps. After the Epiphanie he passed on the side of Severne towards Shrewsburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourable received by the burgeses that came forth to meet him in armor, and so conveyed him into their towne being stronglie fenced. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entering with a strong power into England, destroyed all the countrie to Bewcastle upon Tyne with fire and sword. The Welchmen with their capteine Griffin Lottis took the castels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They took also the castels of Hogle, Chirke, and Dlongo, the keepers whereof comming unto the king to Shrewsburie submitted themselves to him, who shortly after sent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelle the elder, the lord John de Hastings, and diuerse other comming in, and submitting themselves to the king were likewise committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entering into the cite of Worcester destroyed all that which the K. had appointed to be done, about the fortification thereof.

The earle of Lancaster lieng at Pomfret, and hearing of all this businesse, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they should make hast to come to him at Pomfret, promising from thenceforth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioicing at these newes, together with all those that were about him, leaving Gloucester and all other strengths which they held in those parts, set forward to passe through the midst of the realme, spoiling by the way mens catell and goods verie disorderlie, and so came through to the earle of Lancaster. The king getting into his hands all the castels of his aduersaries in those parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorable received of the cleargie and citizens. His armie increased daily, many comming in unto him, that before durst not for feare of his aduersaries. The bishop of Hereford was sharplie checked, because he had taken part with the kings enemies.

The king sent from hence the lord John Hastings into Southwales, to take in his name the seizure of the castels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenser the yonger, which the barons had the last yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings use, were furnished with faithfull garrisons.

The king, after this, comming to Gloucester, condemned the shiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part against him with the barons.

The lord Maurice Berkeley came to the king to Gloucester, submitting himselfe to the kings pleasure.

After this the king came by Welfton under edge towards Countrie, where he had appointed aswell such as he had latlie licenced to depart to their homes to reioice themselves for a time, as also diuerse other, to assemble with their powers to go with him from thence against his aduersaries. The day of this assemble was the friday next after the first sundaie in Lent. The king from Countrie went to Perinall, and there lodged in the abbey for his more ease, waiting to William Sutton under-confable of Warlike castell, commanding him to be attendant on the shiriffe of Warlike, in helping him to watch the entries and issues to and from the castell of Killing-

worth that was holden against him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaster besieged Ekehill castell fifteen daies together, but prevailed not.

There were letters intercepted about the same time, which a messenger brought forth of Scotland, three closed and three open, for there were six in all. The king sent them to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his commandement published them in an open audience at London. The first was closed with the seale of the lord Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which contained a safe conduct for sir Thomas Topeliue chapelaine, and one to be associate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in safetie. The second was sealed with the seale of sir James Douglas for a like safe conduct for the same persons. The third was closed with the seale of the said earle of Murrie for the safe conduct of the lord John de Mowbray, and the lord John de Clifford, and fortye hoxses with their pages for their safe comming unto the said erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returning backe. The fourth was closed with the seale of James Douglas, directed to king Arthur. The fifth was closed with the seale of James Douglas directed unto the lord Rafe Penill. The sixt had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as followeth.

30

The tenor of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.



Thou shalt understand my lord, that the communication before hand had, is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelle the yonger, Bartholomew de Badeseliner, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford, Henrie Teis, Thomas Manduit, John de Willington, and all other are come to Pomfret, and are readie to make you good assurance, so that you will perforce covenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to live and die with vs in our quarell. We therefore beseech you to assigne vs day and place, where we may meet, and we will be readie to accomplish fullie our businesse: and we beseech you to make vs a safe conduct for thirtie hoxses, that we may in safetie come to your parts.

60

The king, when such earles and lords as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) that the most part of those men of warre were assembled that had summons, although diuerse came not at all; about the first sundaie in Lent he set forward towards his enemies, having with him to the number of sixtene hundred men of armes on horsebacke, and footmen innumerable; with this power passing forth towards his aduersaries, he caused proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that would come and submit themselves, those excepted which had bene at the siege of Ekehill castell, or at the taking of the cite of Gloucester, or at the inuasion made upon his men at Bridgenorth.

At his comming to a little village called Cald-

Killingworth holden against the K. Ekehill castell besieged.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthur a name feined of purpose.

Record. Tur,

The king set forth towards his enemies. He made a proclamation,

Burton upon Trent.

on Trent, where he went to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelle the younger, John de Spowbray, Bartholomew de Badelshere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Wynefeld, Henrie Treis, and many other being gotten thither before, kept the bridge, and assailing the kings people which he had thus sent before, some of them they slue, and some they wounded, so defending the bridge, that none could passe, and by reason that the waters, and spect-
 10 allie the riuer of Trent through abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raised, there was no meane to passe by the fords, whereupon the king was constrained to staie the space of thre daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the bridge at Burton, with barriers and such like defenses, after the maner of warre, but the king at length upon deliberate aduise taken how to passe the riuer, ordeined, that the earle of Surrie with cer-
 20 teine armed men, should go ouer by a bridge that was thre miles distant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backs of the enemies, as they were fighting with those that should assaile them afront.

The earle of Surrie. Peraduenture at which noise.

The earles of Richmond and Denbroke.

Robert Aquarie.

The king passed by a ford.

The earles of Lancaster and Hereford fled and set fire on the towne.

The king cometh to Tutburie.

Hue and crye.

The earles of Richmond and Denbroke were appointed to passe by a ford, which they had got knowledge of, with thre hundred horsemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent should follow them, with the residue of the armie, sauing that Robert Aquarie of Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to assaile the bridge, which he did verie manfully, causing the archers & crossbowes to annoie them that kept it, so as he might draw the whole power of the enemies that waite, till the king and the earles were passed by the ford. But after that the earles of Lancaster and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was passed with his armie, they came forth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiuing the great puissance which the king had there ready to encounter them, without more ado they fled setting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people coming speedilie forward, and entering the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the spoile of such things as the enemies for hast had left behind them. The king kept nothing to himselfe, but onelie a faire cup that belonged to the earle of Lancaster, a peece esteemed to be of some great value.

On the same night, being wednesdaie, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the castell, sending forth the next day with all speed, letters to the shiriffe of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, aduertising him both of the successe he had against his enemies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for such they should be reputed, taken and vfed. Wherefore he commanded in the same letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the said shiriffe might forfeit, he should pursue the said rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelle the younger, John de Spowbray, Bartholomew de Badelshere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Wynefeld, Henrie Treis, and all and euerie other person or persons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; causing hue and crye to be raised vpon them, in what part soeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the said shiriffe should thinke it expedient, and to inioine and straightlie command all and singular persons, the said rebels and enemies to pursue, take and arrest, and them to deliuer vnto the said shiriffe, and that such as were not able to pursue them, yet with hand or hoine they should leue hue and crye against them,

in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accounted for fauourers and adherents to the said rebels and traitors, and that the said shiriffe should thereupon apprehend them, and put them in prison. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and sent forth to all other shiriffes through the realme, and likewise to the bishop of Durham, and to the iustice of Chester.

Beside this, he directed also other writs to the said shiriffes and others, that although he had bene constrained to passe in forcible wise through diuerse parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to suppress the malicious rebellion of diuerse his subjects, and that as yet he was constrained to continue his iournie in such forcible wise, neuertheless his pleasure was, that the peace should be maintained and kept throughout his realme, with the statutes, lawes and customes inuiolatod, and therefore he commanded the said shiriffes, that they should cause the same to be proclaimed in places where was thought most expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of person, of what state or condition soeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man should seeke to mainteine and pferue the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the statutes, lawes and god customes of the land, to the uttermost of his power: this alwaies obserued, that the rebels, wheresoeuer they might be found, should be arrested, and committed to safe custody. The date of this writ was at Tutburie afore-
 30 said on the twelfth of March.

The lord Roger Damorie laie sicke in his bed at the same time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard that iudgement the king had pronounced against him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the discomfure at Burton, lost manie men and horses in their flight away, by reason of such pursuit as was made after them. Diuerse of them that had taken part with the lords against the king, came now and submitted themselves vnto him, amongst the which were sir Gilbert de Cliffield, and sir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the said Holland in some suspicion, because he had promised to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaster had sent him at this time to raise his tenants in Lancashire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceived him, and came not to him at all, whereupon the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Donistref, fell to counsell in the friers there, and finally, after much debating of the matter, and considering how by the vntreue dealing of the said Robert Holland, their side was much weakened, it was concluded, that they should go to the castell of Dunstanborough, and there remaine till they might purchase the kings pardon, with their enterprise thus
 40 quailed vnder their hands: and herewith setting forward that waie forth, they came to Woughbyde, where sir Andrew de Herkley with the power of the countesse of Cumberland and Westmerland had laid the passage, and there on a tuesdaie being the 16 of March, he setting vpon the barons, in the end discomfited them, and chased their people.

In this fight was slaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie, with sir Roger de Bourgh, Cliffield, and diuerse others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaster, the lord Roger Clifford son to that lord Roger which died in the battell at Banockesboorne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord John Spowbray, the lord Hugh de Willing-
 50 son, the lord Thomas Handuit, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wil-
 60 ther,

Donistref priorie the peace kept.

The lord Damorie parted this life.

Sir Gilbert de Cliffield a knight of the shire of Lancashire met them selves with the king.

The earles of Lancaster and Hereford came to Donistref.

Rich. Scob. Sir Andrew de Herkley.

The earle of Lancaster taken.

Baron taken.

The battell
of Marston
bridge.

ther, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Kenouill, the lord Phillip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Leiboine, the lord Henrie de Babbone, the lord John de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateville, John de Strikeland, Donell Heron, Walter Paucelie of Streton, and a great number of other esquires and gentlemen. This battell was fought on the fiftenth day of March, in the peare 1322 after the account of them that begin the peare at the Circumcision, which was in the said fiftenth peare of this kings reigne.

The castell of
Pomfret was
renewed to
the king.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was sent to Porke, two friers of the order of preachers being appointed to take to it, till the king take order for the burying of it. The lord Clifford also, because he was wounded with an arrow, was sent unto Porke. At the same time, the lord Henrie Percie took the lord Henrie Teies, and John de Goldington knight, with two esquires, and within a few daies after, Donald de Mar took the lord Bartholomew de Badesmere, the lord Hugh Audelie the younger, the lord John Gifford, the lord William Tuchet, and in manner all those which escaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by such of the kings servants and friends as pursued them. Upon the one and twentieth of March, came sir Andrew de Harkley unto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaster and other prisoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the castell yielded to him by the constable, that not manie daies past was appointed to the keeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captive, was mocked, scorned, and in derision called king Arthur.

The earle of
Lancaster
arraigned.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentieth of March, he was brought before these noble men, Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Almer earle of Penbroke, John erle of Surrey, Edmund earle of Arundell, David, earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Angus, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, the lord Robert de Palineshozp iustice, and others with them associate, before whom he was arraigned of high treason, for that he had raised warre against the king, and defended the passage of Burton bridge, for the space of thre daies together against him, and after when it was perceived that the king had passed the river, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, set fire on the said towne, and cruellie burnt part of the houses and men of the same towne, and after, the said earle of Lancaster with his complices, arranged himselfe in field with his armie and banners displayed readie to fight against the king, till that perceiving the kings power to be ouerstrong for him & his partakers to resist, he together with them fled, committing by the waie diuerse felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certaine of the kings faithfull subiects readie to resist them, they assailed the said faithfull subiects with force of armes and banners displayed, slaying diuerse of them, till finally the said earle of Lancaster was caught, and other of his complices, some taken, some slaine, and the residue put to flight, so that there wanted no good will in the said earle of Lancaster and others, while the king should not haue bene vanquished. Which treasons, murders, burning of houses, destroying of the kings people, being plainlie & manifestlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the said earle of Lancaster was thereupon adiudged to die, according to the law in such cases promised, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and beheaded. But because he was the quenes uncle, and some to the kings uncle, he was pardoned of all saue beheading, and so accordinglie thereunto suffered.

He is found
guilty.
Southwell.

He is beheaded.

ferred at Pomfret the two and twentieth of March.

Thus the king seemed to be reuenged of the displeasure done to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Piers de Causton earle of Cornewall, whom he so deuelie loued, and because the erle of Lancaster was the cheefe occasioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirclye after. So that here is verified the censure of the scripture expressed by the wisdom of Salomon, that the anger and displeasure of the king is as the roying of a lion, and his reuenge inenitable. Wherefore it is an hie point of discretion in such as are mightie, to take heed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their soueraigne, which if it be not by submission made blunt, the burthen of the smart ensuing will lie heauie vpon the offender, even to his utter vndoing, and losse (perhaps) of life. In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest peere in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leaue warre against the king, he was possessed of five earldomes, Lancaster, Lincoln, Salisbury, Leicester, and Derby, beside other seignories, lands, and possessions, great to his aduancement in hono and puissance. But all this was limited within prescription of time, which being expired, both honour and puissance were cut off with dishonour and death, for (mutable state)

*Inuida fatorum series, summusq; negatum
Stare diu.*

On the same day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Henrie Babbone, and the lord William; Chene barons, with John Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortly after, Roger lord Clifford, John lord Howbzaie, and sir Gosein d'Centill barons, were drawne and hanged at Porke. At Wyssow in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Pontfort barons; and at Gloucester, the lord John Gifford, and sir William Elmchilde knight; and at London, the lord Henrie Teies baron; at Winchelse, sir Thomas Culpeper knight; at Windsor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badesmere, and the lord Bartholomew de Ashbornham, barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Fleming knight was executed: diuerse were executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Maut and others.

Lords executed.

But now touching the foresaid earle of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no lesse esteemed, for that he did manie almesdeeds in his life time, honored men of religion, and maintained a true quarell till his liues end. Also, his enemies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceived an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but lived in spoule-breach, defiling a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he slue him shortly after in his wrathfull mood. Apostafes and other euill doers he maintained, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his doings he vied to commit vnto one of his secretaries, and toke no heed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, because he could not auoid it: yet by reason of certaine miracles which were said to be done nere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused manie to thinke he was a saint; howbeit, at length, by the kings commandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were shut and closed, so that no

Auesburie.
Nic. Trivet.

Caxton.

man might be suffered to come to the toun to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of occupation to the same. Also, the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Gascoignes, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenser the sonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said earle, whome they toke herelic for a martyr.

A parlement at Poike.

When the king had subdued the barons, shortly after, about the feast of the Ascension of our lord, he held a parlement at Poike, in which parlement, the record and whole proccesse of the decree or judgement concerning the disheriting of the Spensers, ordered by the lords in parlement assembled at London the last summer, was now thoroughly examined, and for their errors therein found, the same record and proccesse was clerelie adhibited and reuerfed, and the said Spensers were restored to all their lands and officers, as before. And in the same parlement the lord Hugh Spenser the father was made earle of Winchester, and the lord Andrew de Herkile earle of Carleill. Moreover, in the same parlement, all such were disherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaster & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelie the younger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, because he had married the kings niece, that was sister to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which was slaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockburne, as before is mentioned.

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellor. Polydor.

At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man so euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellor of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of five yeares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expressed) were brought to confusion, did wonderfullie increase, and the queene for that the gaue good and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes clerelie wone out of the kings fauour. Moreover, we find, that in this parlement holden at Poike, the kings sonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

The queene giueth good counsell.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Statutes.

A subsidie.

Addition to Trinet.

The earle of Denbroke arrested.

Fabian.

Also, the king caused the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and skill, and such as were thought necessarie to be established, he commanded that the same should be called statutes, and not ordinances. Beside a great subsidie granted to the king by the temporalitie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted five pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Poike foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbroke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Poike, was arrested by certeine knights, sent with authoritie thereunto from the king, who brought him backe to Poike, where at length the rough suit of certeine noble men, he was upon his oth taken to be a faithfull subiect, and in consideration of a fine which he paid to the king, set at libertie. The occasion of his imprisonment came, for that he was accused and detected to be a secret fauourer of the barons cause against the Spensers in time of the late troubles.

Moreover, shortly after the king gathered the first penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had bene granted to him at the foresaid parlement holden at Poike, towards the defending of the realme against the Scots. This far was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in such euill

and miserable state as it then was. ¶ This yeare also the sunne appeared to mans sight in colour like to bloud, and so continued six houres, to wit, from seven of the clocke in the morning of the last daie of October, untill one of the clocke in the afternone of the same daie.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whilst the ciuill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots wasted & destroyed the countrie of the bishoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partly heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incursions into the borders of Gt. Brit. alledging that they did it upon good and sufficient occasion; for that king Edward had not done his homage unto the king of France, as he ought to haue done, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Ponthieu. But the true occasion that moued them to attempt the warres at that present, was for that they were in hope to recover all the lands which the king of England held within France, clerelie out of his hands, for so much as they understood the discord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had sped against the Scots, by reason whereof they iudged the time to serue most fitte now for their purpose.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptist, Robert Bruce entering into England by Carleill, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coteswold, Kendall, and so into Lancashire, till he came to Preston in Anderneffe, which towne he burnt, as he had done others in the countries through which he had passed. There were some of the Scots that forraied the countrie five miles on this side Preston southwards, and thus being fourescore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entered againe into Scotland without encounter, after they had bene at this time within England the space of three weeks and three daies. King Edward being thus beset with two mischiefes both at one time, thought good first to prouide remedie against the nearer danger, which by the Scots was still at hand, and therefore he meant to go against them himselfe, and to send his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Gt. Brit. to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Hereupon now in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great bootie and rich spoile, he got together a wonderfull great armie of men, and entering into Scotland, passed far within the countrie, not finding any resistance at all (as the most part of our writers doe agree) but at length, through famine and diseases of the air and other maladies that fell amongst the Englishmen in the armie, he was constrained to come backe, and in his waie besieged the castell of Roxham, which fortreffe he wan within ten daies after he had begun to assault it.

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the English armie was retired home, raised a power, and entering into England by Sullwaie lands, late at a place called Beaumond, not past three miles fro Carleill, by the space of five daies, sending in the meane time the most part of his armie abroad to spoile and harrie the countrie on euerie side, and afterwards remouing from thence, he passed towards Blackmore, hauing knowledge by diligent espials, that king Edward was in those parts, giuing himselfe more to pastime in hunting there within the woods about Blackmore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Whereupon the Scottish king Bruce, entering into that wild and moorish countrie, where he had not bene afore, conueied his enterprise so warlike, and with such diligent industrie, that on saint Lukes daie, comming upon the English armie at bntwars, he put the same to flight, so that the king himselfe

Polydor.

The Scots invade the bishoprike of Durham.

Rich. South. Rob. Bruce immediately England.

See note hereof in Scotland.

Anno Reg. 27.

The king goeth into Scotland with an armie. Ri. South. Marston.

himselfe was in great danger to haue bene taken prisoner. For (as some authours write) the Scots had almost taken him at dinner in the abbey of Beighland. Sir John Bitaime earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treasure was spoiled and carried awaie, with the prouision and ordnance that belonged to the host.

Rich. South.

Forkefwoold
spoiled by the
Scots.
Beuerlie ransomed.

The earle of
Carleill raiseth an armie.

The king escaping awaie, got to Forke, and the Scots hauing thus the vpper hand, after they had spoiled the monasterie of Kiuale, and taken their pleasure there, they passed forth into Forkefwoold, despoiling that countrie euen almost vnto Beuerlie, which towne they ransomed, receiuing a summe of monie for sparing it, least they should haue burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raise the powers of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancashire, did so, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them beclove the countreies vnto Forke, found the king there in no plight to giue battell to his enemies, all things being brought about him into great confusion: whereupon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the Scots so returned without battell home into their countreies, entering into Scotland the morrow after All halloves daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. Some write, that in their returne, they spoiled Forthelerton, and diuerse other townes and places as they passed.

Fabian.

A conspiracie
to set priuocars
at libertie.

In the same yeare, there was a great conspiracie practised by certain persons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purposing to set at libertie in one selfe night, all those noble men and others, that were by the king kept in prison for that quarrell. Certaine therefore of those conspiratores came to the castell of Wallingford, within the which the lord Maurice Berkeley, and the lord Hugh Audley remained as prisoners. The conspiratores found thist to enter the castell by a posterne gate towards the Thames side, howbeit not so secretlie but that the townesmen hauing knowledge thereof, assembled together, and besieged them that were so entred the castell, till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to reinforce the siege, so that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chappell of the castell, in hope to be saued through sanctuary of the place, but they were (against the willes of the deane and preests of the colledge there that sought to defend them) taken forth by force, so that sir John de Goldington knight, sir Edmund of the Bech chapeleine, and an esquire called Roger Walton, were sent to Pomfret, and there put in prison; the esquire was after sent to Forke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterpryse caused all other prisoners to be more straightlie looked vnto.

Sir John
Goldington.

Polydor.

Rich. Southw.
Polydor.

In this yeare was begun a wicked practise of treason vpon this occasion. Where king Edward hauing alsaied fortune so froward towards him, in chance of warre against the Scots at sundrie times, was thereby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to seeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Berkeley earle of Carleill, to seeke some means, whereby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmanaban, intreated with him of warre, and not of peace; for whether it were so that he despaired of the state of king Edwards businessse, which prospered neither at home nor abroad; cheselfe by reason of his owne wilfull negligence (as some write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing so much, as in deceit, craft, and treason: he concluded vpon points with the Scottish king, how, when, and where king Edward

should be betrayed, and to the end that couenant, faith on either side might be the more suerlie kept and obserued, the sister of king Robert was affianced vnto the said earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull lady and a comelie as was anie where to be seene or found.

This practise being thus contriued, shortly after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: so hard a thing it is for man to conceale and keepe secret that thing which he goeth about, though he studie neuer so much so to do, namelie in matters of treason, which hath a thousand fet to creepe abroad, and which way soener it goeth, it leaueth a thousand prints of the footsteps behind it, by the which it may be discouered to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arrested by commandement from the king, and straightwaies being arraigned of the treason, he was thereof condemned and put to execution.

His head was sent vnto London, and there set vpon the bridge, or rather vpon some turret of the towne. So hard a matter it is for traitors to escape the hands of the executioner; vnder whose hatchet they submit their heads to be betwen from their shoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath vouchsafed them a superlatiue degree of dignitie, that they might be obeyed, neither will his iustice permit impunitie to the disloyall enterprises and complots of malefactours, common peace-disturbers, haucie-harted psemrods, ambitious Hamans, or anie leiod malcontent: for

Ac er Dei est oculus ad omnia videndum,

Eius penas non effugit mortalis,

Vivere valens ergo ne faciat morte digna.

¶ But there be that write otherwise (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiving the miserie of his countrie, without consent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as by Richard Southwell we find recorded. First, the earle promised faithfullie for him and his heires, that they should with all their force and means possible, seeke to mainteine the said king of Scots, his heires and successors, in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Scotland, and that to their powers they should fight against all those that would not agree vnto that couenant, as against them that should seeme to be enemies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promised faithfullie for his part, to defend the said earle, his heires, and adherents in the said couenant or paction, and not onelie to keepe peace with England, but also to build a monasterie within Scotland, assigning reuenues thereto, to the value of five hundred marks, to celebrate diuine seruice, and to pray continuallie for the soules of them that were dead, by occasion of the passed warres betwixt England and Scotland; and further, that he should giue to the king of England within ten yeares, fortie thousand pounds of siluer; and that the king of England should haue the king of Scots eldest sonne, to marrie him vnto some ladie of his bloud, as he should thinke expedient. To the performance of all which covenants well and truelie to be obserued, Thomas Handulfe earle of Surrey swaars on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill swaars for himselfe: and herewith certaine writings indented were drawne and ingrossed, to the which interchangeablie they set their hands and scales.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chiefe persons of the countrie, as well spirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwise, conspired

A. l. ij.

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Treason will
euer come to
light by one
meane or
other.

I 3 2 3
The earle of
Carleill put
to death.

Ri. Southwell.

The lord
Lucie.

Michael de
Berkeley.

The earle of
Carleill's
iudgement.

His constan-
cie at his
death.

ned them to receiue an oth, that they should aid & as-
sist him to their powres, to see all the covenants & a-
boucsaid performed and kept. After that these things
were knowne to the king and the realme, although
some of the communalte liked well inough of the
matter, bicause they hoped thereby to remaine in
peace, especiallie those of the north parts, the king
pet and his counsell (not without cause) were soze
offended, for that he whom the king had so latelie ad-
uanced, should confederate himselfe with the Scots,
to the preiudice of the king and his crowne, conclu-
ding any covenants of peace without his consent,
whereupon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king
sent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the
said earle by some meanes if he might, and for his
paines he should not faile to be well rewarded.

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles
men were gone some whither abroad, and but few
left about him, the morrow after the feast of saint
Matthew the apostle, he entred the castell of Carleill,
as it were to talke with the earle of some businesse,
as his manner was at other times to do. He had
with him sir Hugh Lowther, sir Richard Denton,
and sir Hugh Poizebie knights, and foure esquires,
beside other priuie armed, so that leauing some at
the inner gate and doze as he entred, he came into the
hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, ar-
rested him. Wherewith when certeine of the earles ser-
uants made a noise, and cried, Treason, treason, the
porter of the inner gate would haue shut it vpon
them that were thus entred, but sir Richard Denton
saw that porter with his owne hands, and there was
not one more slaine by them in the apprehension of
the earle, for all other his seruants yelded them-
selues and the house vnto the said lord Lucie, with-
out more resistance.

Whobbeit one of his seruants that saw these do-
ings, got awaie, and with all speed ran to the pale of
Berkeley, and shewed to the earles brother Michael
Berkeley what was chanced to the earle, whereupon
the said Michael forthwith fled into Scotland, and
with him sir William Blunt knight a Scottishman,
and diuerse other that were of the earles priuie coun-
cell. The lord Lucie straightwaies sent a messenger
to the king vnto Porke, aduertising him how he had
taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderstand
further of the kings pleasure. The king forthwith
sent the lord Geoffrey Scrobe iustice, with a number
of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither
on saint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being
the thirde of March, he sat in iudgement vpon the said
earle, in the castell of Carleill, and there (as out of
the kings mouth) he pronounced sentence against
him in this wise; first, that he should be disgraced of
his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the
sword which the king had gird him with, and likewise
of his knightthod, by cutting off his spurs from his
heelles, and that after this, he should be drawen from
the castell through the citie vnto the place of executi-
on, where felons were accustomed to suffer, and there
to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head
to be sent vnto London, there to be set aloft vpon one
of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be di-
uided, one to be set vp at Carleill, an other at Berke-
castell vpon Aine, the thirde at Wilsow, & the fourth
at Dour.

When he had heard this iudgement, he said; You
haue diuided my bodie at your pleasure, and I com-
mit my soule vnto God: and being according to the
iudgement drawen to the place where he suffered, he
neuer shrank at the matter, but bolbly behaued
himselfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death,
that his intention in concluding the agreement with
the Scots was god, and proceeding not of any euill

meaning, but tending onlie to the wealth and quiet-
nes of the realme. Neither could such friers as were
permitted to come to him before his arreignement
to heare his confession, get any thing more of him,
but that his meaning was god, and that which he had
concluded with the king of Scots was not done vpon
any euill purpose, whereby any hurt might insue,
either to the king or to the realme. Thus haue we
thought god to shew the cause of this earles death,
as by some writers it hath bene registred; although
there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Beighland
chanced through his fault, by misleading a great part
of the kings host, and that therefore the king being
offended with him, caused him to be put to death, al-
beit (as I thinke) no such matter was alleged against
him at the time of his arreignement.

About this season was the foundation begun of S. Poly-
Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one sir Henrie
Stanton knight, chancellor of the exchequer. About
the feast of the Ascension, there came as commissio-
ners from the king of England vnto Berkecastell,
Aimerie earle of Penbroke, and the lord chamber-
laine Hugh Spenker the yonger, and other foure
personages of god accompt. And from the king of
Scots, there came the bishop of saint Andrews, Tho-
mas Randolph earle of Surrey, and other foure of
god credit to treat of peace, or at the leastwise of
some long truce, and through the good will and plea-
sure of God, the author of all peace and quietnesse,
they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirtene
yeares, and so about the feast of saint Barnabe the a-
postle, it was proclaimed in both realmes, but yet so,
that they might not traffike together, bicause of the
excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet
intangled, although as some write, about the same
time, the interdict wherewith the realme of Scotland
stood bound, was by pope John releaseth.

The French k. being latelie come to the crowne,
sent certeine ambassadoes vnto king Edward, to
wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Floren-
tia a notarie, to giue summons vnto him from the
French king, to come and do homage for the lands
which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aqui-
taine, and the countie of Pontien. And though the
lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenker the sonne, and the
lord chancellor Robert Baldocke did what they
could to procure these ambassadoes, not to declare the
cause of their comming to the king, yet when they
should depart, they admonished the king to come and
do his homage vnto the French king, and vpon this
admonition the said Andreas framed a publicke in-
strument, by vertue wherof, the French king made
processe against the king of England, and seized into
his hands diuerse townes and castels in Aquitaine,
allegging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by
the king of England, in refusing to come to do his
homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the
king was thoughtlie informed, that the summons
was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing
at all.

About the same time, the lord Roger Mortimer of
Wigmore, giuing his keepers a drinke that brought
them into a sound and heauie sleepe, escaped out of
the tower of London where he was prisoner. This
escape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the
king, so that immediatlie vpon the first newes, he
wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanc-
ed to come within their romes, they should cause
hue and cry to be raised, so as he might be haied and
arrested, but he made such shift, that he got ouer into
France, where he was receiued by a lord of Picar-
die, named monfieur John de Fieules, who had fauor-
lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to
him, reproofing him of vnthankfulnessse, considering
he

Fabian,
Caxton.

Rich. Scut.
Commis-
sioners met
treat of
peace.

A truce
closed.

Polydor.
Hed. Booc.
Anno Reg.
Agellings
from the
French k.

The first
king taketh
townes and
castles.

The lord
Mortimer
escaped out
of the tower.

he had bene ever readie to pleasure him, and to ad-
vance his profits and commodities, and yet not
withstanding he did succour the said lord Spottimer,
and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

In Lent this yere, a parlement was holden at
London, in the which diverse things were intreated,
amongst other the chiefeest was, to determine for the
sending of some honorable ambassage to the French
king, to excuse the king for not comming to him to
do his homage, according to the pretended sum-
mons. ¶ In the same parlement, Adam bishop of
Hereford was arrested, and examined upon points
of treason, for aiding, succouring, and maintaining
the Spottimers, and other of the rebels. This bishop
was reckoned to be wise, subtil, and learned, but o-
therwise, willfull, presumptuous, and given to main-
teine factions. At the first, he disdeined to make anie
answer at all, and finalie, when he was in manner
forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might
not make any answer to such matters as he was
charged with, except by the licence and consent of his
metropolitane the archbishop of Canturburie, and
other his pères. Whereupon, the said archbishop and
other bishops made such sute, that he was commit-
ted to the keeping of the said archbishop, with him to
remaine, till the king had taken order for his further
answer.

Within few daies after, when the king called him
again before his presence, to make answer to the
matters laid against him, the archbishops of Can-
turburie, Poike, Dublin, and ten other bishops came
with their crosses afore them, and under a colour of
the privilege and liberties of the church, toke him a-
waie, before he had made anie answer, forbidding
all men on paine of excommunication, to laie anie
hands upon him. The king greatlie offended with
this bold proceeding of the prelates, caused yet an in-
quest to be impanelled, to inquire of the bishop of
Herefords treasons, and upon the finding of him
guilty, he seized into his hands all the temporalities
that belonged to his bishopricke, and spoiled his ma-
nours and houses most violentlie, in reuenge of his
disobedientia.

Whereover, in this parlement, the lands and posses-
sions that belonged sometime to the Templers, and
had bene deliuered unto the knights Hospitallers,
otherwise called knights of the Rhodes by the king in
the seaventy yere of his reigne (according to the de-
cree of the councell of Vienna) were by authoritie of
this parlement assured unto the said knights, to en-
toy to them and their successors for ever. Also it was
concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbishop
of Dublin should go ouer as ambassadours into
France, to excuse the king for his not comming in
person to the French king, to do his homage for the
lands he held in France. Whereover, in the same par-
lement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of
his enemies and rebels that had suffered and hanged
still on the gallows, should be taken downe, and
buried in the churchyards next to the places where
the same bodies were hanging, and not elsewhere, by
such as would take paine to burie them, as by his
letters directed unto the shiriffes of London, and of
the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Gloucester, Poike,
and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this li-
bertie was granted at that time for the taking down
of those bodies, but (as some write) it was decreed by
authoritie in the same parlement, that the bodies of
all those that from thenceforth should be hanged for
felonies, should incontinentlie be buried, which ordi-
nance hath bene ever since obserued.

The earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dublin
going ouer into France, could not light upon anie
good conclusion for the matter about the which they

were sent, because the same time, or rather somewhat
before, the lord Hase Basset of Draiton, being the
kings seneschall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a cer-
taine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on
the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, trusting on the
French kings fauour and maintenance, refused to
obey the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of
Aquitaine, and seemed to despise and set at naught
the authoritie of the said lord Basset in that countrie,
contrarie to all right, good order or reason. Where-
upon, the French king toke the matter so graueouslie,
that except the lord Basset might be constrained to
come vnto Paris, and there make answer to his of-
fense, he would not hearken to anie other satisfacti-
on. And the retypon, when the ambassadours were re-
turned, he sent his uncle the lord Charles de Valois
earle of Anjou, with a mightie armie, against the
English subjects into Guien, where entring into
Agenois, he toke and seized all that countrie into the
French kings hands. The earle of Kent being now
gotten into those parts, with a great number of o-
ther capteins and men of warre sent thither by the
king of England, resisted the enemies verie manful-
lie, in so much that upon their approach to the Rioll, a
strong towne in those parts, the earle of Kent as
then being within it, did issue forth, and giuing them
battell, slue (as some write) foureteene hundred of
their men, so that they were glad to lodge at the first
somewhat further off the towne.

Whilist this siege remained before the towne of
the Rioll, the king of England wrote his letters to
the duke of Britaine, as one of the pères of France,
declaring the inturious dealing of the French king,
who had sent his uncle the earle of Anjou with an ar-
mie against his people in Agenois, where he had ta-
ken manie townes, destroyed his people, and now
had besieged his nephue Edmund earle of Kent,
within the towne of the Rioll, inforcing his whole
puissance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the du-
chic of Guien, and against all reason, and the pæro-
gatiue of the pères of France, to an euill president
or example in time to come of the perpetuall serui-
tude of the said pères. And although saith the king of
England, that the French alledge that we haue ben
lawfullie summoned to come and do homage, and
haue refused so to do, that is not so: for we were ne-
uer in due order required as was contentient, nei-
ther could we do homage, by reason of the great in-
turies and hard dealings practised against vs, from
the feast of Easter last, till the date of those his pre-
sent letters (which was the first of October, in this
eighteenth yere of his reigne) and yet, saith he, there
was neuer anie lawfull proccesse had against vs be-
fore our pères, in the great chamber at Paris, as
had bene requisite.

Whereupon he requested the duke of Britaine, that
for the preservation and maintenance of the honora-
ble estate of the pères of France, & for iustice sake
he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of request,
or other conuenient meanes, so as the said strict
dealings and inturious wrongs may cease, and the
estate of the pæreship may be maintained as was
requisite. He wrote likewise to the lord John the
infant, the lord of Biskie, and to the ladie Marie
of Biskie gouernesse of the king of Castile and Le-
on, and to James king of Aragon, requesting them
to aid him with men of warre, as well ho:smen as
footmen, against his aduersarie the French king,
that most vniustlie went about to depriue him of
his inheritance. But howsoever the matter went,
no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till
at length, the Frenchmen so reinforced the siege,
that the towne was deliuered to the earle of Anjou,
and a tence taken upon certaine conditions, that
further

The lord
Basset.

Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of
Anjou sent
into Guien.

The earle of
Kent.

Fabian.
The king of
England
wrote to the
duke of Bri-
taine.
Record, Tur.

The lord of
Biskie.

1324
a parliament.

The bishop of
Hereford ar-
rested.

Thom de la
More.

Thom. Wall.

The prelat-
ious demen-
our of prelates.

Re. Tur.
Lands belong-
ing to the
templers.

Licence to bu-
rie the bodies
of the rebels.
Record, Tur.

Pol. dec.

Ambassadours
sent into
France.

The. Wall.
A true tale.

The lord de
Sullie sent
into France
in ambassage.

The pope
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the kings of
England and
France.

1325

Other ambaf-
sadors sent o-
uer into
France.

The queene
is sent ouer
into France
to talke with
hir brother
the French
king.

A peace and
concord a-
graed vpon.

Anno Reg. 19.

farther talke might be had, for the conclusion of some peace.

Then were sent ouer other ambassadoys, as the lord John de Sullie a Frenchman borne, and one maister John de Shodich, but the lord Sullie had so strange intertainment for some displeasure which the French king conceiued against him, that if the French queene had not the better intreated for him, he had lost his head; and as for the other, he had also returned home without bringing any thing to passe, of that for the which he was sent. After this, the pope sent the archbishop of Nienna, and the bishop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to some agreement, but they could do no good, and so taking monie of the cleargie for their expences, they returned. After this, about the twentieth daie after Christmasse, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to haue the aduise of the lords, how he might worke for sauing of the duchie of Guien, fore molested by the French. Herupon it was concluded, that the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and John de Britaine earle of Richmond, should go ouer as ambassadoys to the French king, who comming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuses, made on both parts, at length receiued a certeine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the bishop of Winchester was sent backe to England, the bishop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be knownen how the king of England would like thereof.

If allie it was thought good, that the queene should go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon some reasonable conditions. She willingly took upon hir the charge, and so with the lord John Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was fullie receiued, and finally she being the mediatrix, it was finally accorded, that the Is. of England should giue to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Ponthieu, and that the French king receiuing homage of him for the same, he should restore into his hands the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countreies which had bene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Artois should fullie see him satisfied, as right did requite.

Upon the covenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come ouer himselfe in person. Upon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerse thinking it best that the king should go ouer himselfe: but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go ouer themselves with the king, nor abide at home in his absence, gaue contrarie counsell, and at length prevailed so, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldest sonne Edward should go ouer, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

Hereupon the king made a charter of grant vnto his sonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Ponthieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to depart this life whilest his father liued, those lands should returne to his father againe, so as the French king might not marrie the kings sonne at his pleasure, nor appoint vnto him any gardians or gouernours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with consent of the prelates and other noble men of the realme there present, the morrow after the Natinitie of our ladie, and on the thursdaie

The prince of
wailes is sent
into France.

following, the kings sonne took the sea, and with him Walter bishop of Excester and others in competent number, and about the feast of saint Matthe to the apostle, he did homage to his vncle the French king at Bois de Vincennes, vnder certeine protestations made, as well on the one part as the other.

The summer this yeare proued exceeding hot and drie, so that springs and riuers failed to yeld their accustomed course of waters, by reason wherof great numbers of cattell and beasts, both wilde and tame died, through lacke of conuenient liquors to asswage their vehement thirst. In the beginning of the next spring, king Edward sent into France vnto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all conuenient speed. The queene receiuing the message from hir husband, whether it was so that she was staied by hir brother, vnto whom belike she had complained after what manner she was vsed at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, because she was loth to see all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spenfers, wherof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slacked all the summer, and sent letters euer to excuse hir tardiance. But yet because she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diuerse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft iournies. A lamentable case, that such diuision should be betwene a king and his queene, being lawfullie married, and hauing issue of their bodie, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be dratone and allured vnto, if by euill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leaue vndone, though neuer so inconuenient to those that should be most deere vnto hir, so hir owne fanthe and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she reuoked from proceeding in an euill action, if she haue once taken a taste of the same? As

berie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, saying,
*Male quod mulier incipit nisi effecere id perpetrat,
Id illi morbo, id illi senio est: ea illi misera miseria est:
Si bene facere incipit, eius iam cito odium percipit,
Nimisq; pauca sunt desessa, male qua facere occiperint;
Nimisq; pauca efficiunt, si quid occiperint benefacere;
Mulieri nimio malefacere melius est omnis, quam bene.*

But to the purpose. King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope John to write his letters vnto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne vnto hir husband. But when this nothing availed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the nineteenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the queene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphantie next ensuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enemies to the realme and crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the queene determined to returne into England forthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

Others write, and that more truelie, how she being highlie displeased, both with the Spenfers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did appoint indoe to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, wherby she might reuenge hir manifold iniuries. Which (as the profe of the thing sheweth) seemeth to be most true, for she being a wife woman, & considering that with the Spenfers had excluded, put out, and remoued all good men, from and besides the kings counsell, and placed in their rooms such

The king's
death for his
wife and
to returne
home.

The king's
death for his
wife and
to returne
home.

The king's
death for his
wife and
to returne
home.

Plant. in
Tree.

A procla-
tion.
Fabian.

Polydon.

1336

Sir Robert
Walslare.The bishop of
Excester co-
mity from
the queene.Sir Oliver
de Ingham
lieutenant of
Calcutne.Agenois reco-
uered out of
the French-
mens hands.Ships of
Normandie
taken.

Anno. Reg. 20.

The lord
Warrunt
of Hainault.

such of their clients, seruants and frends as pleased them, the might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spensers, which she knew hated hir deadly. Whereupon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be set into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wife.

About the same time, one sir Robert Walslare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and subtil (who being taken in the warres which the lords raised against the king, had bene committed to prison in the castell of Cosfe) found means now to kill the constable of that castell most cruellie, and escaping awaie, got ouer to the queene into France; and so the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir daile increased. This sir Robert Walslare was a great procurer of the discord betwixt the king and the lords, and a chiefe leader, or rather seducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford: and whilest other gaue themselves to seeke a reformation in the decayed state of the commonwealth, he let his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerse other about the same time fled out of the realme vnto the queene, and vnto hir sonne the earle of Chester. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, which hitherto had remained with the queene in France, stole now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the queene: which thing turned first of all vnto his owne destruction, as shall after appeare.

About the same time, one sir Oliver de Ingham, a yong, lustie, and valiant knight, was by the kings sonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers consent) established lord warden of the marches of Guen, the which sir Oliver gathering an armie of hired soldiers, Spaniards, Aragon, and Gascoins, invaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to couenant) and recovering it from the French, clerelie reduced it to the English dominion. Moreover, sir John Oturum, sir Nicholas Bricell, and sir John Felton, admerals by the kings appointment, with the fleets of the east, south, and west parts, went to the sea, to apprehend such Frenchmen as they might meet withall. They according to their commission besiered themselves so, that within few daies they toke sir score saile of Normans, and brought them into England, whereupon the displeasure rose increased betwixt the two realmes.

The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should invade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden inuasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well understood, that the queene incant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Portiner, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obtaine any fauour at the kings hands, so long as the Spensers bare rule. The pope lamenting this matter, sent two bishops into England, to reconcile the king and queene, and also to agree the two kings. These bishops were reuerentlie receiued, but more than reuerence here they obtained not, and so departed as they came.

King Edward understanding all the queenes dist, at length sought the French kings fauour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his counsell, that queene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of John the lord Warrunt, the earle of Heinault his brother,

who being then in the court of France, and lamenting queene Isabells case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the yong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and thereupon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting hereto, went thither with him, where she was most iustillie receiued with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine.

The Spensers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was aduised by the earle of Arthois, chafelie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spensers deliuered five barrels of silver, the summe amounting vnto five thousand marks; vnto one Arnold of Spaine a brother, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to bestowe it vpon such frends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his relme. But this monie was met with vpon the sea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, together with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whose dominion the Zelanders in those daies remained, of which god hap the earle and queene Isabell greatly reioiced.

In the time that the queene and hir sonne late in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the lady Philip, daughter to the said earle, vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that the said erle should at his proper costs set ouer into England the said prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any such marriage as then concluded, and that in consideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided queene Isabell and hir sonne, it may be doubted, because other writers make no such report. Fewer the lesse, certeine it is, that the earls brother sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certeine bands of men of arms, to the number of foure hundred or five hundred, to passe ouer with the said queene and hir sonne into England, and so thereupon began to make his purueiance for that iourne, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spensers, they caused musters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be set vp, kept and watched, as well in the ballies by the sea side, as within the countries, vpon hilles and high grounds, that the same vpon occasion of the enimies arrivall, might be set on fire, to warne the countries adioining to assemble and resist them.

But queene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, staied not their iourne for doubt of all their aduerfaries prouision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they toke the sea, namelie the queene, hir sonne, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, sir John de Heinault as foresaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of god experience in the warres, and diuerse others, haing with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heineuiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing forth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an haven called Drwell besides Harwich, the 25 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the queene and hir sonne were come to land, it was wonder to see how fast the people resorted vnto them; and first of all, the earle Sparshall, in whose land she first came on shore, repaired vnto hir, so did the earle of Leiceffer, and diuerse barons & knights of those parts, with all the prelats in manner of the land, as the bishops of Lincolne, Hereford, Dubline, and Elie, the which being ioined with the queene,

The queene
of England
with hir son
goeth into
Heinault.
Polydor.

Caxton.

Fabian.
A marriage
concluded.

Caxton.
Prouision
made in Eng-
land to resist
the queene.

Tho. Walsin.
The queene
with hir son
land in Suff-
folke.

Tho. Wals.

The readi-
ness of the
peasants to
assist the
queen.

The answer
of the Lon-
doners to
the king.

The king for-
sakes Lon-
don, and goeth
towards the
marches of
Wales.

A proclama-
tion set forth
by the king.

The queene's
proclamation.

The bishop of
Exeter left
in charge
with the citie
of London.

Caxton.

Fabian.
Thom. Wals.

made a great armie. The archbishop of Canturburie and others aided him with monie.

After that she had refreshed his people a little space at saint Edmundsburie, she marched forth to seeke the aduersaries of him and of the realme, as she bated it; but they still keeping themselves nere to the kings person, that under the shadow of the wings of his protection they might remaine in more safe guard, durst not depart from his presence. At the time of the queenes landing he was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would do all the honour they might unto the king, the queene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the land: but as for strangers & traitors to the realme, they would keepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to go forth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged.

The king not greatlie liking of this answer, fortified the tower, and leauing within it his yonger son John of Eltham, and the wife of the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yonger that was his neece, he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raise an armie against the queene. Before his departure from London, he set forth a proclamation, that euerie man vnder paine of forfeiting of life & goods, should resist them that were thus landed, assault, and kill them, the queene, his sonne Edward, and his brother the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whoeuer could bring the head or dead corpes of the lord Spenser of Wigmore, should haue for his labour a thousand marks. The queenes proclamations on the other part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spensers publike enemies of the realme, and the lord chancellor Robert Baldocke, with their assistants onelie excepted, though whose meanes the present trouble was happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that no man should take ought from any person, and who so euer could bring to the queene the head of Hugh Spenser the yonger, should haue two thousand pounds of the queenes gift.

The king at his departure from London, left master Walter Stapleton the bishop of Exeter behind him, to haue the rule of the citie of London. Then shortly after, the queene with his son, making towards London, wrote a letter to the maior, and the citizens, requiring to haue assistance for the putting downe of the Spensers, not onelie knowne enemies of theirs, but also common enemies to all the realme of England. To this letter no answer at the first was made, wherefore an other was sent, dated at Baldocke the first daie of October, vnder the names of Isabell by the grace of God queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and countesse of Pontieu, and of Edward eldest sonne to the king of England, duke of Guien, earle of Chester, of Pontieu and of Murrell. This letter being directed to the maior and communalte of London, containing in effect, that the cause of their landing and entring into the realme at that time, was onelie for the honor of the king and wealth of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of person, but to the Spensers, was fastened vpon the crosse in Cheape, then called the new crosse in Cheape, on the night before the ninth daie of October. Diuerse copies of the same letter were set vp, and fastened vpon windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and one of the same copies was tacked vpon the lord maiors gates.

After which letter thus published in the citie, a great number of artificers, and other that loured not to sit in rest vpon such occasion of discord offered, now that things were in boile in other parts of the

realme, assembled in great numbers, & with weapon in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they knew to fauor the kings part, & therefore they forced him through feare of some iniurious violence, to receiue an oth to stand to their ordinance, which was to put to death all those that were aduersaries to the queene, or had by any meanes procured the hindrance of the cities liberties, vnder pretext of which oth they ran and toke one of the citizens, called John Sparshall, who because he was verie familiar with the earle of Gloucester, and therefore suspected to haue accused the citizens, they strooke off his head, and spoiled all his goods.

On the same day, being the fourteenth of October, continuing their rage, they ran to the house of the bishop of Exeter, Walter de Stapleton, and setting fire on the gates, they entred and spoiled him of all his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the bishop being at the same time returning from the fields, would not seeme to shrink, although he was admonished of these outrageous attempts of the people; but sitting on horsebacke, came to the north doore of St. Paule, where forthwith the furious people laid violent hands on him, theye him downe, and drew him most outrageously into Cheapeside, where they proclaimed him an open traitor, a seducer of the king, and a destroyer of their liberties. The bishop had vpon him a certeine cote of defense, which was called an aketon, the same therefore being plucked beside his backe as all other his garments, they shote his head from his shoulders, and to the like death they put two of his seruants, the one an esquire, and the other a yeoman. The bishops head was set on a pole for a spectacle, that the remembrance of his death, and the cause thereof might continue. His bodie was buried in an old churchyard of the pied fathers, without any manner of crequies of funerall seruice done for him.

The chiefest cause of the enimitie which the Londoners bare towards this bishop, rose herof. He being lord treasurer, procured that the iustices itinerants did sit in the citie of London, and where mane of the citizens were found offenders, and iustlie punished, as well by losing their freedoms, as by paying their fines, and suffering corporal punishments, they concurred a great displeasure towards him. Moreover, it was said, that he had raised a great multitude of armed men against the queene, and his son the duke of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as they affirmed) seeke to prevent his proceedings. ¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the bishop of Exeter, they toke by chance sir John Melfon constable of the tower, and from him they toke the keyes of the same tower, and so entering the tower, they set all the prisoners at libertie, and in like case all those that were imprisoned in maner through the land were permitted to go at large, and all the banished men and outlawes were likewise restored home.

The Londoners hauing the tower thus at their commandement, remoued all the officers therein placed by the king, and put other in their rooms, in the name of the lord John de Eltham the kings son, whom they named warden of the citie and land. And yet they ceased not to commit manie robberies & other outrageous & most insolent parts. In the meane time, the king being come to Wiltow, lest that citie in the keeping of the earle of Winchester. And with the earles of Gloucester and Arundell, and the lord chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed ouer into Wales, there to raise a powder of Welchmen in defense of himselfe against the queene and his adherents, which he had good hope to find amongst the

The king
maiestie
to take.

John Sparshall
shall take
beheaded.

The bishop
of Exeter
beheaded.

The king
sailed into
Wales.

The lord
of
the
saucour
towards the
Welshmen.

Welshmen, because he had ever used them gentle, and showed no rigor towards them for their riotous misgovernance. Again, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape over into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marish-ground, or other streit, where his enemies should not come at him.

The queene
following the
king cometh
to Hereford.
Tho. de la
Mare.

The bishop
of Hereford
maketh an
oration to
the queenes
armie.

But now to speake of the queene, yee most understand, that after she had received knowledge from the Londoners, that they were whole at hir deuotion, she being glad thereof, turned hir iourne to ward Wales to follow the king, and coming to Wrenford, staid there a while, and still came people to hir from all sides. Here Adam de Wileton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had bene sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yee haue heard) made a pitheie oration to the armie, declaring that the queene and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spenser, & reforme the state of the realme. And sith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of most naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe daillie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the small trauell that remained in pursuit of the enemies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the queenes liberalitie, whose loue was such towards the common-wealth, as she onelie applied all hir endeouours and doings to the aduancement thereof.

The queene
goeth to
Glocester.

These words spoken, the queene accompanied with a great power, departed from Wrenford, and went straight vnto Glocester, and sent before hir vnto Bisshopp the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir John of Pennegeu, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their endeouour with such diligence, that the townesmen, compounding to be saved harmlesse in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and castell vnto the queene, & to hir sonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the queene at Glocester, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuers other, as well from the north parts, as south of the marches of Wales, so that hir armie hugelie increased.

The lord
Berkeley.

The queene
cometh to
Bisshopp.

The earle of
Winchester
executed.

From Glocester she passed by Berkley, and rested the castell of Berkley (which the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the younger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before decessed in prison, within the castell of Wallingford, together with all the appurtenances to the honoz of Berkley belonging. From thence she went to Bisshopp, and the morrow after hir thither coming, being the euen of the apostles Simon and Jude, through the instant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Winchester was draiwne forth in his cote armoz vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle.

Sir Thomas
Blunt, lord
Steward to
the king, res-
uolth to
the queene.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Whereupon sir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord steward of the kings house, took his seruants, with bittels, horses, and armour in great plentie, and came to the queene, of whome, and likewise of hir sonne he was iustlie receiued, and diuers of them which he brought with him were retained, and the other had letters of protection, and were sent auaie in long manner. The king with the earle of Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Ruadaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a weeke together, at length he landed in Glamorgan shire, and got

him to the abbeie and castell of Peith, there secretly remaining vpon trust of the Welshmens promises. Hugoline Spenser, the sonne of the earle of Glocester, defended the castell of Berkley, against the power of the queene and of hir sonne till after following, and then compounding for the safete of his owne life, and all theirs within that castell, and likewise for the inioieng of their goods, he yielded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the queenes name, and of hir sennie.

But now touching the king, whilst he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie daillie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the reline into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in counsell at Hereford, whither the queene was come from Bisshopp, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decre, vnto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the bishop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the bishop of Winchester lord treasurer.

A counsell at
Hereford.

The prince
of Wales
made lord
warden of the
realme.

A new chan-
celloz and
treasuroz.

The queene remained about a moneths space at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henry erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to see if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all three of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowen the king for the more part kept. They used such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to understand where the king was, and so on the day of saint Edmund the archbishop, being the sixteenth of November, they took him in the monastrie of Peith, nere to the castell of Laturstan, together with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marshall, not caring for other the kings seruants, whome they suffered to escape.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leicester, who conueied him by Donmouth and Leaburie, to Billingworth castle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the queene, where on the foure & twentieth of Nouember, the said earle was draiwne and hanged on a paire of gallows of fiftie fot in heighth. Then was his head striken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was sent to London, and set vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were sent to foure seuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be seene of the people. He was draiwne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, containing a parcell of the 52 psalme, as followeth.

The king is
brought to
Billingworth.

Hugh Spenser
for the ponger
executed.

- 1 *Vid gloriari in malitia potens?*
- 2 *Iniquitatem tota die, iniustitiam cogitauit*
- 3 *lingua tua, sicut nonacula acuta fecisti dolum,*
- 4 *Dilexisti malitiam super bonitatem, iniustitiam magis quam loqui iustitiam,*
- 5 *Dilexisti omnia verba demerisonis lingua dolosa,*
- 6 *Propterea Deus destruat te in finem, euellat te*
- 7 *& emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem*

*dicem tuam de terra venientiam,
6 Videbunt iusti & timebunt, & super eum ride-
bunt, & dicent,
7 Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem su-
um, sed speravit in multitudo divitiarum sua-
rum, & precepsit in vanitate sua.*

- 1 **W** Hy boastest thou that thou canst do mischief?
- 2 Thy tooing imagineth wickednesse, & with lies thou cuttest like a sharpe rasor,
- 3 Thou hast loued vngratiousnesse more than goodnesse, and to talke of lies more than righteousnesse,
- 4 Thou hast loued to speake all words that may doo hurt o thou false tooing,
- 5 Therefore shall God destroye thee for euer, he shall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy dwelling, and roote thee out of the land of the living,
- 6 The righteous also shall see this, and feare, and shall laugh him to scorne,
- 7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted vnto the multitude of his riches, & strengthened himselfe in his wickednesse.

Simon de Reading executed.

Caxton.

The earle of Arundell taken.

Th. Walling. Execution.

The fauour in which the lord Mortimer was with the queene.

Robert Baldocke ended his life.

1 3 2 7

¶ parliament.

hand had bene summoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agreed by all the states (for none durst speake to the contrarie) that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the king, he was not wor- thy longer to reigne, and therefore should be deposed, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Westminster by one of the lords, on the feast day of saint Hilarie being tuesday, to the which all the people consented. The archbishop of Canturburie taking his threame, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, made a sermon, exhorting the people to praye to God for bestowm of his grace vpon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended, euery man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother took the matter beauiely in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus depriued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so there vpon it was concluded, that certeine solempne messengers should go to Killingworth to moue the king to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne.

There were sent on this message (as some write) thre or (as other haue) two bishops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Wallingham More haue) foure barons, and for euery countie, citie, and burrough, and likewise for the cinque ports, certeine knights and burgeses. The bishops that were sent were these (as T. de la More noteth) John de Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam de Exeteton bishop of Hereford, and Henrie bishop of Lincoln. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaster and Warwike: the two barons, Rose and Contney: beside these (as he saith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iustices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelits, two knights for the commons on the north side of Trent, and two for the other on the south side of the same river: two citizens for London, two burgeses for the cinque ports, so as in all there went of this message (as Southwell saith) thre and twentie or rather foure and twentie persons of one degree and other.

None of the frier minors went, because they would not be the bringers of so beauiety things, with he had euer borne them great god will. The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln went before, and coming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in keeping. And hauing secret conference with the king, they sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to do, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceived against him, would not faile but proceed to the election of some other, that should happilie not touch him in linage. And with this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficall to the whole realme.

The king being sore troubled to heare such displeased news, was brought into a maruelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himselfe, he determined to follow their advice, and so when the other counsellors were come, and that the bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent, the king in preference of them all, without standing his backward countenance discovered how much it inwardly grieved him: yet after he was come to himselfe, he answered that he willed that he was fallest into this miserie through his owne offences, and therefore

The king deposed of parliament

The archbishop of Canturburie

Thom. de la More

Thom. Wall.

John de Stratford

Adam de Exeteton

Henrie bishop of Lincoln

Lancaster

Warwike

Rose

Contney

two abbats

two priors

two iustices

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The king's
answer.

he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not be said but græue him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their receiued iniuries, and ceased not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to satisfie them, with otherwise it might not be, he bitterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlie he besought the lords now in his miserie to forgie him such offenses as he had committed against them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miserable calamitie, procured by them chafelie that should haue bene the pillars of the kings estate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we see it benefited by trial, that

*miser atq; infelix est etiam rex,
Nec quæquam (mibi crede) facit diadema beatum.*

Polydor.

The ambassadours with this answer returning to London, declared the same vnto all the estates, in order as they had receiued it, wherupon great ioy was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the choosing of a new king. And so therupon the nine and twentieth day of Januarie in session of parlement then at Westminster assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first (as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agreed to be the five and twentieth of Januarie; in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the five & twentieth day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the same date sir William Trussell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, so that the same five and twentieth day of Januarie hath bene reputed and taken for the first day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, so that whatsoever chanced before that day, is ascribed to be done during the reigne of his father.

Thom. de la
More.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of Leicester. But within a while the quene was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester fauoured his husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of his sonnes state, whereupon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkeley, and John Patreuers, who receiuing him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the castell of Berkeley, situate not farre off from the river of Seuerne, almost the midwaie betwixt Gloucester and Wyke.

Sir Thomas
Courney.

But forsomuch as the lord Berkeley vsed him more courtcoulie than his aduersaries wished him to doe, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Courney appointed in his stead, who together with the lord Patreuers conueied him secretlie (for feare lest he should be taken from them by force) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Cozse, and such like, still remouing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowne whether they had conueied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret manner vnto the castell of Berkeley, where whilst he remained (as some write) the quene would send vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and

other such things, but she would not once come nere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreamlie. Howbeit, she with the rest of his confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuise for his dispatch, though by painted words she pretended a kind of remouie to him in this his distresse, & would seeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world; for

Proditor illudis verbis dum verbera cudit.

10 But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept, so that none of his frends might haue accesse vnto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will euer pisse their state, there were diuerse of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was chiefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had together, how they might restore him to libertie, discommending greatlie both quene Isabel, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the young king, for his fathers streit imprisonment. 20 The quene and other the gouernours vnderstanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take a waie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And hereupon the quene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no stricter, but suffered him to haue such libertie, that he aduertised some of his frends abroad how and in what manner he was 30 used, and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a so phisicall foyme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof was in obsecratione ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.

To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of speech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called *Coma*, they construed in the worse sense, putting the *Coma* after *Time*, 40 and so presuming of this commandement as they took it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinche thereof; but he bearing it out strongly, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or 50 downe auoided the force of such poison as had bene ministered to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

Whereupon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenly one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asleep, and with beaute featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet 60 a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceived. His crie did moue manie within the castell and towne of Berkeley to compassion, plainelie hearing him utter a wailfull noise, as the tormentors were about to murder him, so that diuerse being awake, ned therewith (as they themselves confessed) praised heartilie to God to receiue his soule, when they vnderstood by his crie what the matter ment.

The quene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Patreuers, and Thomas Courney, who fled vnto Sparrels, thre yeares after being knowne, taken, 1331. and

The earle of
Kent conspi-
reth to deliuer
his brother.

Thom. Wall.

Thom. de la
More.R. Edward
the second
murdered.

The fond opinion of the ignorant people.

The nature & disposition of King Edward the second.

and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe doers, as the bishop and other. John Patreurs, repenting himselfe, lay long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentie. Thus was king Edward murdered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The same went that by this Edward the second, after his death manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceived as before had bene of earle Thomas of Lancaster, namelie amongst the common people. He was knowne to be of a god and courteous nature, though not of most pregnant wit.

And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counsell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the same by repentance, and patientlie suffered manie reproches, and finally death it selfe (as before ye haue heard) after a most cruell manner. He had suerlie god cause to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiscreet and wanton misgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and besides such as were slaine in Scotland by his infortunate conduct.

All these mischances and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discret counsellors, receiving those into his fauour, that abused the same to their priuate gain and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they themselves might attaine to riches and honour, for which they onelie sought, in somuch that by their courteous rapine, spoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue shewed to their soueraigne, going about by force to wrest him to followe their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonlie fauoured, wherein suerlie they were worthe of blame, and to last (as manie of them did) the deserved punishment for their disobedient and disloyall demeanors. For it was not the waie which they toke to helpe the disfigured state of the common-wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodnesse had not bene the greater it must needs haue come to passe, as to those that shall well consider the pitifull tragicke of this kings time it may well appeare.

His issue.

But now to proceed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had issue by his wife quene Isabel two sonnes, Edward which was made king whilest he was yet aliue, and John which died young: also two daughters, Elianor which died before she came to yeares able for marriage; and Ione which was after giuen in marriage vnto David king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of stature, strong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him stoutnesse of stomach, if his euill counsellors had bene remoued, that he might haue shewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them,

he could not do. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained by in youth with good and honest companie. ¶ It is said that he was learned, in somuch that there remaine verses, which (as some haue written) he made whilest he was in prison. Certeine it is he fauored learning, as by the creation of Oxall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time these as follow. John Duns that subtil logician, bozne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emildune, thre miles distant from Alnwick, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countriman, and the Irishmen for theirs; Robert Walsingham a Carmelite frier that writ diuerse treatises, John Wiltan an Augustine frier, Walter Winterton bozne, Rafe Lockley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Zoice, Walter Zoice, William Gainsburgh, Robert Baiton bozne not farre from Nottingham, a Carmelite frier of Scarborough, the same whome king Edward toke with him into Scotland to write some remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was constrained by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrary tune; John Wozminger a Suffolke man bozne, William Rishanger a monke of S. Albons an historiographer, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London wrote also an historie, which was intituled *Historia Anglica*; Richard Bliton a Lincolnshire man bozne a Carmelite frier, John Walsingham bozne either in Walsingham or Wunham (as Bale supposeth) a Carmelite frier also, and wrote diuerse treatises; Thomas Chabham a canon of Salisbury and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Blimpton bozne in Devonshire a regular canon, Thomas Castleford a monke of Pomfret, William Spaulfield, John Canon, Robert Crime, William Akettle of Beuerley, Geoffrey of Coznewall, John Catildene, Theobald Anglicus, Stephan Elton or Eton, John Colborne bozne in Dorsetshire, John Winchelsey, Nicholas de Lyza a Jew by birth of those that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatises, to his great commendation for his singular knowledge and zeale, which he shewed in disposing the Rabines that still sought to keepe the Jewish nation in blindness and vaine hope, in looking for another Messias; Rafe Aton an excellent diuine, John Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford bozne in Walsdon in Essex a logician, Albert Wickenham a Carmelite frier of Lin in Northfolke, Nicholas Dekeham a graie frier, William Dekeham a frier minor that wrote diuerse treatises, and namelie against John Duns, and likewise against John the thre and twentieth pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Actes of Bawier, Richard Walsingford, Thomas Haselwood a canon of Leeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called *Chronicon compendiarium*, Robert Isarew, Robert Bertrufator bozne in Dorsetshire a blacke frier and a philosopher or rather a magician, Richard Welgrau a Carmelite, Winkley a minorite; and others.

Thus far infortunat Edward the second.

Edward



Edward the third, who came to the crowne by the resignation of his father Edward the second.

Edward the third of that name, the sonne of Edward the second, and of Isabell the onelie daughter of Philip le Beau, & sister to Charles the first king of France, began his reigne as king of England, his father yet living, the 25 daie of Januarie, after the creation 5293, in the year of our lord 1327, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Christmasse, 867 after the coming of the Saxons, 160 after the conquest, the 13 yeare of the reigne of Lewes the fourth then emperor, the seventh of Charles the first king of France, the second of Andronicus Junior emperor of the east almost ended, and about the end of the 22 of Robert the Bruce king of Scotland. He was crowned at Westminster on the day of the Purification of our ladie next ensuing, by the hands of Walter the archbishop of Canturburie.

Gouernours
appointed,

And because he was but fourteene yeares of age, so that to gouerne of himselfe he was not sufficient, it was decreed that twelue of the greatest lords within the realme should haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfect yeares. The names of which lords were as followeth. The archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Winchester and of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Oliver de Ingham, & the lord John Ros. These were twosome of the kings counsell, and charged with the gouernement as they would make answer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the queene, and the lord Roger Mortimer toke the whole rule so into their hands, that both the king and his said counsellors were gouerned onelie by them in all matters both high and low.ouertheless, although they had taken the regiment vpon them, yet could they not foresee the tumults and vproyes that presentlie vpon the young kings inthronizing did insue: but needs it must come to passe that is left written where children weare the crowne, & beare the scepter in hand,

Papueri terra sepius sunt ibi guerra.

The franchi-
ses of the citie
of London
confirmed.

He confirmed the liberties and franchises of the citie of London, and granted that the maior of the same citie for the time being might sit in all places of iudgement within the liberties thereof for chafe iustice, above all other, the kings person onelie excepted; and that euerie alderman that had bene maior should be iustice of peace through all the citie of London and countie of Middlesex; and euerie alderman that had not bene maior, should be iustice of peace within his owne ward. He granted also to the citizens, that they should not be constrained to go forth

of the citie to anie warres in defense of the land, and that the franchises of the citie should not be seized from thenceforth into the kings hands for anie cause, but onelie for treason and rebellion shewed by the whole citie. Also Southwarke was appointed to be vnder the rule of the citie, and the maior of London to be bailiffe of Southwarke, and to ordeine such a substitute in the same borough as pleased him.

In the first yeare of this kings reigne, we find in Records of Burie.
10 records belonging to the abbeie of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, that the inhabitants of that towne raised a loze commotion against the abbat & monks of the same abbeie, and that at severall times, as first on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the conversion of S. Paule, in the said first yeare of this kings reigne, one Robert Forston, Richard Draiton, and a great number of other, assembling themselves together in warlike order and arate, assaulted the said abbeie, brake downe the gates, windowes, and doores, entered the house by force, and assailing certeine monks and seruants that belonged to the abbat, did beat, wound, and euill intreat them, brake open a number of chests, coffers, and forsets, toke out chalices of gold and silver, books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church, beside a great quantitie of rich plate, and other furniture of household, apparell, armour, and other things, beside five hundred pounds in readie coine, & also thre thousand florens of gold.

All these things they toke and caried awaie, together with diuerse charters, writings, & miniments, as thre charters of Knute sometime king of England, foure charters of king Hardiknute, one charter of king Edward the confessor, two charters of king Henrie the first, & other two charters of king Henrie the third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the same abbeie, as the grants and confirmations of the possessions and liberties belonging thereto. Also they toke awaie certeine writings obligatorie, in the which diuerse persons were bound for the paiement of great summes of monie, and deliuerie of certeine wines vnto the hands of the said abbat. Whereupon they toke awaie with them ten severall bulls, concerning certeine exemptions and immunities granted to the abbats and monks of Burie by sundrie bishops of Rome.

Furthermore, not herewith contented, they toke Peter Clopton prior of the said abbeie, and other monks forth of the house, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there imprisoned them, till the thursdaie next before the feast of the Purification of our ladie, and that daie bringing them backe againe into the chapter-house, detained them still as prisoners, till they had sealed a writing, containing that the abbat and conuent were bound in ten thousand pounds to be paid to Oliver Kempe and others by them named. And further, they were constrained

L. h. g.

to

to seale a letter of release for all actions, quarels, debts, transgressions, suits and demands, which the abbat might in any wise claime or prosecute against the said Oliver Kempe and others in the same letters named.

For these wrongs and other, as for that they would not permit the abbats bailiffes and officers to keepe their ordinarie courts as they were accustomed to do, as well three daies in the weeke for the market, to wit, mondaie, wednesdaie and fridaie, as the Portman mote curie tuesdaie three weeks, and further prohibit them from gathering such tols, customes, and yearelie rents, as were due to the abbat for certeine tenements in the towne, which were let to farne, the abbat brought his action against the said Forston, Wraiton, and others, and hauing it tried by an inquest, on the fridaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine, in a sessions holden at Burie by John Stonore, Walter Friskney, Robert Habberthorpe, and John Bouffer, by vertue of the kings writ of oier and determiner to them directed, the offenders were condemned in 40000 pounds, so that the said Richard Wraiton, and others there present in the court, were committed to prison in custodie of the shiriffe Robert Walkesare, who was commanded also to apprehend the other that were not yet arrested, if within his bailiweke they might be found, and to haue their bodies before the said iustices at Burie asforesaid, on thursdaie in Whitsun weeke next ensuing.

The second riot.

Beside this, there was an other indictment and action of trespassse found there the same daie against the said Richard Wraiton and others, for a like disorder and riot by them committed, on the thursday next after the feast of the Purification of our ladie, in the same first yeare of this king, at what time they did not onelie breake into the abbey, and beat the abbats men, but also toke the abbat himselfe, being then at home, with certeine of his monks, keeping both him and them as prisoners, till the next daie that they were constrained to seale certeine writings. And amongst other, a charter, in which it was contained, that the abbat and his convent did grant unto the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themselves, and to haue a common seale with a gild of merchants and aldermen: also they were compelled to seale another charter, wherein was contained a grant to the said inhabitants, that they should haue the custodie of the towne gates, and likewise the wardship of all pupils and orphans within the same towne, beside diuerse other liberties.

Moreover, they were in like manner constrained to seale three severall obligations, in which the abbat and convent were bound to the said inhabitants, as to a communalitie of a corporation, in seauen thousand pounds, as in two thousand by one obligation, and in two thousand by an other, and in three thousand by the third obligation: and further they were bound to seale a letter of release of all trespassses, and other things that might be demanded against the said inhabitants, with a generall acquittance of all debts. Beside this, the said riotous persons toke at the same time forth of the abbey great riches, as well in plate, armor, books, and apparell, as in other things. They also brake downe two houses or messuages, which belonged to the abbey, and situate within the towne of Burie: they also destroyed his fish-ponds, and toke out such store of fish as they found in the same: they cut downe also three score ashes there growing on the sole that belonged to the said abbat, and did make other great outrages and enormities, so that it was found by the inquest, that the abbat was damaged to the value of other forty thousand

pounds.

These riots may seeme greivous and verie strange, but yet the same were not so heinouslie taken, as an other which the said inhabitants of Burie attempted against the said abbey in manner of a plaine commotion, upon saint Lukes day in the same yeare, at that time (as by the records of that abbey it should appeare) both the abbat and his house were in the kings speciall protection, and the said inhabitants prohibited by his letters to attempt any iniurie against him or his convent. But neuertheless we find that not onelie the inhabitants of Burie, but also a great number of other misgoverned persons, that resorted to them from places there about, armed and furnished with horse, armor, and weapons, after the manner of warre, came and assaulted the abbey gates, set fire on them, and burned them with diuerse other houses nere adjoining, that belonged to the abbey, and continued in that their riotous enterprise all that day and the night following.

The same night also they burnt a manor of the abbats called Holdernesse barn, with two other manors called the Almoners barn, and Haberdone, also the granges that stood without the south gate, and the manour of Westlie, in which places they burned in coyne and graine, to the value of a thousand pounds. The next daie they entered into the abbey court, and burnt all the houses on the north side, as stables, bachelors houses, bakehouses, garners, and other such necessaries houses and convenient rooms of offices, and on the other side the court, they burnt certeine houses belonging to the Almonrie. On the next daie they burned the mote hall, and Wadford hall, with the new hall, and diuerse chambers and sollers to the same halles annexed, with the chapell of saint Laurence at the end of the hospitall hall. Also the manor of Eldhall, the manor of Houninger, with all the coyne and graine within and about the same.

The next day they burnt the soller of the Sollerer, with a chapell there: also the kitchen, the larder, and a part of the farmarie. On the thursdaie they burnt the residue of the farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a chapell of St. Andrew therein. In executing of all these riotous disorders, one Cefrie Foxeman was an aider, who with diuerse other persons unknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, and by the assent of the other his complices he burnt the manor of Founham. The same day also other of their companie, as William the sonne of James Bekeston, Rafe Crabbe, Richard Kerie, and a great number of other persons unknowne, by the assent and abbetment of the other that committed the said disorders, burnt two manors belonging also to the said abbey in great Werton, with all the coyne and graine there found.

Upon knowledge had of these great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commission directed from the king, unto Thomas earle of Northfolke high marshall of England, to Thomas Bardulfe, Robert Spolie, Peter Medall, John Howard, and John Walkesare, authorizing them with the power of the countesse of Suffolke and Northfolke, to apprehend, trie and punish such lewd disordered persons, and rebellious malefactors, which had committed such felonious enterprises, to the breach of the kings peace, and dangerous disquieting of his subjects: but the said commissioners proceeded not according to the effect of their commission in triall of any felonies by the same persons committed and done, but onelie caused them to be indicted of trespassse: albeit Robert Walkesare, and John Clauer, with their associates iustices of peace, in their sessions holden at Gloucestre the tuesdaie next after the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the said first yeare of this king

The third riot.

The manor of Holdernesse barn.

The manor of Westlie burnt.

The manor of Founham burnt.

Edward the third proceeded in such wise against the said malefactours, that John de Werton cordwainer, Robert Forston, and a great number of other were indicted of felonie, for the misdeameours afore mentioned, and the indictments so found were after sent and presented unto John Stonore, Walter de Friskene, Robert Walberthorpe, and John Boulser, who by vertue of the kings commission of oier and determiner to them directed, sat at S. Edmunds burie the Wednesday next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine; and then and there sent forth precepts to the shiriffe, commanding him to apprehend the said Werton, Forston, and others, that were indicted of the foresaid felonies, and also to returne a sufficient surie to trie upon their arraignment the said malefactours by order of law, the Friday next after the said feast of S. Lucie. Whereupon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Walling, with seauenteene others, being arraigned, were found guiltie, and suffered death according to the order appointed for felons.

One Adam Spiniot stood mute, and refused to be tried by his countrie, and so was pressed to death, as the law in such case appointeth. Diuerse other were slained by their bowes, according vnto the order of clerkes couid, as Alexander Wido person of Hogelet, John Kugham person of little Melnetham, John Werton cordwainer, and diuerse other. Some were reppined, as one woman named Julian Barbo, who being big bellied was respited, till she were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio and Robert Russell were reppined, and committed to the safe keeping of the shiriffe, as triers or appeachers (as we tearme them) of other offenders: and because there was not anie as yet attached by their appeales, they were commanded againe to prison. One Robert de Creswell was faued by the kings letters of speciall pardon, which he had there readie to shew. As for Robert Forston, Adam Cokefield, and a great number of other, whome the shiriffe was commanded to apprehend, he returned that he could not heare of them within the precinct of his bailiffewake, whereupon erigents were awarded against them, and the shiriffe was commanded, that if he might come to attach them, he should not faile but so to doo, and to haue their bodies there at Burie before the said iustices, the thursdaie in Whitluntwake, next ensuing.

Diuerse also were arraigned at the same time of the said felonies, and thereof acquitted, as Michaele Scabaille, Kafe Smeremonger, and others. And those that were found guiltie, and suffered, were the chiefe authors and procurors of the commotion, bearing others in hand, that the abbat had in his custodie a certaine charter, wherein the king should grant to the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, certaine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free, and discharged from the paiement of diuerse customes and exactions, whereupon the ignorant multitude easilie giuing credit to such surmised tales, were the sooner induced to attempt such disorders as before are mentioned. ¶ Thus haue yee heard all in effect that was done in this first yeare of king Edward the third his reigne, by and against those offenders. But because we will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this businesse, we haue thought good to put the whole that we intend to write thereof here in this place.

¶ It shall therefore vnderstand, that diuerse of those, against whome erigents were awarded, came in, and yielded their bodies to the shiriffes prison, before they were called on the first countie daie. Albeit a great manie there were that came not, and so were outlawed. Robert Forston got the kings pardon, and so purchasing forth a superseede, the suit thereupon

against him was staied. The shiriffe therefore in Whitluntwake, in the second yeare of this kings reigne, made his returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Russell, & Julian Barbo, so that he deliuered them vnto the bailiffes of the libertie of the abbat of Burie, by reason of an ancient priuilege, which the abbat claimed to belong to his house. The bailiffes confessed they had receiued the said prisoners, but forsomuch as they had bene arraigned at a Portmante mote, which was vsed to be kept euerie three weeks, and upon their arraignment were found guiltie of certeine other felonies by them committed within the towne of Burie, and thereupon were put to execution, Adam Finchman the kings attorneie there toke it verie euill, & laid it gremoullie to the charge of the abbats officers, for their hastie and presumptuous proceeding against the said prisoners, namely, because the said Sio and Russell were reppined, to the end that by their bitterance, many beinious offenses might haue bene brought to light.

On the same daie, that is to wit, the thursdaie in Whitluntwake, the foresaid Robert Forston, and diuerse other came in, and were attached by the shiriffe to answer the abbat to his action of trespassse, which he brought against them, and putting the matter to the triall of an inquest, they were condemned in sixtie thousand pounds, to be leuted of their goods and chattels, vnto the vse of the abbat, and in the meane time they were committed to prison. But first they made suit that they might be put to their fines for their offences committed against the kings peace, and their request in that behalfe was granted, so that upon putting in sufficient surties for their good beharing, their fines were assised, as some at more and some at lesse, as the case was thought for to require.

Thus rested the matter a long season after, vntill the fifth yeare of this kings reigne, in which the thursdaie next after the feast of the blessed Trinitie, the B. being himselte in person at S. Edmundsburie afore said, a small agreement and concord was concluded betwixt the said abbat and his conuent on the one partie, and Richard Draiton and others of the inhabitants of that towne on the other partie, before the right reuerend father in God John bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, and the kings iustices John Stonore and John Cantbridge sitting there at the same time, by the kings commandement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

The articles of agreement betweene the monks of Burie and the inhabitants of Burie.

First, whereas the said abbat had recouered by iudgement before the said John Stonore and other his associates iustices of oier and determiner in the said towne of Burie, the summe of seuen score thousand pounds for trespassses to him and his house committed and done by the said Richard Draiton, and other the inhabitants of Burie: now at the desire of the said king, and for other good respects him mouing, he pardoned and released vnto the said Richard Draiton, and to other the inhabitants of Burie, to their heires, executors, and assigns the summe of 122333 pounds, eight shillings eight pence, of the said tall summe of 140000 pounds.

¶ And

Portmante mote.

The abbats officers blamed.

A condemnation.

An agreement.

The common people oftentimes deceived by such informations.

Rob. Forston pardoned.

And further the said abbat and conuent granted and agreed for them and their successors, that if the said Richard Draiton, & other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, or any of them, their heires, executors or assignes, should paie to the said abbat & conuent, or their successors within twenty yeres next insuing the date of that present agreement, 2000 marks, that is to saie, 100 marks yeaerlie at the feasts of S. Michaell & Easter, by euen portions: that then the said Richard & other the inhabitants of the towne of Burie should be acquitted & discharged of 4000 marks, parcell of 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence residue behind for euer.

Moreover, where as the said abbat and conuent, & the said abbat by himselfe, since the 19 yere of the reigne of king Edward the second vnto that present time, had sealed certeine charters, deeds, & writings, as well with the proper seale of the abbat, as with the common seale of the abbat & conuent, if the said Richard and the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie did restore vnto the said abbat & conuent all the same writings, or take such order, that neither the abbat nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wise hindered, indamaged nor molested by force of the same: and further if neither the said Richard, nor any the inhabitants of the said towne, nor their heires, executors, nor assignes, shall go about to reuerse the iudgements against them, at the suit of the said abbat, nor shall seeke to impeach the executions of the same iudgements by any false or forged acquitances or releases, nor implead nor molest any of the iurie, by whom they were conuict, that then they and their heires, executors & assignes shall be acquitted & discharged of ten thousand pounds parcell of the said 17666 pounds, 13 shillings foure pence.

And furthermore, if the said Richard and other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, doe not hereafter maliciouslie rise against the said abbat or conuent, nor seeke to bet them by any conspiracie, confederacie, or by some other secret vniuersall cause, nor likewise euill intreat any man by reason of the inditement found against them, nor yet claime to haue any copozation of themselves within that towne, that then the said Richard, & the said inhabitants, their heires, successors & assignes, shall remaine acquitted and discharged of all the residue of the said 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence for euer. And the said abbat and conuent doe grant for them & their successors, that their intention is not, that if any singular person of his owne private malice, shall rise against the said abbat and conuent, their successors, monks, bailiffes, or seruants, to doe them, or any of them iniurie or displeasure; that those which be not partakers of the offense, shall be in any wise punished for the same, so that the offenders be not maintained by any of the same towne, but that the inhabitants

there, doe assist the abbat and conuent their successors, bailiffes, seruants & officers, that the same offenders may be punished, according to their demerits, as reason and law shall allow.

This was the effect of the agreement at length had and made betwixt the abbat and monks of Burie on the one part, & the inhabitants of that towne on the other part, and for the more confirmation thereof, it pleased the king to put his seale to the charter containing the same agreement. ¶ But how soeuer it chanced, it should appeare by such records as came to the hands of master John Fox, as he allegeth in the first tome of his booke of acts and monuments, this agreement was but soilie kept: for diuerse of the former offenders, bearing grudge towards the abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did confederat themselves together, and priuillie in the night comming to the manour of Chennington where the abbat then did lie, burst open the gates, and entring by force, first bound all his seruants, and after they had robbed the house, they toke the abbat, and hauing him, secretlie conueied him to London, and there removing him from street to street unknowne, had him ouer the Thames into Kent, and at length transported him ouer vnto Dist in Wabant, where they kept him for a time in much penurie, thraldome and miserie, vntill at length the matter being vnderstood, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop, & after by the pope. At the last, his friends having knowledge where he was, they found means to deliuer him out of the hands of those thienes, and finally brought him home with procession, and so he was restored to his house againe.

Thus much touching those troubles betwixt the towne of Burie & the abbat and monks there, and now we will retorne to other generall matters touching the publike state of the realme. ¶ And first you shall vnderstand, that in the beginning of this kings reigne the land trulie seemed to be blessed of God: for the earth became fruitfull, the aire temperate, and the sea calme and quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder the gouernement of other, nevertheless he began within a short time to shew tokens of great towardnesse, framing his mind vnto graue deuises, and first he prepared to make a loinie against the Scottishmen, the which in his fathers time had done so manie displeasures to the Englishmen, and now vpon confidence of his minority, ceased not to invade the borders of his realme. And namely the verie selfe night that followed the day of this kings coronation, they had thought by scaling to haue stolne the castell of Hartham: but Robert Spencers capteine of that place, vnderstanding of their enterpryse also: chanced by a Scottishman of the garrison there, so well provided for their comming, that where firste of them boldlie entred vpon the wall, he slue nine or ten of them, and toke five.

This was thought an euill token, that they should still be put to the worse in this kings time, as they had so bad successe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purposes, about saint Margarets tide invaded the land with three armies, the earle of Murray hauing the leading of one of the same armies, and James Douglas of another, and the third was guided by the earle of War. King Edward aduertised hereof, assembled not onlie a great power of Englishmen, but also required John lord Beaumont de Heinault, whom he had lately sent home right honorable rewarded for his good assistance, to come againe into England, with certeine bands of men at armes, and he should receiue wages and good intertainment

Chronicle come together before the agreement was made into the first yere of the kings reigne as above mentioned, and thereupon might be stopped.

Rich. Spencers capteine of Hartham castell.

The Scots invaded the land.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

for them. The lord Beaumont, as one that loved deeds of armes, was glad to accomplish king Edwards request: and so thereupon with seauen hundred men at armes, or five hundred (as Froissart saith) came ouer into England againe, to serue against the Scots.

The generall assemblie of the armie was appointed to be at Porke, and thither came the said lord Beaumont with his people, and was iustly receiued of the king and his lordes. Here whilst not onlie the Scottish ambassadours (which had bene sent to treat of peace, were heard to tell their message) but also whilst the counsell took some lesseure in debating the matter how to guide their enterprise, which they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie fundae, it chanced that there arose contention within the citie of Porke, betwixt the English archers, and the strangers, which the lord Beaumont of Heinalt had brought with him, in somuch that fighting together there were slaine to the number of foure score persons of those archers, which were buried within the church of saint Clement in Flogate. Some write that there were slaine to the number of three hundred Englishmen: yet because the Henuers came to aid the king, their peace was cried vpon paine of life. And further, it was found by an inquest of the citie, that the quarrell was begun by the Englishmen, the which (as some write) were of the Lincolneshire men, of those that sometime belonged to the Spencers, and to the earle of Arundell, so that there was cause, why they bare euill will to the Henuers which had aided (as yee haue heard) to bring the said earle and Spencers to their confusion.

In this meane time the Scots being entred into England, had done much hurt, and were come as farre as Stanop parke in Wiltedale: and though they had sent their ambassadours to treat with the king and his counsell for peace, yet no conclusion followed of their talke. At the same time, because the English souldiours of this armie were clothed all in cotes and hoods embordered with floures and branches verte samelie, and used to nourish their beards: the Scots in derision thereof made a rime, which they fastened vpon the church doores of saint Peter toward Stangate, containing this that folloiweth.

A rime in derision of the Englishmen.

Long beards, hartlesse, Painted hoods, witlesse,
Gaie cotes, gracelesse, Make England thriflesse.

The king when he sawe it was but a vaine thing to haue any longer in communication with the ambassadours about peace, departed from Porke with his puissant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were closelie lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he came and stopped all the passages, so it was thought that he should haue had them at his pleasure, but through treason (as was after reported) of the lord Roger Mortimer, after that the Scots had bene kept within their lodgings for the space of fiftene daies, till they were almost famished, they did not onlie find a waie out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the lord William Douglas, assailing that part of the English campe where the kinges tent stood, in the night season, missed not much of either taking the king or slaying him: and hauing done hurt inough otherwise, as in the Scottish chronicle is also touched, they followed their compaignie, and with them returned into Scotland without impeachment.

Froissart, Sheldob Douglas.

It is said, that Henrie earle of Lancaster, and John the lord Beaumont of Heinalt would gladly haue passed ouer the water of Wille, to haue assailed the Scots, but the earle of March through counsell of the lord Mortimer, pretending to haue right to the leading of the foreward, and to the giving of the

first onset, would not suffer them. Howsoeuer it was the king missed his purpose, and right pensive therefore, brake vp his field, and returned into London. Walter bishop of Canturburie departed this life in Nouember, and then Simon Peckham was advanced to the gouernement of that see. The lord Beaumont of Heinalt was honorable rewarded for his paines and trauell, and then licenced to returne into his countrie, where he had not bene long, but that through his means then (as some write) the marriage was concluded betwene king Edward, and the labie Philip daughter to William earle of Heinalt, and neere to the said lord Beaumont, who had the charge to see hir brought ouer thither into England about Christmasse: where in the citie of Porke vpon the euen of the Conuersion of saint Paule, being fundae, in the latter end of the first yeare of his reigne, king Edward solemnlie married hir.

The lord Beaumont returned home. Polydor.

Fabian.
1328

In the second yeare of his reigne, about the feast of Pentecost, king Edward held a parlement at Northampton, at the which parlement by euill and naughty counsell, whereof the lord Roger Mortimer and the queene mother bare the blame, the king concluded with the Scottish king both an vnprofitable and a dishonorable peace. For first, he released to the Scots their fealtie and homage. Also he deliuered vnto them certeine old ancient writings, sealed with the seales of the king of Scots, and of diuerse lords of the land both spirituall and temporall: amongst the which was that indenture, which they called Ragman, with manie other charters and patents, by the which the kings of Scotland were bound as feodaries vnto the crowne of England; at which season also there were deliuered certeine iewels, which before time had bene wone from the Scots by the kings of England, and among other, the blacke crosser of rod is speciallie named.

Anno Reg. 2. A parlement at Northampton.

A dishonorable peace.

Ragman.

Fabian.
Caxton.
The blacke crosser.

And not onlie the king by his siniffer counsell lost such right and title as he had to the realme of Scotland, so farre as by the same counsell might be denied, but also the lords and barons, and other men of England that had any lands or rents within Scotland, lost their right in like manner, except they would dwell vpon the same lands, and become liege men to the king of Scotland. Here vpon was there also a marriage concluded betwixt David Prince the sonne of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the ladie Jane sister to king Edward, which of diuerse writers is surnamed Jone of the tower, and the Scots surnamed hir halfe in derision, Jone Makepeace. This marriage was solemnised at Berwik vpon the daie of Marie Magdalen. The queene with the bishops of Elie and Forwick, the earle Warren, the lord Mortimer, and diuerse other barons of the land, and a great multitude of other people were present at that marriage, which was celebrate with all the honour that might be.

A marriage concluded.

Jone Makepeace.

Ri. Southwell.

After the quindene of saint Michael, king Edward held a parlement at Salisburie, in which the lord Roger Mortimer was created earle of March, the lord John of Eltham the kings brother was made earle of Cornwall, and the lord James Butler of Ireland earle of Ormond, who about the same time had married the earle of Herefords daughter. But the earle of March took the most part of the rule of all things pertaining either to the king or realme into his owne hands: so that the whole gouernment rested in a manner betwixt the queene mother and him. The other of the counsell that were first appointed, were in manner displaced; for they bare no rule to speake of at all, which caused no small grudge to arise against the queene and the said earle of March, who maintained such poirts, and kept among them such

Tho. Walsin.
Adam Merauth.
Polydor.
Creations of earles.

The earle of March ruleth all things at his pleasure.

Caxton.

The erle of
Lancaster.

Robert Hol-
land name.

The archbis-
shop of Can-
turburie was
the chief pro-
curor of the
agreement &
reconciliation
of the erle
(as Meri-
muth saith.)

Adam Meri-
muth.

1327
Anno Reg. 3.

Tho. Wals.
Ri. Southwell.
Additions
to Merl.

Thom. Dan-
hed a frier.

Thom. Wals.

1330

Anno Reg. 4.

such retinue of servants, that their provision was
wonderfull, which they caused to be taken up, name-
lie for the quene, at the kings price, to the sore oppres-
sion of the people, which took it displeantlie inough.

There was like to haue growen great variance
betwixt the quene and Henrie erle of Lancaster,
by reason that one sir Thomas Wither, a knight per-
teining to the said erle of Lancaster, had slaine Ro-
bert Holland, who had betrayed sometime Thomas
erle of Lancaster, and was after committed to pris-
son by erle Henries means, but the quene had cau-
sed him to be set at libertie, and admitted him as one
of hir counsell. The quene would haue had sir Tho-
mas Wither punished for the murder, but erle
Henrie caused him to be kept out of the waie, so that
for these causes and other, Henrie the erle of Lanca-
ster went about to make a rebellion, and the quene
hauing knowledge thereof, sought to apprehend him:
but by the mediation of the earles of Arundell and
Kent, the matter was taken up, and erle Henrie
had the kings peace granted him for the summe of
eleuen thousand pounds, which he should haue paid,
but he neuer paid that fine, though it was so assented
at the time of the agreement.

There were diuerse lords and great men that
were confederat with him, the lord Thomas Wake,
the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Skoulke Fitz
Warren, sir Thomas Rosselin, sir William Trus-
sell, and other, to the number of an hundred knights.
¶ In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Ascen-
sion tide, king Edward went ouer into France, and
comming to the French king Philip de Valois, as
then being at Amiens, did there his homage vnto
him for the duchie of Guien (as in the French historie
appeareth.) ¶ The same yeare Simon the archbishop
of Canturburie held a synod at London, wherein all
those were excommunicated that were guiltie to the
death of Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, that
had bene put to death by the Londoners, as in the
last kings time ye haue heard. ¶ This bishop of Ex-
cester founded Excester college in Oxford, & parts
hall. But now to the purpose.

The king about the beginning, or (as other saie) a-
bout the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Win-
chester, during the which, Edmund of Woodstocke
erle of Kent the kings uncle was arrested the mor-
row after saint Gregories day, and being arraigned
vpon certeine confessions and letters found about
him, he was found guiltie of treason. There were di-
uerse in trouble about the same matter, for the erle
vpon his open confession before sundrie lords of the
realme, declared that not onelic by commandement
from the pope, but also by the setting on of diuerse
nobles of this land, (whome he named) he was persua-
ded to endeavour himselfe by all waies and meanes
possible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the
second out of prison, and to restore him to the crowne,
whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of
preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be a
liue, hauing (as he himselfe said) called up a spirit to
vnderstand the truth thereof, and so what by counsell
of the said frier, and of thre other friers of the same
order, he had purposed to worke some meane how to
deliuer him, and to restore him againe to the king-
dome. Among the letters that were found about
him, disclosing a great part of his practise, some there
were, which he had writtten and directed vnto his bro-
ther the said king Edward, as by some writters it
should appeare.

The bishop of London and certeine other great
personages, whome he had accused, were permitted
to go at libertie, vnder suertes taken for their good
demeanour and sooth comming. But Robert de
Lenton, and the frier that had raised the spirit for to

know whether the kings father were liuing or not,
were committed to prison, wherein the fier remai-
ned till he died. The erle himselfe was had out of
the castell gate at Winchester, and there lost his head
the 19 day of March, chiefelie (as was thought) thro-
ugh the malice of the quene mother, and of the
erle of March: whose pride and high presumption the
said erle of Kent might not well abide. His death
was the lesse lamented, because of the presumptuous
gouernement of his servants and retinue, which he
kept about him, for that they riding abroad, would
take up things at their pleasure, not paing nor agre-
ing with the partie to whome such things belonged;
in so much that by their meanes, who ought to haue
done their uttermost for the enlargement of his ho-
nour, he grew in greater obloquie and reproch: a
soble fault in servants so to abuse their lords names
to their priuat profit, to whome they cannot be too
trustie. But such are to be warned, that by the same
wherin they offend, they shall be punished, euen with
servants faithlesse to plague their distrustfulnesse, for

Qui violare fidem seler, & violetur eadem.

The young quene Philip was brought to bed at
Woodstocke the 15 day of June of hir first sonne, the
which at the fontstone was named Edward, and in
processe of time came to great proofe of famous chi-
ualrie, as in this booke shall more plainelie appeare.
He was commonlie named when he came to ripe
yeares prince Edward, & also furnished the Blache
prince. The sixteenth day of Iulie chanced a great
eclipse of the sunne, and for the space of two moneths
before, and thre moneths after, there fell exceeding
great raine, so that through the great intemperancie
of weather, corne could not ripen, by reason whereof,
in manie places they began not haruest till Michae-
mas, & in some places they inned not their wheat till
Alhallontide, nor their pease till saint Andrews tide.

On Christmasse euen, about the beake of day, a
maruellous sore and terrible wind came forth of the
west, which ouerthrew houses and buildings, euer-
turned trees by the roots, and did much hurt in diuerse
places. ¶ This yeare hostile after Easter, the king
with the bishop of Winchester, and the lord William
Spontacut, hauing not past fiftene hostes in their
companie, passed the sea, apparelled in clothes like to
merchants, he left his brother the erle of Cornwall
his deputie & gardian of the realme till his returne.
Whereouer, he caused it to be proclaimed in London,
that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other
purpose. He returned before the later end of Aprill,
and then was there holden a turnie at Wexford.

The mondaie after saint Matthews day in Sep-
tember, the king held a solenne iusts in Cheapside,
betwixt the great crosse and Soperlane, he with 12
as chalengers answering all defendants that came.
This solenne iusts and turnie continued thre daies.
The quene with manie ladies being present at the
same, fell beside a stage, but yet as good hap would
they had no hurt by that fall, to the reioysing of ma-
nie that saw them in such danger, and yet so luckilie
to escape without harme. ¶ Also in a parlement
holden at Pottingham about saint Lukes tide, sir
Roger Spontimer the erle of March was apprehen-
ded the seuententh day of October within the castell
of Pottingham, where the king with the two quenes,
his mother and his wife, and diuerse other were as
then lodged. And though the keyes of the castell were
dallie and nightlie in the custodie of the said erle of
March, and that his power was such, as it was doub-
ted how he might be arrested (for he had, as some
writters affirme, at that present in retinue nine score
knights, beside esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen) yet
at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Spontacut,
the lord Humfre de Bohun, and his brother

The erle of
Kent be-
died.

Margherite
servants
being their
maister was
disfavour.

The Blache
prince was
born.

Crocoden.
In eclipse.

A late heret.

A mightie
sound.

Edmund
Lenton.

for William, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Afford, the lord William Clinton, the lord John Hewill of Hombie, and diuerse other, which had accused the said earle of March for the murder of king Edward the second, found means by intelligence had with sir William de Glend constable of the castle of Nottingham, to take the said earle of March with his sonne the lord Roger or Geoffrey Mortimer, and sir Simon Beresford, with other.

Sir Hugh Trumpton or Currington (as some copies haue) that was one of his chiefe friends with certeine other were slaine, as they were about to resist against the lord Pontacute, and his compaignie in taking of the said earle. The manner of his taking I passe ouer, because of the diuersitie in report thereof by sundrie writers. From Nottingham he was sent by to London with his sonne the lord Roger or Geoffrey de Mortimer, sir Simon Beresford, and the other prisoners, where they were committed to prison in the tower. Shortly after was a parliament called at Westminster, chiefe (as was thought) for reformation of things disordered through the misgouernance of the earle of March. But whoseuer was glad or soie for the trouble of the said earle, suerly the queene mother toke it most heauilie aboute all other, as she that loued him more (as the same went) than food well with his honour. For as some write, he was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were house together, for the earle to haue his prouision the better cheape, laid his penie with his, so that his takers serued him as well as they did his both of vittels & carriages. Of which misbriage (all regard to honour and estimation neglected) euerie subiect spake shame. For their manner of dealing, tending to such euill purposes as they continually thought vpon, could not be secret from the eyes of the people. And their offense herein was so much the more heinous, because they were persons of an extraordinary degree, and were the more notorious marked of the multitude of common people,

Maur Fox.

Vandi.

The earle of March executed.

— nam lux alrisima fuit

Oculum nil esse finit, latebratq; per omnes

Intrat, & obtrusus explorat fama recessus.

But now in this parliament holden at Westminster he was attainted of high treason expessed in five articles, as in effect follooweth.

1 First, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnaruan the kings father to be murdered in most heinous and tyrannous maner within the castle of Berkleie.

2 Secondlie, that the Scots at Stanop parke through his means escaped.

3 Thirddie, that he receiued at the hands of the lord James Douglas, at that time generall of the Scots, great summes of monie to execute that treason, and further to conclude the peace vpon such dishonorable couenants as was accorded with the Scots at the parliament of Northampton.

4 Fourthlie, that he had got into his hands a great part of the kings treasure, and had wasted and consumed it.

5 Fiftlie, that he had impropried vnto him diuers wards that belonged vnto the king: and had bene more pituie with queene Isabell the kings mother, than stood either with Gods law, or the kings pleasure.

These articles with other being proued against him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parliament to suffer death, and according therunto, vpon saint Andewes euene next ensuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in those daies The elmes, & now Tiborne, as in some booke we find. His bodie remained two daies and two nights on the gallowses, and after

taken downe was deliuered to the friers minors, who buried him in their church the morrow after he was deliuered to them, with great pompe and funeral erequies, although afterwards he was taken by and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lord. He came not to his answer in iudgement, no more than any other of the nobilitie had done, since the death of Thomas earle of Lancaster.

Sir Simon de Beresford knight that had bene one of the kings iustices, was drawne also and hanged at London, vpon St. Lucies daie. In this parliament holden at Westminster, the king toke into his hand, by aduise of the states there assembled, all the possessions, lands and reuenues that belonged to the queene his mother, she hauing assigned to hir a thousand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir estate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elsewhere abroad: yet the king to comfort hir, would lightlie euerie yeare once come to visit hir. After that the earle of March was executed (as yee haue heard) diuerse noble men that were departed the realme, because they could not abide the pride and presumption of the said earle, now returned: as the sonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, the lord Thomas Wake, the L. Henrie Beaumont, sir Thomas de Roselin, sir Foulke Fitz Warren, sir Griffin de la Poole, and diuerse other.

In the first yeare of R. Edwards reigne, Edward Balioll came south of France into England, and obtained such fauour through the assistance of the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord David of Strabogie earle of Athole, the lord Geoffrey de Howbzaie, the lord Walter Cumin, and others, that king Edward granted him licence to make his prouision in England to passe into Scotland, with an armie of men to attempt the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotland, with condition that if he recovered it, he should acknowledge to hold it of the king of England as superiour lord of Scotland. The coming awaye of Edward Balioll out of France is diuerslie reported by writers: some saie, that he was aided by the French king, whose sister he had married: and other saie, that he being in prison in France, for the escape of an Englishman, one John Barnabie esquier, which had slaine a Frenchman by chance of quarrelling in the towne of Dampierre, where the same Barnabie dwelled with the said Edward Balioll, so it came to passe that the lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occasion of businesse with the French king, that fauoured him well, came ouer to France, and there vnderstanding of Baliolls imprisonment, procured his deliuerance, and brought him ouer into England, and caused him to remaine in secret wise at the manor of Sandhall vpon Duse in Dorsetshire with the ladie Mescie, till he had purchased the kings grant for him to make his prouision of men of war and ships within the English dominions.

In the first yeare of king Edwards reigne, Keig-nold earle of Gelderland married the ladie Elianor sister to this king Edward the third, who gaue vnto the said earle with hir for hir portion, fiftene thousand pounds sterling. Isabell the kings daughter was borne also this yeare at Wodstoke. After that Edward Balioll had prepared and made ready his purueiances for his iourne, and that his men of warre were assembled and come together, being in all not past five hundred men of armes, and about two thousand archers, and other footmen, he toke the sea at Hauenspurgh in Dorsetshire, and from thence directing his course northward, he arrived at length in Scotland, where he attaining great victories (as in the Scottish chronicle yee may read more at large) was finally crowned king of that realme.

It may seme a wonder to manie, that the king

Sir Simon Beresford executed.

Some booke haue 3 thousand pounds.

Ad. Merem.

I 3 3 1
Anno Reg. 5.
Edward Balioll cometh into England

Caxton.

John Barnabie.

The lord Beaumont.

I 3 3 2
Anno Reg. 6.
Croden.
The earle of Gelderland.

Edward Balioll crowned k. of Scotland.

Adam Meremuth.
The earle of March executed.

The cause
that moved
H. Edward to
aid Edward
Balioll.

Rich. South.
Edward Balioll
chased
out of Scot-
land.

1333

Anno Reg. 7.

Berwick
besieged.

The historie
of English-
men at Bas-
tard hill.

Berwick de-
livered.

The lord Ri-
chard Calbot

The lord in-
charge of Ire-
land cometh
into Scot-
land.

of England would permit Edward Balioll to make his piousness thus in England, and to suffer his people to aid him against his brother in law king David that had married his sister (as before ye have heard.) Indeed at the first he was not verie ready to grant their suit that moved it, but at length he was contented to dissemble the matter, in hope that if Edward Balioll had good successe, he should then recover that againe, which by the conclusion of peace during his minority, he had through euill counsell 10 resigned out of his hands. The Scots neuerthelesse in December chased their new king Edward Balioll out of Scotland, so that he was faine to retire into England, and celebrated the feast of the Nativite at Carleill, in the house of the friers minors, and the morrow after being S. Stephens day, he went into Westmerland, where of the lord Clifford he was right honorable received, to whom he then granted Douglas Dale in Scotland, which had bene granted to the said lord Clifford's grandfather in the daies 20 of king Edward the first, if he might at anie time recover the realme of Scotland out of his aduersaries hands.

After this, he went and laie a time with the ladie of Cines, that was his kinswoman. Finallie about the tenth day of March, having assembled a power of Englishmen and Scottishmen, he entred Scotland, and besieged the towne of Berwike, during the which siege, manie enterprises were attempted by the parties: and amongst other, the Scots entred England by Carleill, doing much mischief in Gillesland, by burning, killing, robbing and spoiling. The king aduertised herof, thought himselfe discharged of the agreement concluded betwixt him and David Bruce, the sonne of Robert Bruce that had married his sister, & therefore took it to be lawfull for him to aid his cousin Edward Balioll the lawfull H. of Scots. And herewith assembling an armie, came to the siege of Berwike, together with his brother John of Eltham earle of Cornewall, and other noble men, seeking by all meanes possible how to win the towne: and finallie discomfited an armie of Scots, which came to the rescue thereof upon Halidon hill, in slaing of them what in the fight and chase, seven earles, nine hundred knights and baronets, foure hundred esquires, and upon 22 thousand of the common people: and of Englishmen were slaine but 15 persons, as our English writers make mention. The Scottish writers confesse, that the Scottishmen lost the number of 14 thousand.

On the morrow following, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendered unto king Edward with the castell, as in the Scottish chronicle ye may read, with more matter touching the siege and battell aforesaid, and therefore here in few words, I passe it over. King Edward having thus sped his businesse, left a power of men with Edward Balioll, under the conduct of the lord Richard Calbot, and returned himselfe backe into England, appointing the lord Percie to be gouernor of the towne of Berwike, and sir Thomas Grey knight his lieutenant. The lord John Darcie lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, leaving the lord Thomas Bourgh his deputie in that countie, passed over with an armie into Scotland, to aid the king, who, as ye have heard, was there the same time in person. And so by the king on one side, and by the Irishmen on another, Scotland was subdued, and restored unto Balioll, who the morrow after the oustures of the Nativite of our ladie, held a parlement at saint Johns towne, in the which he renewed and made void all ays, which the late king of Scots Robert Bruce had inserted or made: and further ordeined, that all such lands and possessions as the said Bruce had given to any manner of person,

should be taken from them, and restored to the former and true inheritor.

In this yeare about the twelfth of October, Simon Speham archbishop of Canturburie, departed this life, in whose place succeeded John Stretford, being removed from the see of Winchester, whereof he was bishop, before that he was thus called to the see of Canturburie. After Candlemas the king of England repaired towards Poike, there to hold a parlement, to the which (beginning on the mondaie in the second weeke in Lent) when Edward Balioll doubting to be surprised by his aduersaries, could not come, yet he sent the lord Henrie de Beaumont, and the lord William de Montacute, to make excuse for him. The king of England passing further into the north parts, held his Whitsuntide at Newcastell upon Tyne, with great roialtie: and shortly after, Edward Balioll king of Scots came thither, and upon the nineteenth daie of June made his homage unto the king of England, and swore unto him fealtie in the presence of a great number of Nobles and gentlemen there assembled, as to his superiour and chiefe lord of the realme of Scotland, binding himselfe by that oth, to hold the same realme of the king of England, his heires and successors for ever. He also gave and granted unto the king of England at that time six counties next adjoining unto the borders of England, as Berwike and Rockburgh, Deplis, and Dunfries, the townes of Haddington and 30 Gedworth with the castell, the forrests of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, so as all these portions should be cleerlie separated and put apart from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed unto the crowne of England for ever. And these things were confirmed and roborated with oth, scepter, and withnesse sufficient.

Which things done in due order, as was requisite, the king of England returned home, and the kings went backe into Scotland. And then were all such lords restored againe to their lands and possessions in Scotland, which in the daies of Edward the second had bene expelled from the same: and now they did their homage unto the king of Scotland for those lands as apperteined. ¶ Immediatlie after, the king of England called a counsell of his lords spirituall and temporall at Potingham, commanding them to meet him there about the thirtieth daie of Julie, there to consult with him of weightie causes concerning the state of the realme. This yeare on saint 50 Clements daie at night, which fell on the three and twentieth of November, through a marvellous inundation & rising of the sea all alongst by the coasts of this realme, but especiallie about the Thames, the sea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of brass and cattell drowned, fruitfull grounds and pastures were made salt marshes, so as there was no hope that in long time they should recover againe their former fruitfulness.

In this meane time the French king was appointed to have made a biage against the Saracens, enemies of our faith, and had sent to the king of England, requiring him of his companie in that iourne. But the king of England being otherwise occupied with the affaires of Scotland, made no direct answer therunto, so that the French king perceiving that the king of England was not in all things well pleased with him, thought good before he set forward on that iourne to vnderstand his meaning, and thereupon sent emissaries unto him other ambassadors. These ambassadors arrived here in England and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, save that the king promised to send his ambassadors over into France, to have further communication 11

Adam M.
much.
1333
Anno Reg.
Adam M.
much.
3 partment
at Poike.

Edward Balioll
with his
magie
king of Scotland
land.

Innocent
of the

Innocent
from the
French

Rich. South.
A parliament
at London.

The king en-
treth into
Scotland
with an armie
1335

Men. Marle.

A breach and
bery of castell.

Anno Reg. 9.

Embassadors
sent into
France.

At Southwell.
A parliament.

in the matter touching such points of variance as de-
pended betwixt them.

Although Edward Balioll by the puissance of the
king of Englands assistance had got the most part
of the realme of Scotland into his hands, yet diuerse
castles were holden against him, and the Scots dai-
lie slipped from him, and by open rebellion molested
him diuerse waies. The king of England aduertised
thereof called a parlement at London, wherein he
toke order for his iourne into Scotland, had a tenth
and a fifteenth granted him, and so about Alhallon-
tide he came to Newcastle upon Tyne, with his ar-
mie, and remained there till the feast of saint Katha-
rine, and then entring into Scotland, came to Rock-
esburgh, where he repaired the castell which had bene
aforetime destroyed. After the third daie of Christ-
masse was past, the king of England entred into Che-
ster, beating it vp and downe, but the Scots
would not come with him: whereupon he sent
the king of Scots that was there present with him,
and the earles of Warwike and Drenford, and cer-
teine other barons and knights with their retinues
vnto Carleill, to keepe and defend those west parts of
the realme from the Scots.

In their iourne thitherwards, they went by De-
plis to apprehend certeine Scots, whome they heard
to be lodged and abiding thereabouts, but when they
found them not, they wasted the countrie, and turned
freight to Carleill, where after the Epiphantie there
assembled an armie south of the counties of Lanca-
ster, Westmerland, and Cumberland, by the kings
appointment, which armie together with the king of
Scots and the other lords there found, entred Scot-
land, and did much hurt in the countrie of Galloway,
destroying towne and all that they found abroad, but
the people were fled and withdrane out of their
waie. And when they had taken their pleasure, the
king of Scots returned backe to Carleill. This yere
there fell great abundance of raine, and thereupon
infused moztren of beastes: also cozne so failed this
yeare, that a quarter of wheat was sold at fortie
shillings.

Finallie, when the king had finished his businesse
in Scotland, as to his seeming stood with his plea-
sure, he returned into England, and shortly after he
sent the archbishop of Canturburie, sir Philip de
Montacute, and Geoffrey Scrope vnto the French
king, to conclude a firme amitie & league with him.
These lords comming into France, were not at the
first admitted to the French kings presence, till they
shewed themselves halfe greued with that strange
dealing: for then finallie were they brought vnto
him, who gentlie receiued them, and caused the mat-
ter to be intreated of about the which they were sent,
in furthering whereof, such diligence was vsed, that
finallie a conclusion of peace and concord was a-
greed, and so farre passed, that proclamation thereof
should haue bene made in Paris, and in the coun-
trie thereabout the next day: but scarce were the En-
glish ambassadours returned vnto their lodgings,
when they were sent for backe againe, and further
informed, that the French king minded to haue Da-
uid king of Scotland comprised in the same league,
so that he might be restored vnto his kingdome, and
the Balioll put out. The English ambassadours an-
swered, that their commission extended not so farre,
and therefore they could not conclude any thing there-
in. Whereupon all the former communication was
reuoaked, and clerelie made void, so that the English
ambassadours returned home into England without
anie thing concluded.

About the feast of the Ascension, the king held a
parlement at York, ordaining for his iourne into
Scotland, and also deuising by authoritie thereof di-

uerse profitable statutes for the common-wealth.
About midsummer, he came with his armie vnto
Newcastle upon Tyne, whither came to him from
Carleill the king of Scots, and there order was ta-
ken, that the king of England, and his brother the
earle of Cornwall, the earls of Warwike, Lanca-
ster, Lincolne, and Hereford, with all their retinues,
and the earle of Culikerland, that had married the
kings sister, and with a faire companie was come to
serue the king in these warres, should passe to Carle-
ill, and on the twelue of Iulie enter Scotland. The
king of Scots, the earles of Surrie, and Arundell,
and the lord Henrie Percie, a baron of great might
and power, being all of kin vnto the king of Scots,
with their retinues should go to Berwike, and there
enter the same day about mentioned, and as it was
appointed, so it was put in practise. For both kings
on the same day entring Scotland in seuerall parts
passed forward without resistance at their pleasures,
wasting and burning all the countries, both on this
side, and beyond the Scottish sea. The Welshmen
spared neither religious persons nor their houses,
making no more accompt of them than of others:
the mariners of Newcastle also burnt a great part
of the towne of Dundee.

The earle of Farnure about the same time com-
ming into England, to serue the king in his warres,
toke vpon him to passe into Scotland with a band of
an hundred men of armes, beside seauen or eight
knights which he brought ouer with him, and certeine
Englishmen to be his guides from Berwike, but he
was assailed before he could get to Edinburgh, by
the earles of Murray and Dunbarre, and the lord
William Douglas: so that notwithstanding the
strangers bare themselves verie manfullie, yet op-
pressed with multitude, they were forced to giue
place, but yet still fighting and defending themselves
till they came to Edinburgh, and there taking the
hill where the ruines of the castell stood, kept the same
all the night following. But the next day they despair-
ing of all succours, and hauing neither meat nor
drinke, at length yielded themselves, whom the earle
of Murray receiuing right courteously, shewed
them such fauour, that without rancome he was con-
tented they should returne into their countries: and
for more suertie, he conueied the said earle of Fa-
nure (whome the Scottish books call earle of Gelder-
land) and his companie backe to the borders; but in
his returne, shortly after, the same earle of Mur-
ray that toke him selfe for gouernour of Scotland,
was encountered by the Englishmen that late in gar-
rison within Rockesburgh, and by them taken pris-
oner. The lord William Douglas being there also
with him escaped, but James Douglas brother to
the said lord William Douglas, was at that bicke-
ring slaine with diuerse other.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, di-
uerse of the Scottish nobilitie came and submitted
themselves to the king, namely the earle of Atholl
and others, but earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the
earle of Ross, the lord Andrew de Murray, the lord
William Douglas, and the lord William de Beth,
and manie other would not come in, but assembling
themselves together, did all the mischance they could
vnto those that had receiued the kings peace. The
earle of Atholl in the winter season, besieging the cas-
tell of Kilbournie beyond the Scottish sea was set
vpon by the earles of Dunbarre and Ross, so that
they flue him there in field, for his men fled from him
(through some traitorous practise as was thought)
and left him and a few other in all the danger. The
king of England being returned south of Scotland,
remained for the most part of the winter in the north
parts, and held his Christmasse at Newcastle upon
Tyne,

The Welsh
men.

Dundee
burnt.

The earle of
Farnure.

Fourdon.

The earle of
Murray takē.
Rich. Southw.

Fourdon.

Scots submit
them to the
king of Eng-
land.

The castell of
Kilbournie.

The earle of
Atholl slaine.

1336

Anno Reg. 10.

A truce granted to the Scots.

The stoutness of Scots hindered the conclusion of the peace.

An armie sent into Scotland. St. Johns towne fortified.

Adam Merimuch.

The R. goeth into Scotland.

Aberden burnt. Tho. Wallfin. Sir Thomas Rosselin slain.

The earle of Cornewall.

The lord Douglas.

Scriueeling castell built rather repaired.

Time, and after the Epiphantie hauing assembled an armie readie to passe into Scotland, to reuenge the earle of Athols death, which he toke verie displeasingly, there came in the meane time ambassadors both from the pope and the French king, and found the king of England at Berwik, readie with his armie to set forwards into Scotland. But these ambassadors did so much by intreatie with the two kings of England and Scotland, that about the feast of the Purification, a truce was agreed vpon to indure till midlent.

Then was a parlement to be holden at London, and herewith articles were drawn, and certeine petitions put forth, vpon the which if the parties in the meane time could agree, the peace accordingly might be established, if not, then the warre to be prosecuted as before. The chiefest article and petition which the Scots proponed, as desirous to be therein resolved, was to vnderstand which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to wit, Edward Balioll, and David Bruce, had most right thereto. But when in the parlement time the lord Maurice de Murray sue sir Gessrey de Rolle a Scottish knight, that was shiriffe of Aire and Lenarke, being of the Baliols side, for that in time of open warre the same sir Gessrey had slaine his brother, vpon respect of this presumptuous part, and by reason of such stoutnesse as the Scots otherwise shewed, no conclusion of peace could be brought to effect.

Before the feast of the Ascension, the king of England sent forward the king of Scots, the earles of Lancaster, Warwik, Wroth, and Arnegos, and diuerse lords and capteins with an armie, the which after Whitsonde entering into Scotland, passed ouer the Scottish sea, and comming to saint Johns towne (which the Scots had burnt, despairing to defend it against the English power) they set in hand to fortifie it, compassing it with deepe ditches and a strong rampier of earth. ¶ About the same time the king called a parlement at Northampton, where leauing the prelates and other to treat of such matters as were proponed, he himselfe rode northwards, and comming to Berwik, toke with him a small band of men of armes, and setting forward, hastied forth till he came to saint Johns towne, where he found the king of Scots, and other his nobles greatlie wondering at his comming thither so vnlooked for. After he had rested there a little, he toke with him part of the armie, and passed forward ouer the mounteines of Scotland euen vnto Elgen in Murray and Inuernes, further by manie miles than euer his grandfather had gone.

In his returne he burnt the towne of Aberdeen, in reuenge of the death of a right balliant knight called sir Thomas Rosselin, that comming thither by sea toke land there, and was slaine by the enimies: he burnt diuerse other townes and places in this voyage, spoiling and wasting the countries where he came, not finding anie to resist him. About Lammas the earle of Cornewall with the power of Wokeshire and Northumberland, and the lord Anthonie Lucie with the Cumberland and Westmerland men entered Scotland, and destroyed the west parts, as Carlisle, and other which obetted not the Balioll. The lord William Douglas still coasted the Englishmen, doing to them what damage he might. At length this armie laden with prizes and spoile returned home, but the earle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came through to saint Johns towne, where he found the king being returned thither fro his tournee which he had made beyond the mounteins. The king staid not long there, but leauing the king of Scots with his companie in that towne, he went to Scriueeling, where, on the plot of ground vpon which the destroyed

castell had stood, he built an other forresse, called a Bile. And now, because he had spent a great deale of treasure in those warres of Scotland, he summoned a parlement to be holden at Pottingham, in which there was granted to him a tenth of the cleargie, and likewise of the citizens and burgeses of good towns, and a fiftieth of other that dwelt forth of cities and boroughes.

About the latter end of October, John of Elgham earle of Cornewall the kings brother departed this life at saint Johns towne in Scotland: his bodie was afterwards conueied to Westminster, & there buried with all solemne funerals. The Scottish writers affirme that he was slaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vsed in the west parts of Scotland, in sleaing such as for safegard of their liues fled into churches. Moreover, in December there deceased at St. Johns towne afore said, Hugh de Fresnes, that in right of the countesse of Lincoln was intituled earle of Lincoln. He died of the flux, or (as was said) through excessive cold, which in those quarters in that cold time of the yeare sore afflicted the English people. ¶ In the meane time, about the feast of saint Luke the euangelist, the king went with an armie into Scotland toward the castell of Bothuille, and comming thither repaired the same, which by the Scots had latelie before bene destroyed. The baron Stafford at the same time comming towards the king with a power of men, toke Douglas Dale in his waie, taking in the same a great preie of cattell and other things.

Before Christmas the king returned into England, but the king of Scots remained all the winter in saint Johns towne with a sober companie. When the king had settled the state of Scotland vnder the gouernement of the Balioll, those Scottishmen which toke part with the Balioll, obtained as it were in recompense of king Edwards friendship a statute, whereby they bound themselves to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England, that they should aid and assist him against all other princes: and whensoever it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightful inheritor, had any wars against any prince, either within the land or without, the Scottishmen of their owne proper costs and expenses should find three hundred horsemen, & a thousand footmen well and sufficientlie arraied for the warre, the which thirtene hundred men the Scots should wage for a whole yeare: & if the king of England ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the said number of thirtene hundred Scots, as he doth to other of his souldiers and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England should not onlie fortifie saint Johns towne about this time, as before is mentioned, but also saint Andzews, Coluper, Aberdene, Dunfermeling, with certeine other castells, leauing garisons of men in the same. But for so much as ye may read sufficientlie of those troubles, in Scotland, and of the returne of king David forth of France, and how his realme was recouered out of the Baliols hands in the Scottish chronicles: we need not here to make anie long discourse thereof.

The queene was deliuered of hir second sonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named William of Hatfield, who liued but a short time, departing this world when he was but young. The king being returned home out of Scotland, sought by all waies possible how to recouer monie, both to supplie his charges for the Scottish wars, and also to furnishe the other wars which he meant to take in hand against the French king: he got so much into his hands (as it is reported by writers) that it was verie scant and hard to come by throughout the whole realme: by reason of which

The tre of the earle of Cornewall.

The detail of Hugh de Fresnes earle of Lincoln.

Walter G. burgh. Thom.

The leg. Station.

A statute deemed by Scots as a mark of the of Engle.

Polyda.

Comme: tried by St. Edward: Scotland.

Th. Wals. Crox.

The king doubtless there many maintained wars.

Cost cheap
related to
and Larceny
of man.

scarfite and want of monie, or upon some other ne-
cessarie cause, bittels, and other chaffer and merchan-
dise were exceeding cheape: for at London a quar-
ter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ore for
twelve shillings eight pence, a fat shepe for six pence or
eight pence, halfe a dozen of pigeons for one penie, a
fat goose for two pence, a pig for one penie, and so all
other beets after the like rate.

1338
Anno Reg. 11.

Thom. Wall.
Ran. Higd.
Polidor.
Foliam.

Creations of
noble men.

Additions to
Hon. Marie.
Croiden.

Inact of ar-
rains against
sumptuous
apparel.

This yere was the warre proclaimed betwixt
England and France, cheslie by the procurement
of the lord Robert Dartois, a Frenchman, as then
banished out of France, upon occasion of a claimie
by him made unto the earldome of Artois. This lord
Robert after he was banished France, fled ouer un-
to king Edward, who gladielie received him and
made him earle of Richmond. ¶ All the gods of the
Italians were by the kings commendement this
yere confiscate to his use, and so likewise were the
goods of the monks of the Cluniake and Cisterce-
an orders. ¶ This yere also a comet or blasing
starre appeared, with long and terrible streames pas-
sing from it. In the eleuenth yere of his reigne,
the king held a parlement at Westminster, about
the time of Lent, during the which, of the earldome
of Cornewall he made a duchie, and gaue it unto his
eldest sonne Edward, that was then earle of Che-
ster, whom also (as some write) he created at the same
time prince of Wales.

Howeuer in rebord of service, there were sir no-
ble men at this parlement advanced to the honour
and title of earles, as the lord Henrie sonne to the
earle of Lancaster was created earle of Derby, or
after some writers, earle of Leicester; William Bo-
hun was created earle of Northampton, William
Montacute earle of Salisbury, Hugh Audley
earle of Gloucester, William Clinton earle of Hun-
tingdon, and Robert Wroth earle of Suffolk. This
creation was on the second sundaie in Lent, and the
same day were twentie knights made, whose names
for breuifnesse we doe here omit. In this parlement
it was enacted, that no man should weare any man-
ner of silke in gowne, cote, or doublet; except he
might dispense of god and sufficient rent an hundred
pounds by yere, which act was not long obserued,
for the nature of man is such, that of it owne cor-
rupt and euill inclination, it withstandeth good things,
and chooseth rather to followe what soeuer is forbidden;
yea though the same be sharke naught and offensive
to law and conscience: which preposterous and o-
uerthwart disposition the poet noteth well, saying,

— aliquid cupido
Mens aliud suadet: video meliora, probosq;
Deteriora sequor.

It was also ordeined by the aduise of this par-
lement, that Henrie of Lancaster newlie created erle
of Derby should go ouer into Gascoine, there to re-
maine as the kings lieutenant. But Richard South-
well saith, that the earle of Salisbury, and not the
earle of Derby was appointed to go into Gascoine
at that time, and the earle of Warwick into Scot-
land. Howeuer in this parlement it was enacted that
no wooll of the English growth should go forth of the
land, but be here wrought and made in cloath: and
further an act was ordeined for receiuing of stran-
gers that were clothworkers, and order taken, that
fit and convenient places should be assigned forth to
them where to inhabit, with manie priuileges and
liberties, and that they should haue wages and re-
pends allowed them, till they were so settled as they
might gaine commodiouslie by their occupation
and science: but now to returne againe to other
matters.

The Scots this yere took the castell of Bothuile
by surrender, so as the Englishmen that were with

in it, departed with their liues and goods saued. Di-
uerse other castles and fortresses were taken by the
Scots in this, and in other parts, but the countrie of
Galloway was by them speciallie sore afflicted, be-
cause the people there held with their lord Edward
Balliol. Hereupon it was agreed in this last par-
lement, that the earle of Warwick being appointed to
go thither, should haue with him the power beyond
Trent northwards. But when about the Ascension
tide the Scots had besieged the castell of Strueling,
the king of England in person halsted thitherwards,
of whose approach the Scots no longer understod, but
that streightwaies they brake by their siege, and de-
parted thence: the king therefore returned backe in-
to the south parts. About the same time sir Cusace
de Harwell knight, lord of Carlawerocke, cruellied
from Edward Balliol unto David le Bruce his
foe, and so that part daile increased, and also the
warre continued, with damage inough unto both
parts.

In the beginning of September the earle of
Warwicke with an armie entred Scotland by Ber-
wicke, and the lord Thomas de Wake, and the lord
Clifford, with the bishop of Carleill accompanied
with the Westmerland and Cumberland men, en-
tred by Carleill, and within two daies after met with
the earle of Warwick, as before it was appointed,
and so ioining together, they passed forwards, spoli-
ing and wasting Teudale, Hofetdale, and Aides-
dale. The lord Anthoine Lucie with a part of the ar-
mie entred into Galloway, and after he had wasted
that countrie, he returned to the armie, which by rea-
son of the exceeding great weat that fell in that sea-
son, they could not keepe on their iourne into Dou-
glasdale, and to Aire, as they had appointed: but ha-
uing remained in Scotland twelue daies, they re-
turned altogether unto Carleill. Edward Balliol
was not with them in this iourne, but remained
still in England.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made diuerse rodes
into England, withdrawing still with their prey and
booties, before the English power could assemble to
giue them battell. About Alballontide, the Scots be-
sieged the castell of Edinburgh, but the bishop of
Carleill, the lord Randall Dacres of Gilleland, with
the power of the countie of Cumberland and of
Westmerland, and the king of Scots Edward Ba-
lioll, with the lord Anthoine Lucie, and such compa-
nie as they brought from Berwicke, meeting at Roc-
keburgh, marched forth unto Edinburgh, and cha-
sing the Scots from the siege, took order for the safe
keeping of the castell from thenceforth, and returned
into England. In this meane time things happened
so well to the purpose of king Edward, that by prac-
tise he alienated the hearts of the Flemings from
the obedience of their earle, being altogether an ear-
nest friend to the French king. He therefore under-
standing the minds of his people, sought to winne
them by some gentle treatie, and so bid euen at the
first, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt,
which were fullie at a point to haue entred into
league with the king of England, as with him whose
friendship by reason of the traffike of merchandize,
(and namelie of the English wooll) they knew to be
more necessarie for their countrie than the French
kings.

Although by the helpe of the bishop of Tournie the
earle of Flanders caused them to stae from conclu-
ding or ioining in any such bonds of amitie with the
king of England for that time, yet he doubted the ar-
riual of some power out of England, and thereupon
appointed his bastard brother Guie of Richebur-
gh, and certeine other noble men and captains,
with a cruoe of men of warre to lie in the Ile of
J. I. J. Calant,

Sir Cusace
de Harwell.

The earle of
warwicke
inuateth
Scotland.

The castell of
Edinburgh
besieged.

The sieges
raisen.

The R. prac-
tised with
Flemings.

The bishop of
Tournie.

Ja. Main.

Inact for re-
straine of ar-
rains ouer
Scots.
Anno Meri-
m.

Rich. South-
well saith
the castell of
Bothuile
taken.

354

The Isle of
Cadant.An armie sent
by the king
into
Flanders.Four thousand
and six hundred
in Men.

Froissard.

Two cardinals
come into
England.Additions
to Mer.

1339

Ri. Southwell
The castell of
Dunbar be-
sieged.
Anno Reg. 12.

A parliament.

Croxcien.
A subsidie.The cardinals
returne.

Cadant, to defend the passage there, and to see that no English ships should come or go that waite by the seas: whereof the king of England being aduertised, sent thither the earle of Derby, the lord Lewes Beauchampe, the lord Reginald Cobham, also the lord William sonne to the earle of Warwick, the lord Walter de Manny an Hannerier, and other lords, knights, and capteins, with a power of five hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, the which comming to the foresaid Isle of Cadant, found the Flemings, about five thousand in number, readie arranged on the towne dikes and lands, in purpose to defend the entrie, which they did a certeine space right ballantlie: but in the end they were discomfited, and three thousand of them slaine in the streets, haues, and houses. Sir Guic the bastard of Flanders was taken with diuerse other knights and gentlemen, the towne was burnt, and the goods with the prisoners were carried into England. This chanced on a fundaie the daie before the feast of saint Martine in Nouember. Where the lord Walter de Manny might haue had 11 thousand pounds sterling for the ranfome of the said sir Guic, and other prisoners, the king bought them of him in the foureteenth yeare of his reigne for eight thousand pounds sterling, as by records in the towne it appeareth.

About the feast of saint Martine in winter, there came unto London two cardinals, sent by the pope to treat for a peace betwixt the kings of England, and France. The archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Coventrie, and the commons of the cite of London met them on Shoters hill. The duke of Cornetwall with the earle of Surrie, and manie other of the nobilitie received them a mile without the cite. The king himselfe received them at the lesser hall doore of his palace at Westminster, and brought them into the painted chamber, where they declared their message: whereupon the king caused a parlement to be summoned at London, to begin the morrow after Candlemasse day. The king held his Christmasse at Wildford, and within the octaues of the same feast he toke his iourne towards Scotland, or rather (as other haue) he sent thither the earles of Salisbury, Gloucester, Derby, and Arques, with three barons, the lords Percie, Deuill, and Stafford, the which with twentie thousand men besieged the castell of Dunbar.

This siege began enen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne, and continued for the space of nineteene weeks, with small gaine and lesse honour to the Englishmen, in so much that the same brake by vnder a colour of a truce, when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that laie there at siege, hastened to make an end, that they might attend the king in his iourne ouer into Babylon. The morrow after Candlemasse day the parlement began, in which there was a grant made to the king by the lattie of the one halfe of their waulles through the whole realme for the next summer, which he received, and likewise he leuied of the cleargie the whole, causing them to paie nine marks of euerie sacke of the best waul. But after the rate of the one halfe he toke in whose hands so euer it was found, aswell merchants as others. After this, he toke a fifteenth of all the communaltie of his realme in waul, the price of euerie stone containing foureteen pounds rated at two shillings. The one and twentieth of March the two cardinals toke the sea at Dover, and in their companie went ouer the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Durham to treat of a peace, if by any good means the two kings might be made friends. But as it appeared, their traffick was in vaine, for although they abode together for a time on the frontiers, doing their best endeavour,

yet their traffick nothing auailed, as by that which followeth is most manifest.

The Flemings that fauoured king Edward, were put in such comfort by the late victorie obtained by the Englishmen in the Isle of Cadant, that falling to their former practise, one Jaques or Jacob van Arteueld an hounimaker of the towne of Sant, was chosen amongst them to be as if were the defender of the people, and nameilie of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finallie, his authoritie grew so hugelie amongst all the whole number of the commons in Flanders, that he might do more with them than their earle; and yet the earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceased not to be all courtesious means towards them that he could devise, as releasing customs and duties of monie, pardoning offences, forfeitures, and other such like, but all would not auaille him. The king of England had so wonn them by the meanes of the said Jaques van Arteueld, that in the end John archbishop of Canturburie, and Richard the bishop of Durham, came into Flanders as ambassadors from king Edward, and travelled to earnestlie to draw the Flemings into an amitie with their master king Edward, that finallie a league was concluded betwixt the countrie of Flanders, and the said king at Sant, in the presence of the earle of Gelderland, as then being there. The chiefe authors of this league were the said Jaques van Arteueld, and a noble man of Flanders, called Siger de Curtrey.

But this Siger being immediatlie after apprehended by the earle of Flanders, was put to death, which act procured the earle so much hatred of the people, that shortly after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, he was forced himselfe to flee from thence, for otherwise he had bene either taken or slaine; the commons of the towne and nameilie the fullers, of whom he had slaine some there in the streets, rose so fast upon him. Hereupon fleeing home to his house, he toke his wife, and a sonne which he had, and fled with them into France, so forsaking his countrie which was now gouerned by Jaques van Arteueld, as though he had bene immediatlie lord thereof. After this, the earle returned home againe, as it were with the French kings commission, to perswade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the king of England: but he could bring nothing to passe, but was still in danger to haue bene arrested and slaid of his owne subiects, both at Sant and in other places, but nameilie at Dismue, where if he had not made the more hast awaie, he had bene taken by them of Bruges. Amongst other of his stuffe which he left behind him in that hastie departure, his signet was forgotten, and not missed till he came to saint Omers, whither he fled for his safegard.

Thus ye may perceiue that Flanders rested wholly at king Edwards commandement, who to establish amitie also with the duke of Babylon, and other princes of the empire, about the middell of Iulie sailed ouer unto Antwerpe, with his wife queene Philipp, his sonne the prince of Wales, and a great number of other of the peeres and barons of his realme, where he was most ioyfullie receiued of the duke of Babylon, and other lords of the empire. There was sent to the emperour to procure his friendship, from the king of England, the marques of Calike with certeine noble men of England, and also certeine of the duke of Gelderland his counsell, the which marques was made at that time an earle, and the earle of Gelderland was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had married the ladie Isabell sister of king Edward, and therefore in fauour of the king his brother in law, travelled most earnestlie to procure

James
Jacob Arteueld
maker of
Sant.His authoritie
amongst the
commons.Jaques van
Arteueld
land & Flanders.Siger de
Curtrey.The fullers
of Sant.The earle of
Flanders
fleeth into
France.He returned
home.

Dismue.

He returned
home.Flanders
souldiers
devoted to
the French.The earle of
Gelderland
sailed to
Antwerpe.Froissard.
The earle of
Gelderland
land.The earle of
Gelderland
married Isabell.

procure him all the friends within the empire that he could make.

The princes and lords then, with whom king Edward was allied and confederated at that time, found to be these; the dukes of Sabant and Gelberland, the archbishop of Cullen, the marquisse of Salike, sir Arnold de Baquchen, and the lord of Talsenburgh, who all promised to besse the French king, in the king of Englands quarrell, and to serue him with notable numbers of men, where and when soeuer it should please him to appoint. The alliance of the earle of Heineault first procured the king of England all these friends, unto the which earle he had sent ouer the bishop of Lincolne and other in ambassage, immediatlie after that he had resolved to make warres against France, by the counsell and aduise of sir Robert Dartois, as in the French historie more plainlie appeareth. In this meane season was quene Philip brought to bed at Antwerpe of hir third sonne, which was named Lionell. The king of England earnestlie followed his businesse, and had manie treaties with his friends and confederats, till at length he made sure to him the friendship of all those towne & countries, which lie betwixt France and the riuer of Rhene: onelie the cities of Tourne and Cambie held of the French kings part, though Cambie belonged to the empire.

In this twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne at a counsell holden at Southampton by the duke of Cornewall, lord warden of England in absence of the king his brother, and by manie of the prelates and barons of the realme, there was granted to the king a subsidie in wolle, to the great burthen of the commons: but for so much as the cleargie of the land was not present at that counsell, it was ordeined that they should be called, and so they assembled in a conuocation at London the first day of October, in which the cleargie granted to the king a tenth for the third yeare then to come, ouer and besides the two tenths before granted, and that the tenth of this present yeare should be paid in shorter time than it was appointed: but they flatlie denied to grant their wolls, which neuertheless the laitie paid, and that to their great hinderance, for it rose double to a fifteene. From the beginning of October, to the beginning of December this yeare, fell such abundance of raine that it hindered greatlie the husbandmen in sowing of their winter cozne: and in the beginning of December came such a vehement frost continuing the space of twelue weekes, that it destroyed by all the seed almost that was sowne, by reason whereof small store of winter cozne came to prowe in the summer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kinds of graine were sold at a reasonable price, through want of monie.

The Frenchmen by sea soze troubled the sea coasts of this realme, speciallie where the champion countries stretch towards the sea coasts. At Hastings in the feast of Corpus Christi, they burnt certeine fishermen houses, and slue some of the inhabitants. Also in the hauens about Denonshire and Cornewall, and towards Wistow, they toke and burnt certeine ships, killing the mariners that came to their hands, and in the Whitsun-week they landed at Plinmouth, and burnt the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtnie earle of Denonshire, a man almost fourescore yeares of age, and other knights and men of the countie came against these Frenchmen, slaying such as came into their hands to the number of five hundred, as was effected, and chased the residue. The Scots also about the same time did much hurt and great mischefe to the Englishmen both by sea and land.

In the beginning of Iulie the lord William Dow-

glas, with a number of men of warre, returned from France home into England, and to him upon his returne the castell of Colwyer was deliuered, with all the countie thereabouts. After this, comming to the siege of St. Johns towne, which the gouernour the earle of Surrey, the erle of March, Patrike de Dunbarre, and other of the Scottish lords had besieged, at length it was surrendered by sir Thomas Athred capiteine there of the English garison, departing in safetie home into England. Thre daies before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, there chanced in the night season such a mightie and sudden inundation of water at Helocastell upon Tyne, that it bare downe a peece of the towne wall, six perches in length, nere to a place called Walknot, where a hundred and twentie tempoall men with diuerse priests and manie women were drowned and lamentable perished.

But now to returne to the king, which all this while remained in Sabant. We haue heard how the citie of Cambie held with the French king: wherefore the A. of England assembling together a mightie strong armie aswell of Englishmen as of the low countries of Dutchlant, ment to besiege it, but first he sent the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Lincolne and Durham unto Arras, as commissioners from him to meet there with the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Langres and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commissioners from the French king, to treat with the Englishmen of a peace, but they could not agree upon anie conclusion, whereupon king Edward, comming forward with his power, approached to Cambie, and planted his siege round about it. But the bishop, not meaning to deliuer the citie unto king Edward nor unto anie other that should demand it to the behofe of the emperour Ludouike of Baviere, as then excommunicated of the pope, had receiued into the towne five thousand Frenchmen, with the French kings eldest sonne, the duke of Normandie latelie returned out of Guien, and the lord Theobald Marquisse, with certeine companies of Sanouins, so that the citie was so defended, that the king of England perceiuing he should but lose time, lenied his siege, and entred into France, pitching his field at a place called Flamin-guerie.

In the meane time had the French king not onelie made himselfe strong by land, but also by sea, hauing sent forth a strong nanie of ships and gallies towards the coasts of England, which arriving at Southampton the mondaie after Michaelmas day, toke and spoiled the towne, and the morrow after set fire vpon it in fine places, so that a great part of it was burnt. Also thirtene sailles of the French fleet met with fine English ships, and after a sore fight which continued nine houres, toke two of those five being tall and goodlie ships, the one called the Edward, and the other the Christopher; the other thre being smaller vessels, as two of them barks and the other a caruell escaped by their swiftnesse of sailing. There was slaine in that fight vpon both parts about the number of six hundred men.

The French king himselfe hearing that the king of England would invade his realme, made his generall assemblie of his armie at Peronne: and when he heard that he was entred France, he removed towards him with his whole power, being at the point of an hundred thousand men, as in the French chronicle yee may read more at large. The king of England had not past threescore thousand in his armie at the most: but whilest he laie there vpon the borders of France, his people did much hurt, making roads abroad beyond the water of Soime, burning

Heck. Boetius.

A flood.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

They cannot agree. Cambie besieged.

La. Meir.

The king redeth his siege and entred into France, Flamin-guerie.

Fabian. Thom. Walf.

Southampton burnt.

Two English ships taken.

The French kings armie.

Jacob. Meir.

A. l. g. and

Towns
burnt by the
Englishmen
in France.

The tower of
Caude burnt.

The castle of
Heinault.

and spoiling abbeies, toltens, and villages, as Elyzie, saint Benoit, Ribumont in Chierasse, saint Covan, Harle, and Crestie. Also the lord Beaumont of Heineault burnt the towne of Caude, though his daughter was as then within the same towne with wife unto Lewes earle of Blois: his brother William earle of Heineault was late before deceased, leaving the earldome to his sonne named also William, who continued with the king of England so long as he lay before Cambrie, & kept him within the bounds of the empire, as though his allegiance had bound him to no lesse, but after the said king was passed the river of Escault, otherwise called the Schell, and in Latine *Scheldt*, which divideth the empire from the kingdome of France, he would no longer serve the king of England, but departed from him for feare to offend the French king, accounting that the matter pertained not now to the empire, but to the private quarrell and businesse of the king of England: notwithstanding his uncle the said Sir John like a faithfull gentleman continued still in king Edward his service.

The armies
approch nere
together.

Froxtard.

Robert king
of Sicill dis-
suadeth the
French king
to fight with
the king of
England.

The armies
retire without
battell.

A counsell at
Brussels.

The two armies of England and France approached within foure miles together, so that euerie man thought that there would sure haue bene battell betwixt them, as there had bene in dede, if the French king had bene willing: yet some saie, that he of himselfe was disposed thereto: but his counsellors advised him to the contrarie, by reason of certeine signs and tokens which they imarked, as the starting of an hare amongst them, and such like. Also it was said that Robert king of Naples being then come into France, whose knowledge in astronomie was knowne to be great, dissuaded the French king by his letters, that in no wise he should fight with the king of England, for he had understanding by art of the heauenlie influences and disposition of the bodies above, that if the French king fought with this Edward king of England, he should assuredlie be put to the worse. Whether this was the cause, or anie other, sure it is that the French king had no mind to fight, so that these two mightie armies departed in sunder without battell, and the king of England returned into Flanders, soze in dede that he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in trust of the valiancie of his souldiers, chosen out of the pikedst men through England and all the low countrie on this side the Rhene, he ment verelie to haue encountered his enemies, if they had come forward.

At his coming backe into Brabant, there was a counsell called at Brussels, where were present all those lords of the empire which had bene with him in that iourne, as the dukes of Brabant, Gelderland, and Colike, the marques of Blankembourg, the earle of Wergem, the lord Beaumont of Heineault, other wise called Sir John de Heineault, the lord of Walkenbourg, and manie others. Thither came also Jaques Arteueld chiefe gouernour of Flanders. Were in counsell taken how the king of England might best mainteine the wars which he had begun thus against the French king, he was advised that he should in anie wise require them of Flanders to aid him, and in his quarrell to desie the French king, and to go with him against the said French king, and if they would thus doe, then should he promise them to recouer and deliuer into their hands the towne of Lille, Douwaie, and Bethon. The king of England, according to this aduise to him giuen, made such request to the Flemings, who thereupon desired time to consult together, what they might doe therein, and finally they declared for answer, that they would gladly so doe, but yet whereas they were bound by faith and oath, and in the summe of two millions of florens in the popes

chamber, not to make nor moue any warre against the king of France, whosoer he were, on paine to lose that summe, and beside to run in the sentence of cursing, they besought him, that it might stand with his pleasure, to take upon him the title and armes of France, as the same appertained to him of right, and then would they obey him as rightfull king of France, and require of him acquittances in discharge of their bonds, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of France.

The king of England, though he had iust cause to claime the crowne of France, in right of his mother queene Isabell, yet to take upon him the name and armes of that realme, before he had made conquest of any part thereof, he thought it stood not with much reason: but yet after he had caused the matter to be thoroughlie debated amongst them of his counsell, as well to satisfie the Flemings, as for other respects, he saw it should be the best waie that might be taken to the aduancement of his purpose. Then he answered the Flemings, that if they would sweare, and scale to this accord, and promise to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill their desire, and also he promised to get for them againe the towne of Lille, Douwaie, and Bethune. Whereupon was a day assigned to meet at Cant: the king came thither, and the most part of the said lords, and all the counsellors of the good towne & places in Flanders were there assembled, and so all the foresaid matters were rehearsed, sworn, and scaled, and the armes of France were then quartered with those of England, and from thenceforth he took upon him the name of king of France, in all his writings, proclamations, and commandements. This is noted by Christopher Okland, where speaking of the mingling of the French and English armes, he saith amongst other things,

*Legitimus regni Cesarum, insignia gentis
Hic suis immiscet atrox, quod aunculus orbis
Carolus e vita ad superas migrauerat oras, &c.*

With then that we be come to this place, it shall not be much amisse to rehearse somewhat of the right title whereby king Edward did thus claime the crowne of France, hauing of purpose omitted to speake thereof, till now that he intituled himselfe with the name, & took upon him to beare the armes also of France, upon occasion before exprest. It is well knowne that Philip le Beau king of France had issue by his wife queene Jone three sons, & Lewes surnamed Hutine, Philip le Long, and Charles le Beau: also two daughters, the one dieng in hir infancie, and the other named Isabell liued, and was married vnto Edward the second of that name king of England, who begot of hir this Edward the third, that made this claime. The three sonnes of the foresaid Philip le Beau reigned eche after other, as kings of France. First after Philip the father, succeeded his eldest sonne Lewes Hutine, who had issue by his first wife spargaret, daughter to Robert duke of Burgogne, a daughter named Jone, the which was anon giuen in marriage vnto Lewes earle of Eu reux: but she liuing not long, died without issue. Hir father the said Lewes Hutine married after the decesse of his first wife, an other wife named Clo mence, daughter to Charles spartell, the father of Sir Robert of Sicill, whom he left great with child when he died. The child being borne proued a son, & was named John, but liued not manie daies after. Then Philip the Long was admitted vnto the crowne of France, though manie stood in opinion that Jone the daughter of Lewes Hutine, which yet was alive, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namelic Edmo duke of Burgogne, uncle to the said Jone, was most earnest in that matter, in sa-

The most
to haue the
of England
the title to
crown of
France.

The king
answered the
Flemings.

These things
had bene
gaged to the
king of France
for money.

The quar-
ring of the
armes of
England &
France.

In Angl.
sub Franc.

Polid.

The third
Philip
le Beau.

Lewes
Hut.

Philip le
Long.

Charles le
Beau.

nour of his nèce. But might ouercame right, so that he was constrained to be quiet. Philip le Long, after he had reigned five yeares, died also, and left no issue behind him. Then lastlie Charles le Beau took upon him the kingdome, and the seventh yeare after died, his wife big belied, which thortlie after brought forth a maiden named Blanch, that freightwaies halting to follow hir father, lived no while in this world. By this means then the blood roiall in the heires male of Philip le Beau was extinguished in his sonne the foresaid Charles le Beau, whereof the contention toke beginning about the right to the crowne of France, betwixt the Frenchmen and Englishmen, which hangeth as yet undecided till these our daies, for king Edward auerred that the kingdome of France appertained unto him as lawfull hère, because that he alone was remaining of the kings stocke, and touched his mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of consanguinitie, as he that was borne of his daughter Isabell.

King Edward signifieth his right to the crowne of France.

In. Mair.
King Edward took upon him the title & armes of the Is. of France.
The Flemings were feaile to the King of England.Additions to
Nic. Trivet.John of
Gaunt borne.1340
Anno Reg. 14.

Parlement.

Therefore immediatlie after the deceasse of the said Charles le Beau, by ambassadours sent unto the peeres of France, he published to them his right, requiring that they would admit him king according therunto: but his ambassadours could neuer be quietlie heard, and therefore returned home without anie towardlie answer, which moued him in the end to attempt the recouerie of his lawfull inheritance by force, sith by law he could not preuaile, and now by aduise of his friends to take upon him both the title and armes of France, to signifie to the world what right he had to the same. After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flanders, and that king Edward had taken upon him the name of king of France with the armes; the duke of Cleueland and Jaques van Artevelde went unto all the good towncs and iurisdicions of Flanders, to receiue their othes of fidelitie unto king Edward, persuading with the people, that the supreme rule belonged unto him, saying to the towncs their ancient lawes and liberties, and to their earle his right of propriete.

About the latter end of this thirteenth yeare of Edwards reigne, the mariners and sea-men of the cinque ports, getting them aboord into a number of small ships and balingers, well trimmed and appointed for the purpose, passed ouer to Bullongne, where they took land one day in a thicke foggie weather, and setting on the Basse towne, they burnt nineteene galleies, foure great ships, and to the number of twentie smaller vessels, together with their tackle and furniture. They set fire also on the houses that stood nere to the water side, and namelie they burnt one great house, wherein laie such a number of oares, sailes, armour, and crossebowes, as might haue sufficed to furnish so manie men as could be well aboord in nineteene galleies. There were manie slaine on both parts in atchiuing this enterprize, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Englishmen. About the same time the queene of England was deliuered of hir fourth sonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named John, first created earle of Richmond, and after duke of Lancaster. He was borne about Christmasse, in the thirtieth yere of king Edwards reigne.

When king Edward had finished his businesse with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife queene Philip there still in that towne, and returned himselfe unto Antwerpe, and thortlie after about the feast of Candlemasse took the sea, and came backe into England, to provide for monie to mainteine his begun warres. And hereupon about the time of Lent following, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which he asked of his commons towards his charges, for the recouerie of his right in

France, the first part of their moueable goods, the customes of wools for two yeares to be paid aforehand, and the ninth sheafe of euerie mans coine. At length it was agreed, that the king should haue for euerie sacke of wolle fortie shillings, for euerie three hundred wolle fells fortie shillings, and for euerie last of leather fortie shillings, and for other merchandize after the rate, to begin at the feast of Easter, in this fourteenth yeare of the kings reigne, and to indure till the feast of Pentecost then next following, and from that feast till the feast of Pentecost, then next ensuing into one yeare: for which the king granted, that from the feast of Pentecost, which was then to come into one yeare, he nor his heires should not demand, aslesse, nor take, nor suffer to be aslesed or taken, more custome of a sacke of wolle of any Englishman, but halfe a marke, and upon the wolle fells and leather the old former custome.

Beside this, the citizens and burgeses of cities and good towncs, granted to giue the ninth part of all their goods; and the foreyn merchants and other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of sheepe, should giue the fiftenth part of all their goods lawfullie to the value: for the which he granted that as well now in time of warre as of peace, all merchants, denizens and foreigners (those excepted that were of the enemies countries) might without let safelie come into the realme of England with their goods and merchandize, and safelie tarie, and likewise returne, paying the customs, subsidies, and profits, reasonable thereof due, so alwaies that the franchises and free customs granted by him or his predecessours reasonable to the citie of London, and other cities, burroughes, and towncs, might alwaies to them be saued. Moreover, there was granted unto him the ninth sheafe, the ninth shee, and ninth lambe, to be taken by two yeares next comming. And for the leueng thereof, the lords of euerie shire through the land, were appointed to answer him, euerie one for the circuit within the which he dwelled. And because the king must needs occupie much monie yea the receipt of this subsidie could come to his hands, he borrowed in the meane time manie notable summes of diuerse cities, and particular persons of this land, amongst the which he borrowed of the citie of London 20000 marks, to be paid againe of the monie comming of the foresaid subsidie.

The citie of
London lent
vnto the king
monie.

In the meane while, now that king Edward was come backe into England, the warres were hotlie pursued against his friends, that had their lands nere to the borders of France, and namelie against sir John de Heinnault lord Beaumont, for the French men burned all his lands of Chimare, except the fortresses, and took from thence a great preie. All the frontiers were full of men of warre, lodged within towncs in garrison, as at Tournie, Portaigne, S. Amond, Dowaine, Cambrie, and in other smaller fortresses. These men of warre late not idle, but were doing oftentimes in Flanders, and sometime otherwise, neither was the countrie of Heinnault spared, though the earle (as we haue heard) did not onelie refuse to serue the king of England against France, but also when the same king entred France, he refused to the French king, and serued him; yet by the suggestion of the bishop of Cambrie, who complained of the Heinnaulters, for the damages which they had done him, the French garrisons of the frontiers thereabouts were commanded to make a road into that countrie, which they did, burning the towne of Alper, and brought from thence a great botie. The earle of Heinnault soe moued therewith to haue his lands so spoiled and burnt, desired the French king, and joining with his uncle the lord Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thierasse, took & destroyed

The frontiers of France
full of men of
warre.The towne of
Alper burnt.The earle of
Heinnault desired
the French king.

A list.

Adventan.

Edwards
burnt in
Cherasse.

Flanders ter-
rorized.

Ad. Merim.

Adam Me-
rimuch,
la. Meir.

The earles of
Salisbury &
Suffolke ta-
ken.

The countie
of Heinault
inuaied.

Gaguin.

A great nauie
prepared by
the French
king.

The king of
England ta-
keth the sea.

Polydor,
la. Meir.

The king of
England fer-
reth upon his
enemies.

Additions to
Truce.

Auberton, with Walbert, Fontaine, Daubeculle,
and diuerse other.

In this meane time the French king procured the
pepe to pronounce his curse against the Flemings
for their rebellion, and to suspend all diuine seruice
that ought to be said in anye hallowed place, so that
there were no priests to be found that would take vp
on them to saie any diuine seruice: whereupon the
Flemings sent ouer into England certeine messen-
gers to giue notice to king Edward how they were
untreated, but he sent them word that he would bring
at his comming ouer vnto them, priests that should
saie masses and other seruice, whether the pope would
or not, for he had priuilege so to do. ¶ In Aprill, Wil-
liam Melton archbishop of Doxhe departed this life,
after whome variance rose in the election of a new
gouernour to that church, so that two were elected,
William la Zouch, and William Killebie: but at
length William la Zouch toke place, being the 43
archbishop that had sit in that seat. ¶ The earles of
Salisbury and Suffolke, which were left in Flan-
ders by king Edward to helpe the Flemings, shot-
lie after Essex, or as other haue) in the time of Lent,
were discomfited by the garrison of Lille, and taken
prisoners as they would haue passed by that towne,
to haue ioined with Jaques Artevels, meaning to
besiege Tournie; but now by the taking of those two
earles that enterprise was broken. The duke of Por-
mandie with a great armie entered into Heinault,
burning and wasting the countie, euen to the gates
of Valenciennes and Duesnoy. And thus were they
occupied in those parts, whilst the king of England
prepared himselfe with all diligence to returne into
Flanders.

The French king being aduertised, that the king
of England meant shortly to returne into Flan-
ders with a great power, in purpose to inuaide the
realme of France on that side, assembled a nauie of
four hundred ships vnder the leading of three expert
capteins of the warres by sea, as sir Hugh Kiriell, sir
Peter Babuchet, and a Geneuois named Barbe-
leur, appointing them to the coasts of Flanders to
defend the king of England from landing there, if by
any means they might. These three capteins or ad-
mirals came and laie with their ships in the haven of
Sluise, for that it was supposed the king of England
would arrive there, as his meaning was indeed,
whereupon when his men, ships, and provisions were
once ready in the moneth of June, he toke the sea
with two hundred saile, and directing his course to-
wards Flanders, there came vnto him the lord Ro-
bert Hooley, with the north nauie of England, so
that then he had in all about three hundred saile, or
(as other saie) two hundred and thre score.

The French nauie laie betwixt Sluise and Blanc-
bergh, so that when the king of England approched,
either part deseried other, & therewith prepared them
to battell. The king of England staied, till the sunne
which at the first was in his face, came somewhat
westward, and so had it vpon his backe, that it should
not hinder the sight of his people, and so therewith
did set vpon his enemies with great manhood, who
likewise verie stoutlie encountered him, by reason
whereof ensued a sore and deadly fight betwixt them.
The nauies on both sides were diuided into three bat-
tels. On the English part, the earles of Gloucester,
Northampton and Huntington, who was admerall
of the fleet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the
lord Robert Hooley admerall of the northerne nauie
had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themselves
right valiantlie, so that at length the Englishmen
hauing the aduantage, not onlie of the sunne, but al-
so of the wind and tide, so fortunatlie, that the French
fleet was driuen into the streights of the haven, in

such wise that neither the souldiers nor mariners
could helpe themselves, in somuch that both heauen,
sea, and wind, seemed all to haue conspired against
the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ships of Flan-
ders ioining themselves with the English fleet, in the
end the Frenchmen were vanquished, slaine and ta-
ken, their ships being also either taken, holwed, or
broken.

When night was come vpon them, there were
thirtie French ships, that yet had not entred the bat-
tell, the which sought by couert of the night to haue
slole a waie, and one of them being a mightie great
vessel, called the James of Depe, would haue taken
a waie with hir a ship of Sandwich that belonged to
the prior of Canturburie: but by the helpe of the earle
of Huntington, after they had fought all the night
till the next morning, the Englishmen at length pre-
uailed, and taking that great huge ship of Depe,
found in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies. So
conclude, verie few of the French ships escaped, ex-
cept some of their smaller vessels, and certeine gal-
lies with their admerall Barbenot, who in the begin-
ning of the battell got forth of the haven, aduising
the other capteins to do the like, thereby to auoid the
danger which they would haue embraced. There died in
this battell fought (as some write) on midsummer
daie, in the yeare aforesaid, of Frenchmen to the
number of 30000, of Englishmen about 4000, or as
other haue that liued in those daies) not past 400, or
mongst whom there were foure knights of great no-
bilitie, as sir Thomas Bonhermere, sir Thomas La-
tiner, sir John Boteler, and sir Thomas Poinsings.

It is said also, that the king himselfe was hurt in
the thigh. The two English ships that had bene ta-
ken the yeare before, the Edward and the Christopher,
were recovered at this time, amongst other of the
French ships that were taken there. ¶ Sir Peter
Babuchet was hanged vpon a crosse pole fastened to
a mast of one of the ships. Although the wilfulnesse of
this man, the Frenchmen receiued this losse (as the
French chronicles report) because he kept the nauie
so long within the haven, till they were so inclosed by
the Englishmen, that a great number of the French-
men could neuer come to strike stroke, nor to vse the
shot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows.
Howsoever it was, the Englishmen got a famous
victorie, to the great comfort of themselves, and dis-
comfort of their aduersaries. ¶ The king of Eng-
land, after he had thus vanquished his enemies, re-
mained on the sea by the space of three daies, and then
comming on land, went to Cant, where he was re-
ceiued of the queene with great ioy and gladnesse.

In this meane while had the duke of Poymandie
besieged the castell of Thune Leuesques, nere to
Cambrie, which was taken by sir Walter of Han-
nie, a lord of Heinault, at the first beginning of the
warres, and euer since till that time kept to the king
of England his vse. The earle of Heinault, who had
bene of late both in England with king Edward,
and also in Almaine with the emperour, to purchase
their assistance for the defense of his countie a-
gainst the inuaions of the Frenchmen, was now
returned home, and meaning to rescue such as were
besieged in Thune, sent for succours into Flanders,
and into Almaine, and in the meane time leuening
such power as he could make with his owne coun-
trie, came therewith to Valenciennes, whither forth-
with resorted vnto him the earle of Namure with
two hundred speares, the duke of Brabant with sir
hundred, the duke of Gelberland, the earle of Ber-
gen, the lord of Walkenburgh, and diuerse other, the
which together with the earle of Heinault went and
lodged along by the river of Lessault ouer against
the French host, which kept siege (as ye haue heard)

The battell
of the Eng-
lish men at the
battell of
Sluise.

Additions to
Truce.

The James
of Depe.

Barbenot,
Gaguin,
Auerburne,
Tho. Will,
Adam Nic-
mouch.

Froilard
la. Meir,
R. South-
the man-
slaine,
Rich. South.

Rich. South-
the king of
eth to Gel-
Froilard.

The most
valiant
the Duke
under

under the conduct of the duke of Poymandie before Thune Leuelques, that is situate upon the same river.

The Flemings.

There came also to the aid of the earle of Heinault Jaques Artevelde, with his three score thousand Flemings. Now it was thought that they would have fought yet they had departed in sunder, but they did not. For after it was knowen how the king of England was arrived in Flanders, and had discomfited the French fleet, the duke of Brabant and others thought good to breake up their enterprize for that time, and to resort unto the king of England, to understand what his purpose was to do. Neither were the Frenchmen hasty to give battell, so that after the captaine of Thune Leuelques, sir Richard Limosin knight an Englishman, and two esquires, by then to the erle of Namure, John and Thierrie, had left their fortress void, and were come over the river by boats unto the earle of Heinaults campe, the armies on both sides brake up and departed, the Frenchmen into France, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the princes and great lords drew to Gaunt, to welcome the king of England into the country, of whome they were right fullie received: and after they had communed together of their affaires, it was appointed by the king, that they should meet him at Willefort in Brabant at a daie prefixed, where he would be readie to consult with them about his proceedings in his warres against his aduersaries the Frenchmen.

The assembly of the princes at Willefort.

At the day appointed, there came to Willefort the dukes of Brabant, and Gelderland, the earle of Heinault, Gulike, Namure, Blackenheym, Bergen, sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earle of Talsenburgh, and Jaques Artevelde, with the other rulers of Flanders, and manie others. Here it was ordeined, that the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault, should be so united and knit in one corporation, that nothing should be done amongst them in publick affaires, but by common consent, and if anie warres were moved against anie of them, then should the other be readie to aid them, against whome anie such warre was moved: and if upon anie occasion anie discord rose betwixt them for anie matter, they should make an end of it amongst themselves; and if they could not, then should they stand to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of England, unto whome they bound themselves by oath to keepe this ordinance and agreement.

Freilard, Tourne furnished with a strong power of men.

The French king being informed that the king of England ment to laie siege unto Tourne, as it was indeed devised at this councill holden at Willefort, took order for the furnishing thereof with men, munition, and vittels in most defensible wise. There were sent to that towne the best men of warre in all France, as the earle of Cleve constable of France, the young earle of Guines his sonne, the earle of Foix and his brethren, the earle Amerie de Parbon, with manie other, having with them four thousand soldiers. Sir Godmar du Foie was there before as captaine of the towne, so that it was provided of all things necessarie. Holbeite, the king of England (according as it was appointed at the councill holden at Willefort, about the feast of Marie Magdalen) departed from Gaunt, and came to Tourne, having with him seven earles of his owne countrie, as Darbie, Penbrooke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Poshtampton, Glocester, and Arundell, eight prelates, eight and twentie baronets, two hundred knights, four thousand men of armes, and nine thousand archers, besides other footmen. He lodged at the gate called saint Martine, till the waite that is toward Lille and Dowlaie.

Tourne besieged.

Anon after came the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, the marquess of Blanqueburgh, the marquess of Hulle, the earls of Bergen, Saunies, and Heinault: also Jaques Artevelde, who brought with him about fortie thousand Flemings. So that there was at this siege to the number of six score thousand men, as some writers affirme. There was also an other armie of Flemings, as of the towne of Pypes, Poppingue, Furnes, Cassell, of the Chateleine, & of Bergis, being to the number of fortie thousand, appointed to make warre against the Frenchmen that kept saint Omers, and other towne there on the frontiers of Arthois, which armie was led by the earle of Richmond, otherwise called the lord Robert Dartois, and by sir Henrie de Flanders, the which approaching one day to saint Omers, were sharplie fought with; for within saint Omers at that time laie a strong power of Frenchmen with the duke of Burgoine, the earle of Arminacke and others.

The great number of people at the siege of Tourne. La. Meir.

The earle of Richmond.

The Flemings were not willing to serve, for neither had they any trust in their captaine the said earle of Richmond, neither would they willingly have passed out of their owne confines, but onlie to defend the same from the invasion of their enemies: yet through much perswasion, forward they went, divided into sundrie battels contrarie to their manner. The enemies perceiving some advantage, issued forth upon them, and assailed them verie stoutlie, inso much that the earle of Arminacke setting upon them of Pypes, overthrew them, and chased them unto a towne called Arques, which they had a little before set on fire and burned. An other companie of Frenchmen, skirmishing with them of Franks, Furnes, and Bergis, put them also to the worse. Contrarily, those Frenchmen that encountered with the lord Robert Dartois, and them of Burges whome he led, sustained great losse, and were beaten backe into the citie: the duke of Burgoine himselfe being in no small danger for a time, so sharpe the bickering was betwixt them, and the event so variable. Wherefore it is notable and fittie said in this behalfe, that

The Frenchmen set upon the Flemings.

The variable fortune of fights.

Additions to Adam Merimouth.

Sil. Ital. lib. 6.

There be that write, that this fight continued from three of the clocke till eventide, and that the earle of Richmond was twice put to flight, for his people did leave him in the plaine field: but at length by the advice of sir Thomas Arthed, whome the king of England had appointed to attend the said earle, with manie Englishmen and archers, he assembled his people effones together againe, and setting on his enemies. Now when it was almost night, nere to the gates of saint Omers, he finally overcame them, where were slaine of the French part fiftene barons and fourescore knights, beside a great number of other people. Divers also were slaine on the earle of Richmonds part at this last encounter, and among other an English knight, that bare armes escheeked silver and gules.

Sir Thomas Arthed.

Finally, as the earle of Richmond returned towards his campe, which laie in the vale of Cassell, he met with certaine Artevelines and Frenchmen, which had bene chasing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the evening, that one could not take god blew of an other, yet here they fought againe; and so diverse of the Frenchmen were taken and killed, and amongst other that were caught, was a knight of Burgoine, named sir William de Millie. But when the earle of Richmond and those that were with him came to the place where the campe laie, they found that all the residue of the Flemings were fled and gone. And when the said earle came to Cassell, the people were readie to have slaine him, their former malice towards him being now much increased with

The earle of Richmond in danger to be slaine.

With the euill successe of this passed enterprise, so that he was glad to get him thence, and to repaire vnto king Edward, that laie yet at the siege before Tournie, during which siege manie proper feats of armes were done betwixt those within and them without: for few daies passed without the atchiuing of some enterprise.

Also the French king, hauing made his assemblee at Arras, and got thither a mightie host, as well out of the empire as of his owne subiecs, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuins, thre leagues from Tournie. There were with him the king of Bohem, the duke of Lorraine, the bishop of Spentz, the earles of Bar, mount Belliard, & Saunoie, also the dukes of Burgogne and Burbone, with a great number of other earles and lords, so that the greatest puissance of all France was iudged to be there with the king. Whilste he laie incamped thus at Bouuins, and the king of England at Tournie, manie exploits were atchiued betwixt their people, who laie not idle, but still rode abroad and oftentimes met, and then that part which was weakest paid for the others charges, so that manie were slaine & taken on both sides as well of the nobilitie as other. Also diuerse townes were sacked and burned on the frontiers of France, during this siege at Tournie, namelic at the pursuit of the earle of Heinault, as Declin, S. Amond, Wygles, Landas, and other.

At length at the suit of the ladie Jane de Maloie, sister to the French king, and mother to the earle of Heinault, traouelling still betwixt the parties to bring them vnto some accord, it was granted that either partie should send certeine sufficient persons to intreat of the matter, which should meet at a little chappell, standing in the fields called Elplotin, and hereto also was a truce granted for thre daies. For the English part were appointed the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincolne, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Culike, and sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont. For the French part, the king of Bohem, Charles erle of Alanson brother to the French king, the bishop of Liege, the earle of Flanders, and the earle of Arminack: and the ladie of Maloie was still among them as a mediatrix, by whose meanes chesefelie they at length did agree vpon a truce to endure for a peare betwene all parties and their men, and also betwene them that were in Scotland, in Gascoigne, and Poitou.

It was agreed also by these commissioners, that there should other commissioners of either part foure or five meet at Arras at a daie appointed, and thither also should the pope send his legats, to treat of a perpetuall peace and full agreement to be made betwixt the two kings of England and France. There was also consideration had of the Flemings, so that they were released of all such summes of monie as they were by any bonds indangered to paye by forfeiture, or otherwise, for any matter before that time vnto the crowne of France. Also they were released of the interdiction and curse of the church, and then also was their earle restored home. It was further accorded, that the French king should restore vnto the king of England certeine townes and places in Guen, which in the beginning of these warres the earle of Alanson had taken from the Englishmen, as Denne in Agenois, and others. Also whereas the French king had seized the countie of Montieu into his hands, which was the dower of queene Ilabel, the mother of king Edward, he should also restore the same vnto king Edward, to hold it as he did before.

Hereupon was the siege raised from Tournie, after it had continued there the space of ten weekes and foure daies. They within stood in great danger for lacke of vittels to haue bene constrained to the sur-

rendring of the towne, if this truce had not bene concluded, which caused the French king the sooner to agree, in like case as the lacke of monie caused the king of England to take his truce, which otherwise (as was thought) he would not haue done: so that by the violent constraint of necessitie they were forced thus to do, against which there is no trieng of maiesties, nor struggling to make it scape and obvie: for

A necessitate omnia in ierusalem rediguntur.

After he had raised his siege he went to Cant, and thither came also the earle of Flanders being now restored home to his countie, and made the king of England great cheare, feasting and banquetting him right princelie, together with the queene. Finally, after that king Edward had refreshed himselfe a while at Cant, he toke a vertie few with him, and came into Zealand; and there taking the seas to passe ouer into England, he was sore tossed by force of outrageous stormes of wind and weather. Yet at length after thre daies and thre nights sailing, in the night of the feast of saint Andrew, he came on land at the towne of London about cocke-crowing, and with him the earle of Northampton, the lord Walter de Spannie, the lord John Barcie, the sonne of the lord John Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two chapleins that were his secretaries, sir William Killebie, and sir Philip Weston, beside a few others.

After his arrivall he sent for the bishop of Chichester that was lord chancellor, for the bishop of Conuertie and Lichfield being lord treasurer, and for such of the iudges as were then in London. The lord chancellor and the lord treasurer he straightwaies discharged of their offices, threatening to send them into Flanders, there to remaine as pledges for monie that he there owght, or if they refused to go thither, then to keepe them prisoners in the towne. But when the bishop of Chichester declared to him the danger of the canon established against such as imprisoned bishops, he suffered them to depart: but the iudges, to wit, John de Stonore, Richard de Willoughby, William de Sharestill, and also Nicholas (as other haue) Mattheu de la Beech, who was before gardian of his sonne, and lieutenant of the towne: also John de Pultrie, and William de Pole merchants; and the chiefe clerkes of the chancerie, John de saint Baule, Michaele de Wath, Henrie de Stretford, and Robert de Chikewell; and of the eschequer, John de Hoype, and manie other, were committed to diuerse prisons, but yet because they were committed but onelie vpon commandement, they were withyn a while after deliuered.

The lord Wake was also committed, but shortly after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walsingham writeth. Robert de Bouchier was made lord chancellor, and Richard de Sadington lord treasurer: all the shiriffes of shires, and other officers also were removed, and other put in their places, and iustices appointed in euerie shire, to inquire vpon the defaults of collectors and other officers, so that few or none escaped unpunished, howsoeuer they had demeaned themselves, so stricte those iustices proceeded in their commissions. The king indeed was sore offended with those whom he had put in trust to lenie monie, and to see it conueied ouer to him into the low countie, because that for want thereof in time of need, he was constrained to take truce with his aduersarie the French king, and leaue off his enterprise, which he was in god forwardnesse to haue gone through withall, if he had not bene disappointed of treasure which he had commanded to be sent ouer vnto him, which was not done but kept backe, in whom forer the fault rested.

There were some of his secretaries, namelic, sir William Killebie, which stirred him to take no

The great army raised by the French king.

The ladie Jane de Maloie treated for a peace.

A truce accorded.

The Flemings released of debts, and of the interdiction.

Polydor.

Restitution of townes to the king of England, Gaguin.

The siege raised from Tournie.

The earle of Flanders freed the king of England, la. Meir.

The king returned into Zealand.

Continuation of Truce.

Auebury.

Judges and other officers committed to the tower.

How officers made in place of other that were discharged.

The king did send the small

The archb. of
Canterburie.

141
The archb. of
Canterburie
writing to the
king.

Small displeasure against the archbishop of Cantur-
burie John Stratford, who thereupon withdrew him
into the priorie of Wykes church at Canturburie,
and there remaining for a season, wrote his mind to
the king, exhorting him not to give too light credit
unto such as should counsel him to have those in con-
tempt that were faithfull and true to him, for in so
doing, he might happily lose the love and good will
of his people. Nevertheless, he wished that he should
trye out in whose hands the wools and monie remain-
ed, which were taken by to his use, and that upon a
just accompts had at their hands, it might appeare
who were in fault, that he had not monie brought to
him, whilst he laie at siege before Tournie, as he
had appointed; and that when the truth was knowne,
they that were in fault might be worthilie punished.
And as for his owne cause, he signified, that he was
readie to be tried by his peers, saving alwaies the
state of holie church, and of his order, &c. Further, he
besought the king, not to thinke euill of him, and of
other good men, till the truth might be tried, for o-
therwise, if iudgement should be pronounced, with-
out admitting the partie to come to his answer, as
well the guiltlesse as the guiltie might be con-
demned.

Anno Reg. 15.
A letter sent
to the deane
of Baules.

The king neuertheless still offended towards the
archbishop, caused Adam bishop of Winchester to
indite a letter against him, directed from the king to
the deane and chapter of Baules, openlie to be publi-
shed by them: the effect whereof was, to burthen the
archbishop with unthankfulnesse, and forgetting of
his bounden duetie towards his soueraine lord and
louing master, namelic, in that where he promised
the king to see him throughlie furnished with monie,
towards the maintenance of his warres: when it
came to passe, none would be had, which turned not
onlie to the hinderance of the kings whole proce-
dings, but also to his great discredit, and causing him
to run greatlie in debt by interest, through borrow-
ing of monie, for the paiement of the wages of his
men of warre, when through the archbishops negli-
gence, who had the chiefe rule of the land, the collec-
tors and other officers slackted their duetie, whereby
there was no monie sent ouer, according to that was
appointed: and theras now, since his coming ouer,
he had sent to the archbishop to come vnto him, that
by his information, he might the better learne who
they were that neglected their duetie, he disobedient-
lie refused to come, pretending some feare of bodi-
lie harme, though the malice of some that were a-
bout the king. Whereupon, when Rafe lord Stafford,
lord steward of the kings house, was sent with a safe
conduct, for him to come in all safetie to the court, he
flatlie made answer that he would not come, except
in full parlement.

The archb. of
Canterburie
refuseth
to come to the
court.

Some other misdemeanors was the archbishop
charged with towards the king in that letter, as ma-
liciously slandering the king for uniuersal oppression of
the people, confounding the cleargie, and greauing
the church with exactions, leuies of monie, tolles and
tallages. Therefore, sith he went about to slander the
kings roiall authoritie, to defame his seruants; to
stirre rebellion among the people, and to withdraw
the deuotion and love of the earles, lords, and great
men of the land from the king: his highnesse decla-
red, that he meant to prouide for the integritie & pro-
secution of his good name (whereof it is said trulie,
Dulcius est et pretiosius nomen habere)

and to meet with the archbishops malice. And here-
with diuerse things were reheried to the archbishops
reproch, which he should doe, procure, and suffer to be
done, by his euill and sinister counsell, whilst he had
the rule of the realme in his hands vnder the king:
wherein he had thewed himselfe not onlie an accep-

tor; of gifts, but also of persons, in gratifying diuerse
that nothing had deserued sundrie waies forth, and
presuming to doe rashlie manie other things to the
detriment of the kings roiall state, and hurt of his
regall dignitie, and to no small damage of the peo-
ple, abusing the authoritie and office to him commit-
ted, so that if he persisted in his obstinate wilfulnesse,
and rebellious contumacie, the king by those his let-
ters signified, that he meant to declare it more appa-
rantlie in due time and place, and therefore comman-
ded the said deane and chapter of Baules, to publish
all those things openlie, in places where they thought
conuenient, according to their wisdome giuen to
them by God, so as he might haue cause to commend
therein their careful diligence. ¶ This letter was
dated at Westminister the tenth of Februarie, in the
sixteenth yeare of his reigne ouer England, and se-
cond ouer France.

Where the Londoners would not permit the kings
iustices to sit within the citie of London, contrarie
to their liberties, the king appointed them to sit in the
tower; and when they would not make anie answer
there, a great tumult was raised by the commons of
the citie, so that the iustices being in some perill (as
they thought) feigned themselves to sit there till to-
wards Easter. Whereupon, when the king could not
get the names of them that raised the tumult, no o-
therwise but that they were certeine light persons of
the common people, he at length pardoned the of-
fence. After this, those iustices neither sat in the tow-
er, nor elsewhere, of all that yeare.

In the quindene of Easter, the king held a par-
lement at London, in the which, the prelates, earls, ba-
rons, and commons, presented manie petitions; as
to haue the great charter of liberties, and the charter
of forreins duly obserued, and that they which brake
the same should be discharged of their offices, if they
were the kings officers, and that the high officers of
the king should be elected and chosen by their peers
in parlement. The king withstood these petitions a
certeine time, yet at length he granted to some of
them; but as concerning the election of his officers,
he in no wise would consent, but yet he was conser-
ued that they should receiue an oth in parlement, to
do iustice to all men in their offices, &c. Upon which
article and others, a statute was made and confir-
med with the kings seale.

A parlement.
Adam Meri-
much.

In the meane while, the French king had with
himselfe woone Lewes of Bauaria, that named him-
selfe emperor, from further fauouring the king of
England; in so much that, vnder a colourable pre-
tense of finding himselfe greued, for that the king
of England had without his knowledge taken truce
with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of be-
ing vicar in the empire, from the king of England,
but yet signified to him, that where the French king
had at his request put the matter in controuersie be-
twixt him and the king of England into his hands, to
make an end thereof, if it so pleased the king of Eng-
land, that he should treat as an indifferent arbitrator;
betwixt them, he promised to doe his induour, so as
he doubted not, but that by his means he should
come to a good agreement in his cause, if he would
follow his aduise. And to receiue answer hereof, he
sent his letters by one Eberhard a chapleine of his,
the reader of the friers heremits to St. Augustins or-
der, requesting the king of England to aduertise him
by the same messenger, of his whole mind in that
behalfe.

The emperor
swore to the
king of Eng-
lands friend-
ship.

The emperor
offereth to be
a meane to co-
cude a peace.

The king for answer, signified againe by his let-
ters to the emperor, that for the zeale which he had
to make an accord betwixt him and his aduersarie
Philip de Valois, that named himselfe French king,
he could not but much commend him, and for his part
he

The kings
answer.

he had euer wished, that some reasonable agreement might be had betwixt them: but sith his right to the realme of France was clere and manifest inough, he purposed not to commit it by writing vnto the doubtfull iudgement or arbitrement of anie. And as concerning the agreement which the emperor had made with the French king, because (as he alledged) it was lawfull for him so to do, sith without the emperors knowledge he had taken truce with the same French king, he said, if the circumstances were well considered, that matter could not minister any cause to moue him to such agreement: for if the emperor remembered, he had given to him libertie at all times to treat of peace, without making the emperor priue thereto (so that without his assent, he concluded not vpon any final peace) which he protested that he neuer meant to do, till he might haue his prouident aduise, counsell, and assent therevnto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarship of the empire from him, he toke it done out of time; for it was promised, that no such reuocation should be made, till he had obtained the whole realme of France, or at the least, the more part thereof. ¶ These in effect were the points of the kings letters of answer vnto the emperor. Dated at London the thirtieth of Iulie, in the second yere of his reigne ouer France, and fiftieth ouer England.

The decease of the lord Geoffrey de Scrope, & of the bishop of Lincoln. The queene brought to bed.

This yere, about Midsummer, or somewhat before, at Cant in Flanders, died the lord Geoffrey Scrope the kings iustice, and Henrie bishop of Lincoln, two chiefe counsellors to the king. The queene after hir retourne into England, was this yere brought to bed in the towler of London of a daughter named Blanche, that died yong, and was buried at Westminister. ¶ In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and England, the French king in fauour of David king of Scotland, had sent men of warre into Scotland, vnder the conduct of sir Arnold Dandeghen, who was after one of the marshalls of France, and the lord of Carrentiers, with other, by whose comfort and helpe, the Scots that toke part with king David, did indenoe themselves to recouer out of the Englishmens hands, such castles and fortresses as they held within Scotland, as in the Scottish historie ye shall find mentioned, and how about this time, their king the foresaid David returned south of France into Scotland by the French kings helpe, who having long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendship to trouble the king of England so at home, that he should not be at great leisure to invade him in France.

But now to tell you what chanced of the meeting appointed at Arras. For the commissioners that shuld there treat of the peace, when the day assigned of their meeting was come, there arrived for the king of England the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earle of Warwicke, the erle of Richmond, sir Robert Warton, sir John of Heinault, other wise called lord Beaumont, and sir Henrie of Flanders. For the French king, there came the earle of Arles, the duke of Bourbon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauuois, and the bishop of Auxerre. The pope sent thither two cardinals, Paples and Cleremont; these commissioners were in treatie fiftene daies, during the which, manie matters were put forth and argued, but none concluded: for the Englishmen demanded largelic, and the Frenchmen would depart with nothing, sauing with the countie of Pontien, the which was giuen with queene Isabell in marriage to the king of England. So the treatie brake, the commissioners departed, and nothing done, but onelie that the truce was prolonged for two yeres further.

Thus were the wars partlie appeased in some part

of France, but yet was the truce but slenderlie kept in other parts, by reason of the duke of Britaine. For whereas contention arose betwixt one Charles de Blois, and John earle of Mountfort, about the right to the duchie of Britaine, as in the historie of France maie more plainelie appeare; the earle of Mountfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French kings hands, who fauoured his aduersarie Charles de Blois, allied himselfe with the king of England. And (as some write) after he had wonne diuerse cities and tostones within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to king Edward, acknowledged to hold it of him, as of the soueraign lord thereof, so that he would promise to defend him and that duchie against his aduersaries: which the king promised him to do. After this, the French king made such warres against this earle of Mountfort, that he was at length taken prisoner in the towne of Maunts, and committed to safe keeping within the castell of Loure at Paris. But his wife being a stout woman, and of a manlie courage, stood by in the quarrell of hir husband, and presented a yong sonne which she had by him, vnto such capitains and men of warre as serued hir husband, requiring them not to be dismayd with the infortunate chance of hir husbands taking; but rather like men of god stomachs, to stand in defense of his right, sith whatsoener happened to him, the same remained in that yong gentleman his sonne: meaning that although the enemies should deale tyrannicallie with him, & without regard of his noblenesse practise his ouerthrow; yet there was hope in hir son, as increase of yeres shoulde minister strength and courage, both to be reuenged on his fathers enemies, and to ad an enlargement of glorie and renowne to his present honor by practises of his prowesse: which to be singular the kinemlie symmetrie or goodlie proportion of his person and his holie countenance seemed to testifie; for

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis:
Est in iuuentis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenant aquile columban.

Hor. lib. i. c. 4.

This countesse of Mountfort was sister vnto Aelwes earle of Flanders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia (as some write). She was verie diligent in hir businesse, and spared no trauell to aduance hir cause, so that she waunt onelie the hearts of the men of warre, but also of the people of Britaine, the which fauoured hir husband, and lamented the mishap of his taking. She first furnished such cities, tostones, castles, and fortresses as hir husband had in possession, with men, munition and vittels, as Kenes, Maunt, Guerand, Hantbont, and others. This done, she sent ouer into England, sir Emerie de Clifton, a noble man of Britaine, to require the king of England of succors, with condition, that if it pleased him, hir sonne John shoulde marrie one of his daughters. ¶ The king of England glad to haue such an entrie into France, as by Britaine, thought not to refuse the offer, & thereupon granted to aid the countesse: & forthwith raising a power, sent the same ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the lord Walter of Harnie, and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the sea, by reason of contrarie winds, arrived in Britaine; in which meane time, a great armie of Frenchmen were entered into Britaine, and had besieged the cite of Kenes, and finally wonne it by surrender, & were now before the towne of Hantbont, with a streit siege, and for binding of the walles, they were nere at point to haue taken, and the countesse of Mountfort within it; if the succors of England had not arrived there, even at such time as the Frenchmen were in talke with them within, about the surrender. But after that the Eng-

La Meie

Froiland

This truce was prolonged about the feast of the dedication of St. John to endure till Midsummer next following, as the addition to Ad. Merimouth hath.

his fleet was sent to approach, the treatie was sone broken off, for they within had no lust then to talke anie further of the matter.

The english
fleet was
in good time.

Archers.

The lord of Spanie, and the Englishmen arriving at Hanibout thus in time of imminent danger, wherein the countesse, and the other within that towne were presentlie beset, greatlie recomforted the said countesse, as she well shewed by hir cheerful countenance in receiuing them. Shortly after their arrivall, a certeine number of the English archers, issuing forth, beat the Frenchmen from an engine which they had reared against the walles, and set fire upon the same engine. To conclude, the Frenchmen liked the Englishmen so well, that shortly after being wearie of their companie, they raised their siege to get themselves further from them: and in another part of the countrie endeavourd themselves to win townes and castels as they did indeed, having their armie divided into two parts, the lord Charles de Blois gouverning the one part, and a Spaniard called the lord Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the same that thus departed from the siege of Hanibout, after the arrivall of the Englishmen) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, passed into the countrie of Britaine Bitonant, and there not farre from Duinperceyentine, were discomfited by the Englishmen, who followed them thither. Of six thousand Genowales, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, which the lord Lewes of Spaine had there with him, there escaped but a few alive. A nephew which he had there with him named Alfonso was slaine, howbeit he himselfe escaped, though not without some hurts.

Charles de
Blois.
Lewes de
Spaine.

Britaine
Bitonant.

Edmund of
Langley that
was after
duke of yorke
is borne.
Fabian.
His wife and
towne at
Dunkfable.

Hanibout
besieged.

1342
Anno Reg. 15.
The countess
of Richmond
commeth over
into England.
An armie sent
into Britaine.

Additions to
Adam Meri-
muth, and
Nic. Triuer.

This yeare, the fifth of June quene Philip was delivered of a sonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edmund, and surnamed Langley of the place where he was thus borne. Also about the same time was a great insurre kept by king Edward at the towne of Dunkfable, with other counterfeited seats of warre, at the request of diverse young lords and gentlemen, whereat both the king and quene were present, with the more part of the lords and ladies of the land. The lord Charles de Blois, having in the meane time wone Vannes, and other townes, brought his armie backe unto Hanibout, and there besieged the same, and the countesse of Mountfort within it. But for so much as it was well fortified, and provided of all things necessarie to defend a siege, the Englishmen being returned thither againe after the overthrow of the lord Lewes de Spaine, it could not be easilie wone. At length, by the labour of certeine lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a time, during the which, the countesse of Richmond came over into England, to commune with king Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appointed sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earles of Salisburie, Denbroke, and Suffolke, the lords Stafford, Spenser, and Bourchier, with others, to go with hir over into Britaine, who made their promise, so that they might take the sea, to come thither against the time that the truce betwixt the countesse and the lord Charles de Blois should be expired.

There be that write, how the lord Walter de Spanie, took a truce indeed with the lord Charles de Blois, to endure till Allhallontide next ensuing, but with condition, that if the king of England were contented therewith, then the same to be firme and fullie ratified, otherwise not. Whereupon, when about the beginning of Julie, the said lord Walter came over into England, bringing with him the lord of Lions, and other such prisoners as he had taken, and signified to king Edward what he had concluded touching the truce, the king liked not thereof, and so sent

over the earles of Northampton and Devonshire, the lord Stafford, and sir William de Billebrie his chapleine, and one of his secretaries, with five hundred men of armes, and a thousand archers, which taking ship, on the vigill of the Assumption of our ladie, sailed forth towards Britaine. The Frenchmen there fore understanding that this succour was coming, appointed the lord Lewes of Spaine, sir Charles Grimaldo, and sir Antonie Dozia, with three thousand Genowales, and a thousand men of armes, embarked in two and thirtie great ships, to lie on the sea in wait to encounter with the English fleet, as the same should approach towards Britaine.

The earle of
Northampton
and Devonshire.

Genowales
retained in the
French
king's wages.

About Easter, the countesse of Mountford with the English armie, appointed to attend hir, took the sea at Southampton, and at length met with the lord Lewes of Spaine, and his fleet, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell. Of the Englishmen there were six and forty vessels, but the lord Lewes of Spaine had nine great ships, and of more force than anie of those which the Englishmen had, and also he had three gallies. They began to fight about evening time, and continued till that night parted them, and had gone together againe in the morning, if by a tempest that rose about midnight, the same night, they had not bene scattered in sunder. The Spaniards and Genowales took awaie with them foure English ships, which being vittellers, were left behind. And because the same Spaniards and Genowales were able to abide the sea better than the Englishmen, by reason of their great ships, they kept the maine sea; but the Englishmen were advised by their mariners to draw unto the land, and so they did, arriving at a little haven, not farre from Vannes, where comming on land, they straightwaie made towards that citie, and besieged it, not ceasing to assault it both day and night, till at length they wan it, by giving the assault in two places at once, whilest an other number of them set upon it in a third place, where was no suspicion, and so entered.

The English
men and Genowales
met
and fight on
the seas.

Vannes won.

After this, the most part of the Englishmen departed from Vannes, as some with the countesse, to bring hir unto Hanibout, and some with the earls of Salisburie, Suffolke, and Cornwell, who went and laid siege to Rennes, so that the earle of Richmond remained in Vannes, with the lords Spenser and Stafford, to keepe it, having a certeine number of archers and other men of warre with them. The lord Clifton, and sir Henrie de Leon, which were within Vannes, when it was taken by the Englishmen, and found means to escape, were abashed at the matter, that they had so lost the citie, whereupon they secretly assembled a great power of men thereabouts, and came againe unto Vannes, and so fiercelie assaulted the gates and walls, that in the end they entred by more force. The earle of Richmond was sore hurt, but yet he escaped out at a posterne gate, and the lord Stafford with him, but the lord Spenser was taken by sir Henrie de Leon.

Other write other wise, both of the landing, and also concerning the misfortune of the lord Spenser, alledging letters sent from the earle of Northampton (whome the same authors repute as generall of that armie into Britaine) directed to the king, in which was signified, how that within the octaves of the Assumption of our ladie, they arrived on the coast of Britaine, nere to the towne and castell of Brest, in the which the dutchesse of Britaine with hir children were of the enemies besieged, both by sea and land, by sea with thirtene great gallies, by land by the lord Charles de Blois, the earls of Sanoie and Foiz. But the gallies perceiving the English fleet to be approached upon them, yet they were aware, so that they were compassed in, to their great danger, thre

Additions to
Nic. Triuer.

of the same galleys fled, and so escaped, the residue got by into a river of the same haven, where they that were aboard, left their vessels and fled to the land, and as well they, as the other that held siege before Brest and such as kept a castle there, not farre off, called Soule forrest, packed awaie without any more ado. The English mariners following the galleys, that were withdrawen by the river, with their small boats and barges, set fire on the galleys, and so burnt them.

Thus all the Englishmen came on land, and leaving the lord Saire captaine in the said castle of Soule forrest, they passe forward into the countie, and coming to a castle commonlie called Honneur Reir, gaue an assault thereto, where manie of their men of warre were wounded, and sir James Louell slain. After this, staing a time for the coming of their confederates, which after a fortnights space came to them on the morrowe, being the morrow after Michaellmas daie, they heard that the lord Charles de Blois was coming in all hast with a power of three thousand men of armes, twelue hundred Genoises, & a great multitude of commons to raise the siege. Whereupon the earle of Northampton with his armie marched forth towards them, and choosing a plot of ground convenient for his purpose, fought with his enemies, slue and toke of them at the least three hundred men of armes. The earle of Northampton lost not any noble man in this fight, the lord Edward Spencer onely excepted.

But now as touching the earle of Richmond, Froissart saith, that he coming to Hainboute, after he had thus lost Tannes, toke the sea, and sailed into England: but by reason of being tossed on the seas, his wounds rankled so, that shortly after his coming to London he died, & was buried in the church of S. Paule. The king of England was sore displeased with his death, and immediatlie after passed over himselfe into Britaine with a great armie: and landing there the nine and twentieth of December, at the same place where the earle of Richmond did land at his arrivall there, not far from Tannes, he went straight and besieged Tannes, but perceiving that it would not be wonne but by long siege, he left the earle of Arundell, and the lord Stafford to continue the siege, whilest he went to Rennes to aid his people, which still laie at the siege thereof. Before the kings arrivall in Britaine, those that were there under the earle of Northampton, as the lord Hugh Spencer, and the lord Richard Talbot, with their retinues, fought with the Frenchmen nere to Garsleiz, where a few Englishmen, scarce five hundred, discomfited a mightie power of Frenchmen, esteemed to be above fiftie thousand, of whom some they slue, and some they toke. Among other was taken the lord Gessirey de Charnie, accompted for one of the best and sagest knights in France, whom the lord Richard Talbot toke and sent into England.

But now as touching the kings doings, we find, that whilest he remained for this winter season in Britaine, his people forraied the countie fourte daies tourne in length, and two daies tourne in bredth. After his coming to Rennes, he staied not past five daies, but leaving them whom he found there to continue the siege, he went himselfe to Havre, where he had knowledge, that the lord Charles de Blois was. At his coming thither, he beleagured the citie about with a strong siege, & made manie fierce assaults to the walles and gates, but could not prevail, then leaving certeine of his lords there to continue the siege, he raised with the residue, and went to Dinan, which tolong with sore and fierce assaults he lastlie wonne, and after that drew againe towards Tannes, for that he was informed, how the duke of Normandie was coming downe towards

him, with an armie of fortie thousand men. Whereupon he sent for them that laie at siege before Havre, to come unto him, and suffered them at Rennes to keepe their siege still, till they heard other word from him.

The duke of Normandie with fourte thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand other men of warre, coming into Britaine to aid the lord Charles of Blois, was advertised, that the king of England was with the most part of all his power withdrawen to Tannes, and there laie at siege, sore constraining them within: wherefore he also drew thitherwards, and approaching to the place, incamped with his armie over against the king of England, inclosing his field with a great trench. The king of England supposing he should have battell, sent unto those which laie at siege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence unto him: so that by this means all the powers, both of the king of England, and of the duke of Normandie, generall to his father the French king in those warres of Britaine, being assembled before Tannes, had fought some great and bloudie battell, as was supposed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the cardinals of Cleremont and Beneff, as legats from pope Clement the first, had not taken by the matter, by concluding a truce betwixt them, for the terme of three yeares.

Commissioners appointed to treat with these cardinals, on the behalfe of the king of England were these, Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby, William Bohun earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisbury, Rafe lord Stafford, Wartholomew lord Burghese, Nicholas lord Cantelero, Reginald lord Cobham, Walter lord of Spanne, Maurice lord Berkeley, and maister John Afford archdeacon of Elic. For the French king, two dukes of Burgogne, and Piers duke of Bourbon were deputed commissioners. Such diligence was used by the parties, that finally they agreed upon this truce of three yeares, with certeine articles for meane to conclude some small peace, as that there should be sent from either king some personages of their blood and others, unto the court of Rome, with sufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and establish upon all controuersies and dissentions betwixt the said kings, according to the agreement of the pope, and such as should be so sent to treat thereof.

It was further agreed, that they should have libertie to declare and pronounce their arguments and reasons before the pope, but not to haue power to decide and geue sentence, but onlie by waie of some better treatie and order of agreement to be made. And these commissioners were appointed to appeare before the pope, afore the feast of saint John Baptist next ensuing, and the pope to dispatch the businesse before Christmasse after, if by consent of the said nobles, the terme were not prozed. And if it so were that the pope could make no agreement, yet should the truce indure the prefixed terme, to wit, till the feast of S. Michaell the archangell, and for the space of three yeares then next ensuing, betwixt the kings of France, England and Scotland, the earle of Hainault and their alies, as the dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderland, also the marques of Gullikeland, the lord Beaumont, otherwise called sir John de Hainault, and the people of Flanders, in all their lands and dominions, from the date of the charter made hercof, by all the said terme aforesaid, to be observed, holden and kept. Also, the king of Scots, and the earle of Hainault were appointed to send certeine persons, as commissioners for them, unto the said court of Rome.

This truce was also accorded to be kept in Britaine, betwixt the said kings and their adherents, in which

The king
passeth over
into Britaine.

Tannes be-
sieged.

Additions to
Truce.

An armie of
Frenchmen
discomfited
by a few En-
glishmen.

Havre be-
sieged.

The Duke
of Normandie
coming into
Britaine

Additions
to the
Truce
Commissioners
sent to the
king of Eng-
land

Commissioners
sent to the
king of France

1346
A truce for
three yeares

The con-
ditions of the
truce.

which countie, as well as in Guen, and other places, euerie man should remaine in possession of that which he held at the time of concluding this truce, saue that the citie of Mannes should be deliuered into the hands of the cardinall, to be kept by them in the popes name, during the truce, and then to dispose thereof, as should seme to them good. Manie other articles were comprised in the charter of this truce, so long here to rehearse, all the which were confirmed with the oths of the said dukes of Burgoigne, and Barbone, on the French kings behalfe; and of the earles of Derby, Northampton and Salisbury, the lord Burghers, and the lord of Manie, for the king of England. In witness whereof, the said cardinals caused the charter to be made, putting thereunto their seales, the nineteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare 1343 in presence of diuerse prelates, and of the earles of Bullongne, Auferre, Sancerre, Turenne, and Poicien, the lord Miles de Rohers, the lord Ingram de Courci, and the foresaid lords, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manie other lords, barons, nobles, and gentlemen.

Anno Reg. 17.

The king of England returned home by sea.

Shipwreck.

Parliament. The king's eldest son created prince of Wales.

Ambassadors appointed to go to the pope.

When this truce was thus confirmed, manie of the English armie returned home through France, so to passe over by the narrow seas into England, but the king himselfe, with a few other, taking their ships to passe by long seas, were maruellouslie tormented by tempest, so that their ships were scattered and driven to take land at diuerse hauens. The dutchess of Britaine with hir sonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonshire. Sir Peters de Wale, and his sonne sir Henrie Wale, and sir John Raine knights, were drowned, together with the ship in which they passed. The king escaping verie hardlie, landed at Wexmouth, and on the first day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Easter, he held a parliament at Westminter, in which he created his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales. In this parliament were diuerse matters talked of, and speciallie concerning wools, and of the assessment of a certeine price of them, more and lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the realme, and of the customes to be made of them, to wit, three marks and an halfe, for euerie sacke to be transported forth of the realme.

Also in the same parliament were ambassadoys appointed forth, such as should go to the pope to treat of peace (as in the charter of the truce among other articles it was contained) whose names follow, John bishop of Exeter, Henrie de Lancaster earle of Derby, Hugh le Despenser lord of Glamorgan, cousin to the king, Rafe lord Stafford, William de Norwich deane of Lincoln, William Russell knight, and master Andrew de Wifford a ciuillian. These persons were sent with commission to the pope, to treat with him, not as pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuat person, and a common friend to both parts, to be a meane or mediator, to find out some indifferent end of all controuersie betwixt the parties. The date of their commission was at Westminter, the foure and twentieth of Maie, in this seauententh yeare of the kings reigne.

Parlament, in this parliament a greuous complaint was exhibited, by the earles, barons, knights, burgeses, and other of the commons, for that strangers, by vertue of reseruatiens and prouisiens apostolike, got the best benefices of this land into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the same, but diminishing the treasure of the realme, and conuertieng it forth, fore indamaged the whole state. The bishops durst not, or would not giue their consents in exhibiting this complaint, but rather seemed to stand against it, till the king compelled them to giue ouer.

Hereupon, a letter was framed by the lords of the temporalitie and commons, which they directed unto the pope in all humble manner, beseeching him to consider of the derogation done to the realme of England, by such reseruatiens, prouisiens, and collations of benefices, as had been practised here in England. And therefore, sith the churches of England had bene founded and endowed by noble and worthie men in times past, to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their owne language, and that he being so farre off, and not understanding the default, had (like as some of his predecessors more than in times past had bene accustomed) granted by diuerse reseruatiens, prouisiens, and collations, the churches and spirituall promotions of this land unto diuerse persons, some strangers, yea, and enemies to the realme, whereby the monie and profits were carried forth, the cures not prouided for, almes withdratone, hospitalitie decayed, the temples and other buildings belonging to the churches ruined and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people sore diminished, and diuerse other greuous enormities thereby growne cleane contrarie to the founders minds: wherefore, upon due consideration thereof had, they signified to him, that they could not suffer such enormities any longer, & therefore besought him wholie to reuoke such reseruatiens, prouisiens, collations, to avoid such scanders, mischeefes, and harmes as might insue, and that the cures might therewith be committed to persons meet for the exercise of the same: further also, beseeching him without delaye, to signifie his intention, sith they meant to imploie their diligence to remedie the matter, and to see that redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these letters was in full parlement at Westminter, the eight and twentieth of Maie, in the yeare of Grace 1343.

Beside these letters, were other twittien, and sent from the king, containing in summe, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one sir John Shordich, knight a graue personage and well sene in the law, was appointed to go with the same, who comming to Auignon, and there presenting his letters in the popes priuate chamber, where the pope sat, with all his cardinals about him, receiued no great courteous welcome, after his letters were once read. And whie? Euen because the contents of the same misliked his mind, tending to the impairing of his vsurped profits & comodities from time to time in this land,

*Ambrosius enim sibi totum vendicat orbem,
seg. (scilicet) Christo clamat esse parem.*

Now when the knight made answer to such words as he heard the pope utter, and charged him with giuing the deanrie of Poike unto one that was reputed the kings enemy, the pope said; Well, it is not vnknewe to vs who made and indited these letters, and we know that thou madest them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and we shall punish him well inough: we know all. Whereunto he added thus much more, that there was a knight that spake defamous words of him, and the church of Rome, therewith he seemed highlie offended. To conclude, he said, that he would answer the letters of the king and commons, as touching the points contained in the same. The cardinals, after they had heard these things, departed as if they had bene sore offended and troubled therewith: and the knight taking his leaue of the pope, departed also forth of the chamber, and without anie longer abode, got him awaie toward Burdeane, about other of the kings businesse, doubting leass if he had staid longer, he might haue bene kept there against his will. The pope sent answer indeed, but neuertheless, the king proceeded in prohibiting such prouisiens, and collations within

Sir John Shordich sent to the Pope.

The popes words to sir John Shordich.

Of benefices inhibited by the king.

Tullis in
Smithfield.

his realme, on paine of imprisonment and death to the intruders thereby, as after ye shall perceiue.

This yeare about Whitsunmer, there were solenne iusts proclaimed by the lord Robert Pooley, which were holden in Smithfield, where for challengers, came forth one apparelled like to the pope, bringing with him twelue other in garments like to cardinals, which toke vpon them to answer all comers, for three courses. On the defendants side, ran the prince of Wales, with manie earls, barons, knights and esquires innumerable, so that those iusts continued three daies together, to the great pleasure of the beholders. ¶ This yeare, king Edward ordeined a certeine new coine of gold, which he named the florin, that is, the penie of six shillings eight pence, the halfe penie of the value of three shillings foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence. This coine was ordeined for his wars in France, the gold wherof was not so fine as the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne he had caused

1344
Anno Reg. 18.

Th. Walling.
A chamber
built within
the castle of
Windsore,
called the
round table.

for to be coined. This yeare, the king caused a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, to whom he set in hand to build a chamber in the castle of Windsore, which was called the round table, the floze wherof, from the center or middle point, vnto the compasse throughout, the one halfe was (as Wallingham writeth) an hundred fot, and so the diameter or compasse round about, was two hundred fot. The expenses of this worke amounted by the weeke, first vnto an hundred pounds, but afterward by reason of the wars that folloved, the charges was diminished vnto two and twentie pounds the weeke (as Thomas Wallingham writeth in his larger booke, intituled, the history of England) or (as some copies haue) vnto 9 pounds. This yeare also, W. Pontacute earle of Salisburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the said earle, and caused him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man. ¶ This Ile (as Robert Southwell noteth) was wonne by the Scots, about the second yeare of Edward the second his reigne, who in the yeare before, to wit, anno Christi 1307, had giuen the same Ile vnto Piers de Caueston, whom he had also made earle of Cornewall.

1. How out of
Henrie de
Beicelster,
The Ile of
Man.

Tullis & tournaments
holden at
Windsore.

The order of
the garter
founded.

Spencer, about the beginning of this eighteenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a solenne feast at his castle of Windsore, where betwixt Candlemasse and Lent, were atshued manie marshall feasts, and iusts, tournaments, and diuerse other the like warlike pastimes, at the which were present manie strangers of other lands, and in the end thereof, he deuised the order of the garter, and after established it, as it is at this date. There are six and twentie companions or conferrers of this fellowship of that order, being called knights of the blew garter, & as one dieth or is deprived, an other is admitted into his place. The li. of England is euer chiefe of this order. They weare a blew robe or mantell, & a garter about their left leg, richlie wrought with gold and pretious stones, hauing this inscription in French vpon it, *Boni sunt qui malis y pensant*, Shame come to him that euill thinketh. This order is dedicated to S. George, as chiefe patrone of men of warre, and therefore euerie yeare do the knights of this order keepe solenne his feast, with manie noble ceremonies at the castle of Windsore, where king Edward founded a colledge of canons, or rather augmenting the same, ordeined therein a deane with twelue canons secular, eight peticanons, and thirtene vicars, thirtene clerks, and thirtene choristers.

The knights haue certeine lawes and rules appertaining to their order, amongst the which this is chieflic to be obserued (as Polydor also noteth) that they shall aid and defend one another, and neuer turne

their backs or runne awate out of the field in time of battell, where he is present with his soueraigne lord, his lieutenant or deputie, or other capitaine, hauing the kings power roiall and authoritic, and as his banners, standards, or pennons are tyed. The residue of the lawes and rules appertaining vnto this noble order, I doe here purpose to omit, for that the same in another place more conuenient is expressed, so far as may be thought expedient. But now touching these six and twentie noble men & knights, which were first chosen and admitted into the same order, by the first founder thereof, this king Edward the third, their names are as followeth.

First the said noble prince king Edward the third, the prince of Wales duke of Cornewall and earle of Chester his eldest sonne, Henrie duke of Lancaster, the earle of Warwike, the capitall de Beuch alias Bus or Beuse, Rafe earle of Stafford, William Pontacute earle of Salisburie, Roger lord Spottimer, John lord Lisle, Bartholomew lord Burghwalch or Berghesed, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord de Mahun, Hugh lord Courtine, Thomas lord Holland, John lord Gaie, Richard lord Fitz Simon, sir Miles Stapleton, sir Thomas Walle, sir Hugh Mottetley, sir Pele Mozing, sir John Chandos, James lord Audelie, sir Otes Holland, sir Henrie Ceme, sir Sanchet Dabychcourt, sir Walter Parnell. ¶ Christopher Okland speaking of the first institution of this honorable order, doth saie, that after foure daies were expired in the said exercises of chivalrie, the king besides the rich garter which he bestowed vpon them that tried maisteries, did also giue them a pretious collar of S. S. but whether this collar had his first institution then with the garter he saith nothing, belike it was an ornament of greater antiquitie. Oklands words are these as followeth;

*concentratoribus ampla
Præmia dat princeps, baccatas induit illas
Crura persicelides, quas vnio misit Eois
Commendas, flammis interlucente pyropo.
Præterea ex auro puro, quod odorifer Indus
Miserrat, inserta donabat insipide gemma,
Si formam species duplicato ex sigmate torques.*

¶ The cause and first originall of instituting this order is vncertaine. But there goeth a tale amongst the people, that it rose by this means. It chanced that H. Edward finding either the garter of the quene, or of some ladie with whom he was in loue, being fallen from his leg, stooped downe and toke it vp, wherewith diuerse of his nobles found matter to iest, and to talke their fantasies merilie, touching the kings affection towards the woman, vnto whom he said, that if he liued, it should come so passe, that most high honoz should be giuen vnto them for the garters sake: and there vpon shortly after, he deuised and ordeined this order of the garter, with such a posse, whereby he signified, that his nobles iudged otherwise of him than the truth was. Though some may thinke, that so noble an order had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet manie honorable degrees of estates haue had their beginnings of more base and meane things, than of loue, which being orderlic vsed, is most noble and commendable, sith nobilitie it selfe is couered vnder loue, as the poet Ouid aptlie saith,

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

William de Pontacute earle of Salisburie king of Man, and marshall of England, was so hurt at the iusts holden here at Windsore (as before ye haue heard) that he departed this life, the more was the pite, within eight daies after. ¶ The king about the same time, to wit, in the quinquene of Candlemasse, held a conncell at London, in the which with good aduise and sound deliberation had vpon the complaint of the commons to him before time made, he gaue out

1. Letters
decreting
Wynia.

In Anglia
sub Edwardo

The order
that mount
in Edward
to institute
the order of
the garter.
The count
of Salisburie

Admitted
Adam New
much, and
Touet.

out strict commandement, that no man, on paine of imprisonment and death, should in time to come, present or induc anye such person or persons, that were so by the pope promoted, without the kings agreement, in prejudice of his roiall prerogative. Whereupon, he directed also writs to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, officials and other ecclesiasticall persons, to whome it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt anye thing in prejudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of anye bulles, or other writings, for such manner of provisions to come from the court of Rome. Other writs were also directed to his sonne the prince of Wales, and to all the shiriffes within the realme, for to arrest all such as brought into the land any such bulles or writings, and to bring them before the kings counsell or his iustices, where they might be punished according to the trespasses by them committed.

About the same time, the king ordeined a certeine coine of fine gold, and named it the floren, which coine was deuised for his warres in France, for the gold thereof was not so fine as was the noble, which in the fourteenth yere he had caused to be coined: but this coine continued not long. After the feast of the holie Trinitie, the king held a parlement at London, in the which he asked a tenth of the cleargie, and a fifthenth of the laitie, about which demand there was no small altercation, but at length he had it granted for one yere. At the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie held a conuocation of all the cleargie at London, in the which manie things were in talke about the honest demeanour of churchmen, which sildome is obserued, as the additiō to Nicholas Trivet saith. About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, the king disannulled the florens, to the great commoditie of his kingdome, ordeining a greater floren of halfe a marke, and a lesser of thre shillings foure pence, and the least of all of twentie pence, and these were called nobles, and not without cause, for they were a noble coine, of faire & fine gold.

This yere, on the seauententh daie of Nouember, the pope in Auinion created the lord Lewes de Spaine, ambassadoz for the French king, prince of the Isles called Fortunata, for what purpose it was not knowne, but it was doubted, not to be for anye good meaning towards the kingdome of England, the prosperitie whereof, the same pope was suspected not greatlie to wish. About the beginning of Lent the same yere, the said pope had sent an archbishop and a bishop, ambassadoz to the king, who met them at Ospring in Kent, and to the end they should not linger long within the realme, he quickly dispatched them without effect of their message. This yere, shortly after Easter, the duke of Britaine, that had bene deteyned prisoner by the French king, and escaped out of prison, came ouer into England. And about the same time, the king ordeined the exchange of monies at London, Canturburie, and Pothe, to the great commoditie of his people.

About midsummer, or (as other haue) Michaelmas, the earle of Derby, with the earle of Penbroke, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Walter de Spanne, the lord John Graie of Codnore, and diuerse other lordes, knights, and squires, to the number of five or six hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, sailed ouer into Gascoine, to assist the kings subiects there against the Frenchmen. This earle of Derby, being generall of the armie, after his arrivall in Gascoine, about the beginning of December, won the towne of Bergerat by force, hauing put to flight the earle of Lisle, as then the French kings lieutenant in Gascoine, who laie there with a great power, to defend the passage: but being driven into the towne,

and hauing lost the suburbs to the Englishmen, he fled out in the night, and so left the towne, without anye souldiers to defend it, so that the towne men yielded it vnto the earle of Derby, and swore themselves to be true liege men vnto the king of England. After this, the earle of Derby passed further into the countrie, and won diuerse castles and towne, as Lango, le Lake, Houndurait, Hougaise, Dinach, Lalieu, Fozsath, Pondair, Beaumont in Laillots, Bounall, Auberch and Liborne, part of them by assault, and the residue by surrender. This done, he returned to Burdeaur, hauing left captains and souldiers in such places as he had wone.

This yere, the king sent forth a commission vnto certeine persons in euerie countie within the realme, to inquire what lands and tenements euerie man, aboue five pounds of yearelie reuenues, being of the laie fee, might dispend, because he had giuen order, that euerie man which might dispend five pounds and aboue, vnto ten pounds of such yearelie reuenues in land of the laie fee, should furnish himselfe, or find an archer on horsebacke, furnished with armour and weapon accordinglie. He that might dispend ten pounds, should furnish himselfe, or find a demulance or light horseman (if I shall so terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance. And he that might dispend five and twentie pounds, should furnish himselfe or find a man at armes. And he that might dispend fiftie pounds, should furnish two men at armes. And he that might dispend an hundred pounds should find thre men at armes, that is, himselfe, or one in his stead, with two other. And such as might dispend aboue an hundred pounds, were appointed to find more in number of men at armes, accordinglie as they should be assessed, after the rate of their lands which they might yearelie dispend, being of the laie fee, and not belonging to the church.

About this season, the duke of Britaine, hauing with him the earles of Poerthampton and Drenford, sir William de Billebrie one of the kings secretaries, and manie other barons and knights, with a great number of men of armes, passed ouer into Britaine, against the lord Charles de Blois, where they tarried a long time, and did little good to make anye accompt of, by reason that the duke, in whose quarrell they came into those parts, shortly after his arrivall there, departed this life, and so they returned home into England. But after their coming from thence, sir Thomas Dagworth knight, that had bene before, and now after the departure of those lordes and nobles, still remained the kings lieutenant there, so behaved himselfe against both Frenchmen and Britains, that the memoire of his worthie doings deserueth perpetuall commendation. Sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, about the same time, changed his cote, and leauing the king of Englands seruice, was reteined by the French king.

In this ninetenth yere of king Edward 3 find, that about the feast of the Paschitie of saint John Baptist, he sailed ouer into Flanders, leauing his sonne the lord Lionell, warden of the realme in his absence. He toke with him a great number of lordes, knights, and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Sluse. The cause of his going ouer was, to further a practise which he had in hand with them of Flanders, the which by the labour of Jaques Arteveld, mirant to cause their earle Lewes, either to do homage vnto king Edward; or else if he refused, then to disherit him, and to receiue Edward prince of Wales for their lord, the eldest sonne of king Edward.

King Edward promising to make a dukedome of the countie of Flanders, for an augmentation of his noar to the countrie, there came vnto Sluse to the king, Jaques van Arteveld, and a great number of

Froissard.

Additions to
Nic. Trivet.The duke of
Britaine de-
parted this
life.The lord
Beaumont of
Heinault for-
sake the R.
of England
his seruice.
The king go-
eth ouer into
Flanders.

Ja. Mair.

p m. ij.

ether,

Coine
changed1345
Anno Reg. 19.Auesburie.
Ad. Merimuth.
Polychron.Five hundred
men of armes,
and two thou-
sand archers
saith Froissard.Bergerat
towne.

Y counsell
holden in the
king of Eng-
lands ship.

other, appointed as counsellors for their cheefest townes. The king with all his navie lay in the haven of Sluse, where, in his great ship called the Catharine, a counsell was holden upon this foresaid purpose: but at length, those of the counsellors of the cheefest townes disliked the matter so much, that they would conclude nothing, but required respite for a month, to consult with all the comunaltie of the countries and townes, and as the more part should be inclined, so should the king receive answer. The king and Jaques Arteveld would faine have had a shorter daie, and a more towarde answer, but none other could be gotten.

Here upon the counsell brake up, and Jaques Arteveld tarrying with the king a certeine space, after the other were departed, promised him to persuade the countrie well enough to his purpose, and suerlie, he had a great gift of eloquence, and had thereby induced the countrie wonderfullie, to consent to manie things, as well in fauour of king Edward, as to his owne advancement: but this suit which he went now about to bring to passe, was so odious unto all the Flemings, that in no wise they thought it reason to consent unto the disheriting of the earle. At length, when Jaques Arteveld should returne into Cant, king Edward appointed five hundred Welshmen to attend him as a guard, for the preservation of his person, because he said, that one Gerard Denise deane of the leuaders, an unquiet man, maliciouslie purposed his destruction.

Captains of these Welshmen were John Patreurs, and William Sturine or Sturrie, and so with this crue of souldiers Arteveld returned unto Cant, and earnestlie went in hand with his suit in king Edwards behalfe, that either the earle should do his homage to the king of England to whome it was due; or else to forfeit his earledome. When the foresaid Gerard, as well of his owne mind, as procured thereto by the authoritie of earle Leuues, stirred the whole citie against the said Arteveld, and gathering a great power unto him, came and beset Artevels house round about upon each side, the furie of the people being wonderfullie bent against him, crying; kill him, kill him that hath robbed the tresurie of the countrie, and now goeth about to disherit our noble earle.

Jaques van Arteveld perceiuing in what danger he was, came unto a window, and spake to that enraged multitude, in hope with faire and courteous words to appease them, but it could not be: whereupon he sought to haue fled out of his house, but the same was broken up, and so manie entred upon him, that he was found out, and slaine by one Thomas Denise (as some write.) But other affirme, that on a Sunday in the after none, being the 17 of Julie, a cobler, whose father this Jaques van Arteveld had sometime slaine, followed him, as he was fleeing into a stable where his horses stood, & there with an axe cloued his head asunder, so that he fell downe starke dead on the ground. And this was the end of the foresaid Jaques van Arteveld, who by his wisdom and policie had obtained the whole gouernment of all Flanders. This misfull end was allotted unto him by destinie, whose decre nothing is able by any shift to auoid, as is notable said of the poet in this distichon;

*Nil extra fatum est, metiturque omnia summi
Mens regis, cum sine nomine sit nihil eorum.*

There were slaine also ten other persons that were of his counsell, and diuerse of the Welshmen in like manner: but the other escaped, and got awaie unto king Edward, as yet remaining at Sluse, unto whome those of Bruges, Cassel, Curtrike, Wyres, Albenard, and other townes, did afterwards send their orators to excuse themselves, as nothing guiltie no;

prinie to the death of his friend, and their worthie gouernor Jaques van Arteveld, requiring him not to impute the fault unto the whole countrie, which the rash and unadvised Cantiners had committed, sith the countrie of Flanders was as ready now to do him seruice and pleasure as before, sauing that to the disheriting of their earle they could not be agreeable, but they doubted not to persuade him to do his homage unto the king of England, and till then they promised not to receiue him. They put the king also in hope of a mariage to be had, betwixt the sonne of their earle, and some one of the kings daughters. Herewith the king of England (who was departed from Sluse, in great displeasure with the Flemings) became somewhat pacified in his mood, and so renewed the league effions with the countrie of Flanders: but the earle would neuer consent to do homage unto the king of England, but still sticked to the French kings part, which purchased him much trouble, and in the end cost him his life, as after shall appear.

But now to returne unto the earle of Derby, whome we left in Calcoigne. He shall vnderstand, that shortly after he was come backe to Burdeaur, from the conquest which he had made of Bergerat, and other townes thereabouts; the earle of Lile, who (as ye haue heard) was the French kings lieutenant in that countrie, assembled an armie of twelue thousand men, & comming before Auberoch (a towne in Calcoigne) besieged it, soze pressing them within, in somuch that they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if the earle of Derby, hauing knowlege in what case they stood, had not come to their rescue, who with three hundred speares or men of armes, as we maie call them, and six hundred archers, approaching nere to the siege, laid himselfe closelie within a wood, till the Frenchmen in the euening were at supper, & then suddenlie set vpon them in their campe, and discomfited them, so that the earle of Lile was taken in his owne tent, and soze hurt. There were also taken the earle of Valentinois, and other earles, vicounts, and lords of great account, to the number of nine, besides those that were slaine. The residue were put to flight and chased, so that the Englishmen had a faire tournee, and wan great riches by prisoners and spoile of the enimies campe.

After this, the earle of Derby, being returned to Burdeaur, and hauing put the captiues in safe keeping, assembled his power, and marching south into the countrie, towards the Rioll (a towne in those parts which he meant to besiege) he wan diuerse townes and castles by the way, as saint Basill, Koch, Spillion, Pontsegure, Aguilon, & Segart. At length he came to the towne of the Rioll, which he besieged, and laie about it nine weekes yet he could win it, and then was the same towne surrendered into his hands, but the castell was still defended against him for the space of eleuen weekes, at which time being soze oppressed & undermined, it was yielded by them within conditionallie, that they should depart onclie with their armour. After this, the earle of Derby wan Pontpessance, Gauleon, Ville-Franche in Angenois, Piremont, Thomines, the castell of Damais, and at length came before the citie of Angolessme the which made appointment with the earle, that if no succors came from the French king within the space of a month, that then the citie should be surrendered to the king of England: and to assure this appointment, they deliuered to the earle foure and twentie of their cheefest citizens as hostages.

In the meane time, the earle laid siege to Blanes, but could not win it. His men rode abroad into the countrie, to Portaigne, Pirabean, and Aenay, but wan little, and so returned againe to the siege of Blanes.

Ja. Meir.
Welshmen
appointed to
Jaques Ar-
teveld for a
guard against
Gerard De-
nise.

Jacob Arte-
vels house
beset.

Froissard.
Ja. Meir.

Jacob van
Arteveld
slaine.

Al. Palin
fear.

Ambassadors
from the good
townes in
Flanders
unto king
Edward.

Froissard.

Auberoch
besieged.

The French
armie discom-
fited, and the
earle of Lile
taken.

Commenced
by the earle
of Derby.

Anglois.

Blanes. Now when the month was expired, that they of Angolesme should yield, the earle sent his two marshals thither, who receiued the homage and fealty of the citizens, in the king of Englands name, and so they were in peace, and receiued againe their hostages. At length when the earle of Derby saw that he did but lose his time in the besieging of Blanes, which sir Guichart Dangle, and sir Guillaume de Rochfort, being captiues within, did so valiantlie defend, that he could obtaine no aduantage of them, he raised his siege, and returned vnto Burdeaur, hauing furnished such towne as he had twone in that tourne with conuenient garisons of men to defend them against the enemies, and to keepe frontier warre, as they should see cause.

The French king being sore moued at the conquests thus achieved by the earle of Derby, raised a mightie armie, and sent the same forth, vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Normandie, into Gascoigne, to resist the said earle, and to recouer againe those towne which he had twone in those parts. The duke of Normandie being come to Holou, where generall assemble was appointed, set forward with his armie, and winning by the waie Spiremount, and Ville Franche in Agenois; at length came to the cite of Angolesme, which he inuironed about with a strong siege, continuing the same, till finally, the capitaine named John Normell, required a truce to indure for one daie, which was granted, and the same was the daie of the Purification of our ladie, on the which, the same capitaine, with the souldiers of the garrison departed, and left the cite in the citizens hands. The Frenchmen, because they had granted the truce to indure for that daie without exception, permitted them to go their waies without let or veneration. The citizens in the morning yielded the cite to the duke. After this, he wan the castell of Damascen, Thonins, and Port St. Marie; Thonins by surrender, and the other two by force of assaults. When he came to the strong castell of Aiguillon, which he besieged, and laie thereat a long season. Within was the earle of Penbrooke, the lord Walter de Spanie, sir Franke de Walle, and diuerse knights and captiues, which defended themselves, and the place so stoutlie, that the Frenchmen could win little aduantage at their hands.

Annals de
Burgoyne,
1346
Anno Reg. 20.

Angolesme
recovered by
the French-
men.

Damascen,
Thonins.

Aiguillon
besieged.

Gio. Villani.

The archdeacon
of Windsor.

Frenchmen
discomfited.

Whilist the siege continued before his fortress, the seneschall of Guien departed from the campe, with eight hundred horsemen, and four thousand footmen, purposing to win a castell, belonging to a nephew of the cardinal Della Spotte, a twelue leagues distant from Aiguillon. The archdeacon of Unfort, owner of that castell, went to the Kioll, where the earle of Derby with his armie as then was lodged, to whome he made suit, to haue some power of men to rescue his castell. The earle appointed to him a sufficient number, both of horsemen, and also of English archers, with whome the said archdeacon rode all the night, and the next morning betimes, being the one and thirtieth of Iulie, they came to the castell where the Frenchmen were arrived the daie before, and had fiercelie assailed the castell, doing their best to win it by force. But the Englishmen without anye delaye, immediatlie vpon their coming, set vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them so sharpe and fierce battell, that in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited: the seneschall with many other gentlemen were taken prisoners, beside those that were slaine. So conclude, the number of them that were slaine, and taken prisoners in the whole, amounted to four hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. Sir Godfrey de Harecourt being constrained to flee out of France, to auoid the French kings displeasure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who recei-

ued him verie sofallie, for he was knowne to be a right valiant and a wise personage. He was brother to the earle of Harecourt, lord of saint Sauour le Vicount, and of diuerse other towne in Normandie. A little before that he fell into the French kings displeasure, he might haue done with the king of France, more than anye other lord within that realme.

In this twentieth yeare of his reigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made against purcuers of vittels for his household (the which vnder colour of their commissions, abused the same, in taking by among the commons all manner of things that liked them, without making payment for the same, further than the said commissions did allow them) he caused inquirie to be made of their misdeemeanors, and such as were found to haue offended, of whome there was no small number, some of them were put to death on the gallows, and other were fined, so to teach the rest to deale more warlike in their businesse from thenceforth. About the same time, he caused all the iustices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their pensions, fees, and other bying benefites and rewards, which they used to receiue of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelates, as of them of the temporalltie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, iustice might more frelie haue course, and be of them dulc and vngreued ministred. Also this yeare in the Lent season, the king held a parlement at Westmister, and toke into his hands all the profits, reuenues, and emoluments, which the cardinals held within this land: for he thought it not reason, that they which honoured the pope and the French king, being his aduersaries, should inioy such commodities within his realme.

Additions to
Adam Meri-
nuth.

Purcuers
punished.
Iustices.

A parlement.

Cardinals.

After this, in the moneth of Iulie following, he toke shipping, and sailed into Normandie, hauing established the lord Percie, and the lord Penill, to be wardens of his realme in his absence, with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and the bishop of Duresme. The armie which he had ouer with him, was to the number of four thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen, and Welshmen, that folowed the host on foot. The chiefest captiues that went ouer with him were these. First his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales, being as then about the age of thirtene yeares, the earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundell, Comwall, Huntingdon, Warwicke, Suffolke, and Dorset; of barons the lord Spotimer, who was after earle of March, the lords, John, Belbes, and Roger Beauchampe; also the lords Cobham, Botobraye, Lucie, Basset, Berkeley, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other lords, besides a great number of knights and other worthie captiues. They landed by the aduise of the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Constantine, at the port of Hague saint Walf, nere to saint Sauour le Vicount. The earle of Huntingdon was appointed to be gouernour of the fleet by sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and four hundred archers.

Froissard.
The king passeth ouer into
Normandie.

John Villani
saith there
were 2500
horsemen, and
30000 footmen
and archers,
that passed ouer
with the
king, but when
he cometh to
speake of the
battell, he seemeth to
increase the
number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appointed two marshals, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the earle of Warwicke, and the earle of Arundell was made constable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the coast of the sea; and another to march on his left hand, vnder the conduct of the marshals; so that he himselfe went in the middest with the maine armie, and in this order forward they passed towards Caen, lodging euerie night together in one field. They that went by the sea, toke all the ships they found in their waie, and as they marched forth thus,

The ordering
of the kings
armie.

Ap m. li.

At

Hartflew

Chierburge.

Houniburge

Carentine.

Saint Lo.

There were
slaine in all
Southout and
within the
towne 5000
men, as Gio.
Villani writ-
teth.

Peter Legh.

Caen taken.

that by water & land, at length they came to a towne called Hartflew, which was given up, but yet neuertheless it was robbed, and much goods found in it. After this they came to Chierburge, which towne they won by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the castell they could not win. Then came they to Houniburge and took it, robbed it & burnt it cleane. In this manner they passed forth, and burnt manie towne and villages in all the countrie as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them against the will of the soldiers that were within it. The soldiers defended the castell two daies, and then yelded it vp into the Englishmens hands, who burnt the same, and caused the burgeses to enter into their ships. All this was done by the battell that went by the sea side, and by them on the sea together.

On the other side, the lord Godfrie of Harecourt, with the battell on the right hand of the king, rood forth six or seven leagues from the kings battell, in burning and eriling the countrie. The king had with him (beside those that were with the marshals) 3000 men of armes, six thousand archers, and ten thousand men on foot. They left the cite of Constance, and came to a great towne called Saint Lo, a rich towne of draperie, hauing manie wealthe burgeses within it: it was sone taken and robbed by the Englishmen vpon their first approach. From thence the king marched freight to Caen, wherein were capitaine Hafe earle of Ewe and Guines constable of France, & the earle of Tankerville. These noble men meant to haue kept their defenses on the walles, gate, bridge, and river, and to haue left the suburbs void, because they were not closed, but onelie with the river: but they of the towne said they would issue forth, for they were strong enough to fight with the king of England.

When the constable saw their good willes, he was contented to follow their desire, and so forth they went in good order, and made good face to put their lues in hazard: but when they saw the Englishmen approach in good order, diuided into three battels, & the archers ready to shot, which they of Caen had not sene before, they were sore afraid, and fled auaie toward the towne without any order or arrais, for all that the constable could do to staie them. The Englishmen followed, and in the chase slue manie, and entered the towne with their enemies. The constable, and the earle of Tankerville took a tower at the bridge foot, thinking there to saue themselves, but perceiving the place to be of no force, nor able long to hold out, they submitted themselves vnto sir Thomas Holland. ¶ But here whatsoeuer Froissard doth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yelding of these two noble men, it is to be proued that the said earle of Tankerville was taken by one surnamed Peter Legh, ancestor to sir Peter Legh now liuing, whether in the fight or within the tower, I haue not to saie: but for the taking of the said earle, and for his other manlike proues shewed here and elsewhere in this iourne, king Edward in recompense of his agreeable service, gaue to him a lordship in the countie of Chester called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh now liuing doth inioy and possesse, as successor and heire to his ancestor the foresaid Legh, to whom it was so first giuen.

But to returne now to the matter where we left. The Frenchmen being entred into their houses, cast downe vpon the Englishmen below in the streets, stones, timber, hot water, and barres of iron, so that they hurt and slue more than five hundred persons. The king was so moued therewith, that if the lord Godfrie of Harecourt had not asswaged his mood, the towne had bene burnt, and the people put to the edge of the sword: but by the treatie of the said lord

Godfrie, proclamation was made, that no man should put fire into any house, nor sica any person, nor force any woman, and then did the townesmen and souldiers submit themselves, and receiued the Englishmen into their houses. There was great store of riches gotten in this towne, and the most part thereof sent into England, with the fleet which the king sent home with the prisoners, vnder the guiding of the earle of Huntington, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

When all things were ordeed in Caen as the king could desire, he marched from thence in the same order as he had kept before, burning and eriling the countrie. He passed by Curreur & came to Louiers, which the Englishmen sone entred and sacked without mercie. Then went they forth and left Roan, and came to Cisors, the towne they burnt, but the castell they could not get: they burnt also Vernon, and at Poissie they repaired the bridge which was broken, and so there they passed ouer the river of Saine. The power of the Englishmen increased daillie, by such numbers as came ouer forth of England in hope to win by pillage. Also manie gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the French nation, which loud not nor thought any god will vnto the French king, came to the king of England, offering to serue him, so that there were in his armie foure thousand horsemen and fiftie thousand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were thirtie thousand English archers, as Giouan Villani writteth. The English marshals ran abroad fast to Paris, and burnt St. Germans in Laie: also Spountiop, and St. Cloud, and petite Bullongne by Paris, & the queenes Burge. In the meane time had the French king assembled a mightie armie vpon purpose to fight with the Englishmen. ¶ The lord Godfrie of Harecourt, as he rode forth with five hundred men of armes, and 13 hundred archers, by aduenture incountered with a great number of the burgeses of Amiens on horsebacke, who were riding by the kings commandement to Paris. They were quicklie assailed, and though they defended themselves manfully for a while, yet at length they were overcome, and cleuen hundred of them slaine in the field, beside those that were taken. The Englishmen had all their cariage and armour. Thus passed forth the king of England, and came into Beauuoisin, and lodged nere vnto the cite of Beaunois one night in an abbey called Hefene, and for that after he was dislodged, there were that set fire in the same abbey, without any commandement giuen by him: he caused twentie of them to be hanged that were the first procurers of that fire.

So long the king of England passed forward, that finallie he approached nere to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and all the bridges broken and the passages well kept, whereupon he caused his two marshals with a thousand men of armes, & two thousand archers, to go along the river, to the end to find some passage. The marshals assailed diuerse places, as at Biqueney, and other where, but they could not find any passage vncloused, capitaine with men of warre being set to defend the same, in somuch that the marshals returned to the king, and declared that they had sene and found. At the same instant time was the French king come to Amiens, with more than a hundred thousand men, and thought to inclose the king of England, that he should no waie escape, but be constrained to receiue battell in some place greatlie to his disadvantage.

The king of England well perceiving himselfe in danger, remoued from the place where he was incamped, and marched forward through the countries of

as Gio.
Villani
writeth,
and
got both
Englishmen
in one place
and others
this iourne

Louiers.

Cisors.

Vernon.

Gio. Villani

St. Germans
in Laie.
St. Cloud.

Beaunois.

Burners
executed.

Biqueney.

St. Some
hanged.

of Pontieu and Amiens, approaching unto the good town of Abule, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a place in the same riuer, being hard in the bottom, and verie shallow at an ebb water. The French king vnderstanding that the K. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Foy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and six thousand on foot with the Genoaiers. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of Putterell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchefake (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approached, he arranged all his compaignie to defend the passage.

And surlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entered the foze to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen encountered the Englishmen on horsebacke in the water, and the Genoaiers did them much hurt, and troubled them fore with their crossbowes: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie together, that the frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselves in the field, and then the frenchmen fled, some to Abule, some to saint Kiquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horsebacke, insomuch that a great number of them of Abule, Putterell, Arras, and S. Kiquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the K. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his compaignie of their ransomes, and gaue to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horse, and so the king road forth as he did before. His marshalls road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and toke all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which laie there in the haue.

One of the marshalls road to the gates of Abule, and from thence to S. Kiquier, and after to the towne of Vire saint Esprit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marshalls returned to the kings host about none, and so lodged all together about Cressie in Pontieu, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marshalls to chose a plot of ground, somewhat to his advantage, that he might there abide his aduersaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puissance into Abule, and hearing how the king of England was passed ouer the riuer of Some, and discomfited sir Godmare du Foy, was fore displeased in his mind: but when he vnderstood that his enemies were lodged at Cressie, and meant there to abide him, he caused all his people to issue out of Abule, and earlie on the saturday in the morning, anon after sunne rising he departed out of the towne himselfe, and marched towards his enemies. The king of England vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip still followed him, to giue him battell, supposing that the same saturday he would come to offer it, rose betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man first to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to draw with speed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be set in order of battell. Beginning his enterprise at invocation or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and sped the better in the

progress of his adions, as the issue of the warre shewed. A notable example to euerie priuat man, to remember to call vpon God when he purposeth anie thing, for as the poet saith, and that verie christianlike,

*nil est mortalibus agis
Filius, quam celestem sancteq; patrem
Orando sibi querere opem.*

Mar. Pal. in sag.

Beside this, he caused a parkie to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages should be set, with all the horses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwick, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Staford, the lord de la Mare, the lord Bouchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Bzowath, sir Robert Peuill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welsh men. In the second battell was the earle of Northampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Roos and Willoubie, Bassett, S. Albine, Spilston, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteously, and with so good a countenance, that euen they which before were discomfited, toke courage in hearing him speake such sweet and louing words amongst them. It was nine of the clocke per euer he had thus visited all his battels, & thereupon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

The French king, before he approached nere to his enemies, sent forth foure skilfull knights to view the demeanour of his enemies, the which returning againe, made report as they had seene, and that so much as they could gesse, the Englishmen ment to abide him, being diuided into three battels, readie to receiue him and his puissance, if he went forward in purpose to assaile them. Here was the French king counselled to stay and not to giue battell that day, but to aduise all things with good deliberation and regard, to consider well how and what way he might best assaile them. When by the marshalls were all men commanded to staie, and not to go anie further, they that were foremost and next to the enemies taried, but they that were behind would not abide but rode forth, and said they would not staie till they were as far as the foremost: and when they before saw them behind come forthward, then they marched on also againe, so that neither the K. nor his marshalls could rule them, but that they passed forthward still without order, or anie good arrate, till they came in sight of their enemies: and as sone as the foremost saw their enemies, then they reuled backe, whereof they behind had maruell, and were abashed, supposing that the foremost compaignie had bene fighting. When they might haue had come to haue gone forthward, if they had bene minded. The commons, of whom all the waies betwixt Abule and Cressie were full, when they saw that they were nere their enemies, they toke their swords and cried; Downe with them. Let vs see them all. There was no man, though he were present at the toinie, that could imagine or the truth of the euill order that was among the French partie,

Gioué Villand saith, that when they should come in battell, the Englishmen were 30000. archers English & Welsh, beside other footmen with axes & taulins, and not fullie 4000 horsemen.

Froissard, The kings demeanour before & battell.

The disorder among the Frenchmen.

of Pontieu and Winetw, approaching unto the good towne of Abuille, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a ford in the same riuer, being hard in the bottom and verie shallow at an eb water. The French king vnderstanding that the K. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Joy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and sir thousand on foot with the Genowaies. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of Sputterell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchetake (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approached, he arranged all his compaignie to defend the passage.

And surlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entered the ford to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen encountered the Englishmen on horsebacke in the water, and the Genowaies did them much hurt, and troubled them so with their crokbolles: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie together, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselves in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, some to Abuille, some to saint Riquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horsebacke, insomuch that a great number of them of Abuille, Sputterell, Arras, and saint Riquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the K. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his compaignie of their ransomes, and gave to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horse, and so the king road forth as he did before. His marshals road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and took all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which laie there in the haue.

One of the marshals road to the gates of Abuille, and from thence to saint Riquier, and after to the towne of Rine saint Esperit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marshals returned to the kings host about none, and so lodged all together about Cressie in Pontieu, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marshals to chose a plot of ground, somewhat to his advantage, that he might there abide his aduersaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puissance vnto Abuille, and hearing how the king of England was passed ouer the riuer of Some, and discomfited sir Godmare du Joy, was sore displeased in his mind: but when he vnderstood that his enemies were lodged at Cressie, and meant there to abide him, he caused all his people to issue out of Abuille, and earlie on the saturday in the morning, anon after sunne rising he departed out of the towne himselfe, and marched towards his enemies. The king of England vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip still followed him, to giue him battell, supposing that the same saturday he would come to offer it, rose betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man first to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to drave with speed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be set in order of battell. Beginning his enterprise at invocation or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and sped the better in the

progresse of his actions, as the issue of the warre showed. A notable example to euerie priuat man, to remember to call vpon God when he purposeth anie thing, for as the poet saith, and that verie christianlie,

*nihil est mortalibus agris
utilius, quam celestem sancteq; precq;
Orando sibi querere opem.*

Mar. Palin. seg.

Beside this, he caused a park to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages should be set, with all the horses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwick, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Stafford, the lord de la Mare, the lord Bouchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Bzowally, sir Robert Peuil. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welch men. In the second battell was the earle of Northampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Roos and Willowbie, Basset, d'Albini, Pulton, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteously, and with so good a countenance, that even they which before were discomfited, took courage in hearing him speake such sweet and louing words amongst them. It was nine of the clocke per euer he had thus visited all his battels, & thereupon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

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Giou's Villani saith, that when they should come in battell, the Englishmen were 30000. archers English & welsh, beside other footmen with axes & iavelins, and not fullie 40000 horsemen.

Froissard, The kings demeour was before the battell.

The disorder among the Frenchmen.

Godmare du Joy.

Gobin Agace.

The Englishmen won the passage ouer the water of Some.

Canton. The number slaine. Froissard.

Crotaie burnt.

partie, and yet they were a marvellous great number.

The Englishmen which beheld their enemies thus approaching them, prepared themselves at leisure for the battell, which they saw to be at hand. The first battell, whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers standing in manner of an herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the battell. The earle of Northampton and the earle of Arundell with the second battell, were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the princes battell if need were. The lords and knights of France came not to the assemble together, for some came after, in such hault and euill order, that one of them troubled another. There were of Genowais crossbowes to the number of twelue or sixtene thousand, the which were commanded to go on before, and with their shot to begin the battell; but they were so werie with going on foot that morning six leagues armed with their crossbowes, that they said to their constables; We be not well used, in that we are commanded to fight this daie, for we be not in case to do any great feat of armes, we haue moze need of rest. These words came to the hearing of the earle of Alançon, who said; A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, that faint and faile now at most need.

Charles Gri-
moldi & In-
thone or De-
thone Doria
were capti-
ng of the: Gen-
owais, which
were not past
six thousand,
as Gio. Villani
saith.
Polydor,
Froillard.
The earle of
Alançon.

Raine and
thunder with
an eclipse.

The Geno-
waies.

The battell
is begun.

Also at the same instant there fell a great raine, and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came flying over both armies a great number of crows, for feare of the tempest coming: then anon the aire began to warre cleare, and the sunne to shine faire and bright, which was right in the french mens eyes, and on the English mens backs. When the Genowais were assembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leape and crye, to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not at all for that noise. Then the Genowais the second time made an other leape and huge crye, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen remoued not a foot. The third time againe the Genowais leapt, and yelled, and went forth till they came within shot, and fiercely therewith discharged their crossbowes. Then the English archers slept forth one pale, and let die their arrowes so wholie and so thicke together, that it seemed to snowe. When the Genowais felt the arrowes persing their heads, armes and bycastis, manie of them cast downe their crossbowes, and cut the strings, and returned discomfited. When the french king saw them flee a while, he said: See these rascals, for they will let and trouble vs without reason.

The king of
Boheme.

Then ye might haue scene the men of armes harte dashy in amongst them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease: the sharpe arrowes ran into the men of armes, and into their hoeses, and manie fell hoesie and man amongst the Genowais, and still the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease, and when they were once downe they could not recover againe. The throng was such that one ouerthrew another; & also among the Englishmen, there were certeine of the souldiers with great knives, that went in among the men of armes, and killed manie of them as they laie on the ground, both earles, barons, knights, and esquires. The valiant king of Boheme being almost blind, caused his men to fasten all the reines of the buidels of their hoeses ech to other, and so he being himselfe amongst them in the foremost ranke, they ran on their enemies.

The lord Charles of Boheme sonne to the same king and late cleard emperor, came in good order to the battell, but when he saw how the matter went awrie on their part, he departed and saved himselfe. His father by the meanes also, esaid went so far for-

ward, that ioining with his enemies he fought right valiantlie, and so did all his companie: but finally being entred within the prease of their enemies, they were of them inclosed and slaine, together with the king their master, and the next daie found dead lying about hirt, and their hoeses all tied ech to other. The earle of Alançon came right orderlie to the battell, and fought with the Englishmen, and so did the earle of Flanders also on his part. These two lords coassisted the English archers, and came to the princes battell, and there fought right valiantlie a long time. The french king perceiuing where their banners stood, would faine haue come to them, but could not, by reason of a great hedge of archers that stood betwixt them and him. This was a perillous battell and sore foughten: there were few taken to merceie, for the Englishmen had so determined in the morning.

Certeine frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the princes battell, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the second battell of the Englishmen came to succor the princes battell, and not before it was time, for they of that battell had as then inough to do, in somuch that some which were about him, as the earle of Northampton, and others sent to the king, where he stood aloft on a windmill hill, requiring him to aduance forward, and come to their aid, they being as then sore laid to of their enemies. The king hereby on demanded if his sonne were slaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? So said the knight that brought the message) but he is sore matched. Well said the king) returne to him and them that sent you, and saie to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, so long as my son is alieue, for I will that this iourne be his, with the honoz thereof. With this answer the knight returned, which greatly encouraged them to do their best to win the spurs, being half abashed in that they had so sent to the king for aid. At length when it drew toward euenng, and that the frenchmen were beaten downe and slaine on ech hand, king Philip as it were by constraint departed out of the field, not hauing as then past thre score persons about him, of whom the lord John of Brimault was one, by whose perswasion he cheselie consented to ride his waie for his owne safegard, when he saw the losse was such as on that daie it could not be recovered.

The slaughter of the frenchmen was great and lamentable, namelic for the losse of so manie noble men, as were slaine at the same battell, fought betwixtweene Cressie and Booy on the saturday next following the feast of saint Bartholomew being (as that yeare fell) the 16 of August. Among other which died that daie, these I find registred by name as chiefeest, John king of Boheme, Rafe duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alans brother germane to king Philip, Charles earle of Blois, Rafe earle of Flanders, also the earle of Harecourt, brother to the lord Cestrie of Harecourt, with the earles of Auverre, Amurle, and saint Poule, beside diuerse other of the nobilitie. The Englishmen neuer brake out of their battells to chase any man, but kept themselves together in their wards and ranks, and defended themselves euer against such as came to assaile them. This battell ended about euenng.

When the frenchmen were clearely overcome, and those that were left alieue fled and gone, so that the Englishmen heard no more noise of them, king Edward came downe from the hill (on the which he stood all that day with his helme still on his head) and going to the prince, embraced him in his armes, and kissed him, saying; Faire sonne, God send you good perseverance in this your prosperus beginning, you haue

The earle of
Alançon.

The prince
battell was
set.

The earle of
Northampton
sent to the
king.

The king
answer.

The king
departed
out of the
field.

Great death
of the
men.
Casten.
Lac. Mon.
Polydor,
Froillard.
Polydor
Froillard.

"have noble acquit your selfe, you are well worthie to have the governance of a realme committed to your hands for your valiant doings. The prince inclined himselfe to the earth in honouring his father, as he best could. This done, they thanked God together with their souldiers for their good adventure. For so the king commanded, and willed no man to make anie boast of his owne power, but to ascribe all the praise to almightie God for such a noble victorie; seeming herein to be affected as David was in the foure and fortieth psalme; for he also referreth the happie successe of warre, and all victorie, unto almightie God, and not to the strength of a multitude of men, saying:

Tu nos ab hoste liberabis, spernis solo

Insuper nobis agmina.

Non ergo temporis te cantabimus

nostra salutis vindicem?

Georg. Buch. p. 4.
reph. in p. 4.

¶ On the sundae in the morning, there was such a mist, that a man could not see an acre byedth before him. Then by the kings commandement there departed from the host five hundred speares and two thousand archers, to trie if they might heare of anie Frenchmen gathered together in anie place nere unto them.

On the same morning there were departed out of Abulle and St. Requier in Pontieu, the commons of Roan and Beannais, with other that knew nothing of the discomfiture the daie before. These met with the Englishmen, supposing they had bene Frenchmen, and being fiercely assailed of them, after soze fight, and great slaughter, the Frenchmen were discomfited and fled, of whome were slaine in the hedges & bushes, more than seven thousand men. The archbishop of Roan, and the grand prior of France, ignorant also of the discomfiture the day before, & supposing (as they were informed) the French should not have foughten till that sundae, were likewise incountried (as they came thitherward) by the Englishmen, with whome they fought a soze battell, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to susteine the puissant force of the Englishmen, and so the most part of them were slaine, with the said archbishop and grand prior, and few there were that escaped.

Frenchmen
slaine the day
after the bat-
till.

The archb. of
Roan and
the lord grand
prior of
France slaine

¶ On that sundae morning, the Englishmen met with diuerse Frenchmen, that had lost their waie on the saturday, and wist not where the king nor their capteins were become. They were all slaine in manner, so manie as the Englishmen could meet with, insomuch that of the commons and sctomen of the citie and good townes of France (as was thought) there were slaine this sundae foure times as manie as were slaine on the saturday in the great battell. When those Englishmen that were sent abroad thus to view the countie, were returned againe, and signified to the king what they had seene and done, and how there was no more appearance of the enemies, the king to search what the number was of them that were slaine, and upon the view taken, it was reported unto him, that there were found dead eleven princes, foure score baronets, 12 hundred knights, and more than thirtie thousand other of the meaner sort. Thus was the whole puissance of France vanquished, and that cheefly by force of such as were of no reputation amongst them, that is to say, the English archers, by whose sharpe and violent shot the victorie was achieved, to the great confusion of the French nation. ¶ Of such price were the English bowes in that season, that nothing was able to withstand them; whereas now our archers couet not to drawe long and strong bowes, but rather to shot compasse, which are not meet for the warres, nor greatlie to be feared, though they come into the field.

The king of England with his armie kept still his field, untill monday in the morning, and then departed, and came before Boturcell by the sea, and his march was ran towards Hedin. The next daie they road toward Bullongne, & at Wilsam the king and the prince incamped, and tarried a whole daie to refresh their people, and on the Wednesday being the thirtieth day of August, he came before the strong towne of Calis, and there planted his siege, and erected bastides betwene the towne and the river, and caused carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, which were covered with reed & hyeme, so manie and in such order, that it seemed a new towne, and in it was a market place appointed of purpose, in the which the market was daile kept of vittels, & all other necessarie things euery Tuesday and saturday, so that a man might haue bought what he would of things brought thither out of England & Flanders. ¶ But now, forsomuch as we haue spoken of this iourne and invasion made by king Edward into France, in this ninetenth yere of his reigne, accordinglie as we haue gathered out of Froissard, and diuerse other authors, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contents of a letter written by a chapleine of the said king, and attendant about him in the same iourne, containing the successe of his proceedings after his departure from Poissie, which letter is inserted with others in the historie of Robert de Auesburie, and Englished by maister John Fox as followeth.

Calis belie-
gged.

A letter of W. Northbrough the kings
confessor describing the kings
voiage into France.



¶ Mutations premised. The
give you to vnderstand, that
our souereigne lord the king
came to the towne of Poissie
the daie before the Assump-
tion of our ladie, where was
a certeine bridge ouer the water of Saine
broken downe by the enemye, but the king
tarried there so long, till that the bridge
was made againe. And whiles the bridge
was in repairing, there came a great num-
ber of men at armes, and other souldiers
well armed, to hinder the same. But the
earle of Northampton issued out against
them, and slue of them more than a thou-
sand, the rest fled awaie: thanks be to
God. And at another time, our men passed
the water (although with much trauell)
and slue a great number of the common
souldiers of France, about the citie of Pa-
ris, and countie adioining, being part of
the French kings armie, and throughtlie
well appointed: so that our people haue
now made other good bridges vpon our e-
nemies, God be thanked, without anie losse
and damage to vs. And on the morrow af-
ter the Assumption of our ladie, the king
passed the water of Saine, and marched
toward Poissie, which is a towne of great
defense, and stronglie walled, and a mar-
vellous strong castell within the same,
which our enemies kept. And when our
bauntgard was passed the towne, our re-
gard gaue an assault thereunto, and toke
the same, where were slaine more than
three hundred men at arms of our enemies
part.

In the Acts
and monu-
ments.

part. And the next daie following, the earle of Suffolke, and sir Hugh Spenser, marched forth vpon the commons of the countreie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them moze than two hundred, & toke thre scoze gentlemen prisoners, beside others.

And after that, the king marched toward grand Villiers, and while he was there incamped, the kings bantgard was descried by the men at armes of the k. of Boheme: wherupon our men issued out in great hast and ioined battell with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton issued out, and rescued the horsemen with the other soldiers: so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onlie Thomas Calbot, but had againe the enimie in chafe within two leagues of Amiens: of whome we toke eight, and slue twelue of their best men at armes: the rest being well horsed, toke the towne of Amiens. After this the king of England marched toward Pontise, vpon Bartholomew day, and came to the water of Some, where the french king had laid five hundred men at armes, and thre thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thanks be to God, the k. of England and his host entered the same water of Some, where neuer man passed before, without losse of any of our men: and after that incountered with the enimie, and slue of them moze than 2000, the rest fled to Abuille, in which chafe were taken manie knights, esquiers, & men at armes. The same day sir Hugh Spenser toke the towne of Crotaie, where he & his soldiers slue 400 men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great store of bittels.

The same night incamped the king of England in the forrest of Cressie vpon the same water, for that the french kings host came on the other side of the towne, nere vnto our passage: but he would not take the water of vs, & so marched toward Abuille. And vpon the freidaie next following, the king being still incamped in the said forrest, our scuriers descried the french k. which marched toward vs in foure great battels: and hauing then vnderstanding of our enimies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide, we drez to the plaine field, and set our battels in arraie: and immediatlie the fight began, which was soze and cruell, & indured long, for our enimies behaued themselves right noblie. But thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our side, & the king our aduersarie was discomfited with all his host & put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Boheme, the duke of Lorraine, the earle of Alanson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Harecourt, with his two sons, the earle of Daumartie, the earle de Neuers, and his brother the lord of Cronard, the archbishop of Rismes, the archbishop of Sens, the high prior of France, the earle

of Sauoie, the lord of Moles, the lord de Guies, le seigneur de Saint Rouant, le seigneur de Rosinburg, with six earles of Almaine, and diuerse other earles, barons, knights, and esquiers, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with an other marques, which was called lord elector among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men of armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common soldiers and footmen, were a thousand, five hundred, fortye and two: and all that night the king of England with his host aboad armed in the field, where the battell was fought.

On the next morrow, before the sunne rose, there marched towards vs another great host mightie & strong, of the frenchmen: but the earle of Northampton, and the earle of Suffolke issued out against them in thre battels, & after long and terrible fight, them likewise they discomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue bene) where they toke of knights and esquiers a great number, and slue aboue two thousand, pursuing the chafe thre leages from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king incamped himselfe againe in the forrest of Cressie, and on the morrow marched toward Bullongne, and by the way he toke the towne of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege, and laie his batterie to the same. And therefore our souereigne lord the king willethe and commandeth you, in all that euer you may, to lend to the said siege bittels conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Caen, we haue trauelled through the countreie with great perill & danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of bittels plenty, thanks be to God therfore. But now (as the case standeth) we partlie need your helpe to be refreshed with bittels. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis, the fourteenth daie of September.

But now touching the siege of Calis, and to returne where we left, ye shall vnderstand, that (as ye haue heard) the English campe was furnished with sufficient prouision of meat, drinke, apparell, munition, and all other things necessarie: and oftentimes also the soldiers made roads and forrais into the borders of France next adioining, as towards Guines, and saint Omer, ye euen to the gates of that towne, and sometime to Bullongne. Also the earle of Northampton fetched a botie out of Arthois, and as he returned toward the host, he came to Terrouan, which towne the bishop had fortified and manned, belieuering the custodie thereof vnto sir Arnold Wanderebert: for when he heard the Englishmen approached, he durst not tarrie within the citie himselfe, but got him to saint Omers. Sir Arnold stood valiantlie to his defense, and would not yeld, till by verie force the Englishmen entered the citie, slue the soldiers, and toke their capteine the said sir Arnold prisoner. The citie was put to sacke, and after set on fire. And when the Englishmen were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the siege, which they had laid

Iac. Met.

Terrouan

Terrouan

swon by him

And before S. Omers, and began a new spoile, and
fired such houses belonging to the canons and other,
which the Englishmen had spared. Thus were those
confinces in most miserable case, for no house nor o-
ther thing was in safegard, but such as were contei-
ned within closure of strong townes and fortresses.

The king of England would not assaile the towne
of Calis by giuing anie assault to it, for he knew he
should but lose his labour, and waste his people, it
was so strong of it selfe, and so well furnished with
men of warre. Capteine thereof also was one sir
John de Liennes, a valiant knight of Burgoigne,
hauing with him diuerse other right hardie and ex-
pert capteins, knights, and esquires. When the said
sir John de Liennes saw the manner of the English
host, and what the kings intention was, he considere-
ned all the poore and meane people to depart out of
the towne. The king of England perceiuing that
this was done of purpose to spare vittels, would not
driue them backe againe to helpe to consume the
same, but rather pittied them; and therefore did not
onelic shew them so much grace to suffer them to
passe through his host, but also gaue them meat and
drinke to dinner, and moreover two pence sterling
to euery person: which charitable deed wau him much
praise, and caused manie of his enemies to praie right
heartlie for his good successe and prosperitie. A most
notable example of pittie and compassion, teaching
other to be in like sort affected, and also to know, that

Spernit calorum regem spector miserrimum.

The french king meaning to raise the siege from
Calis, which the king of England kept there, sent for
his sonne the duke of Poimandie, which had linc long
at the siege of Aiguillon, and now by commande-
ment of his father left it soe against his will. In
this meane while, the earle of Derby remained in
the citie of Burdeaur, and there had held him du-
ring all the time that the siege laie before Aiguillon.
When he once vnderstood that the siege was raised,
and that the duke of Poimandie had broken vp his
campe, he sent into Gascoigne for all knights and
esquires that held of the English part. Then came to
Burdeaur the lord Dalbret, the lord de Lespare, the
lord de Rosam, the lord of Apudident, the lord of Ju-
miers, and a great sort more of the lords and nobles
of Gascoigne, so that the earle had twelue hundred
men of armes, two thousand archers, and three thou-
sand other footmen. They passed the river of Garon,
betwixt Burdeaur and Blaie, and toke their waie
to Zandonge, so to go vnto Poitiers, and toke by
the waie the towne of Spirabell by assault: they wau
also the towne and castell of Annaie, Surgieres and
Berton. Also they toke Maraunt in Poitou by
force, they burnt also the towne of Lusignen, but the
castell they could not win. Moreover, they did win
the bridge, towne, and castell of Tailburge, and liue
all that were found within it, because a knight of
the English part was slaine in the assaulting. From
thence the earle of Derby went and laid siege to
saint John Dangelie, which was yeilded to him by
composition.

At first he made three assaults, but could not win
it, and so from thence he came to Bourge saint Mar-
fment, the which was wone by force, and all that
were within it slaine; and in like manner the towne
of Pontreuil Bonin was wone, and the most part
of them within slaine, that toke vpon them to defend
it, which were 200 coiners of monie that wrought in
the mint, which the french king kept there. From
thence he passed forward with his host, and finallye
came before the citie of Poitiers, which was great
and large, so that he could not besiege it but on the
one side. The third daie after his comming thither, he
caused the citie to be assaulted in three places, and the

greatest number were appointed to assaile the wea-
kest part of the citie. As then there were no expert
men of warre within Poitiers, but a great multi-
tude of people unskillfull and not used to any feats
of warre, by reason thereof the Englishmen ente-
red in at the weakest place. When they within sawe
the citie wone, they fled out at other gates, but yet
there were slaine to the number of seauen hundred
persons, for all that came in the Englishmens waie
were put to the sword, men, women, and children.
The citie was sacked and rifled, so that great store of
riches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitants
as other that had brought their goods thither for safe-
gard of the same. The earle of Derby laie there ten
or twelue daies, and longer might haue laie, if his
pleasure had so bene, for there was none that durst
go about to disquiet him, all the countrie trembled so
at his presence.

At his departure from Poitiers he left the citie
void, for it was too great to be kept: his souldiers
and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that
they wist not what to do therewith: they esteemed
nothing but gold and siluer, and feathers for men of
warre. The earle visited by the waie as he returned
homewards to Burdeaur the towne of saint John
Dangelie, and other fortresses which he had wone
in going towards Poitiers, and hauing furnished
them with men, munition, and vittels necessarie, at
his comming to Burdeaur he brake vp his host, and
licencing his people to depart, thanked them for their
paines and good seruice. All this while the siege conti-
nued still before Calis, and the french king amongst
other deuises which he imagined how to raise the
k. of England from it, procured the Scots to make
warre into England, in somuch that Dauid king of
Scotland, notwithstanding the truce which yet indu-
red betwixt him and the king of England, vpon hope
now to do some great exploit, by reason of the ab-
sence of king Edward, intangled thus with the be-
sieging of Calis, he assembled the whole puissance
of his realme, to the number of fortie or threescore
thousand fighting men (as some write) and with them
entered into England, burning, spoiling, and wast-
ing the countrie, till he came as far as Durham.

The lords of England that were left at home with
the queene for the sure keeping and defense of the
realme, perceiuing the king of Scots thus bold to
inuaide the land, and in hope of spoile to send forth
his light horsemen to harrie the countrie on each side
him, assembled an host of all such people as were a-
ble to beare armour, both pikes and other. Their ge-
nerall assemblee was appointed at Newcastle, and
when they were all together, they were to the num-
ber of 1200 men of armes, three thousand archers,
and seauen thousand other, with the Welshmen, and
issuing out of the towne, they found the Scots rea-
die to come forward to incounter them. Then euery
man was set in order of battell, and there were foure
battels ordeined, one to aid another. The first was
led by the bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Winfreulle
earle of Arcegos, Henrie lord Percie, and the lord
Henrie Scrope: the second by the archbishop of
York, and the lord Rafe Peuill: the third by the bi-
shop of Lincolne, John lord Spolubraie, and the lord
Thomas de Kokebie: the fourth was gouerned by
the lord Edward Balioll capteine of Berwik, the
archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Ros: beside
these were W. lord d' Eincourt, Robert de Ogile,
and other. The queene was there in person, and went
from ranke to ranke, and encouraged hir people in
the best manner she could, and that done she depar-
ted, committing them and their cause to God the gi-
uer of all victorie.

Sothlie herevpon the Scots set forward to be-
siege

The citie of
Poitiers
wone by force.

Saint John
Dangelie.

The king of
Scots inua-
deth Eng-
land.
Polydor.

The English
lords assemble
a power to
fight with the
Scots.
Froissard.

Tho. Wall,
Froissard.
The queenes
vtiligence.

Froissard.

Sir John de
Liennes cap-
taine of Calis.

The king of
England's
pittie towards
the poore.

The duke of
Poimandie
sent for.

The earle of
Derby assem-
bled an armie

Comes wone
by the earle
of Derby.

gin the battell and likewise did the Englishmen, and therewith the archers on both parts began to shot: the shot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of England soze galled the Scots, so that there was an hard battell. They began at nine of the clocke, and continued still in fight till none. The Scots had sharpe and heauie arcs, a game with the same great and mightie strokes, howbeit finally the Englishmen by the helpe of God obtained the victorie, although they lost manie of their men. There were diuerse of the nobles of Scotland slaine, to the number of seuen earles, beside lords. The king was taken in the field soze wounded, for he fought valiantlie. He was prisoner to an esquire of Northumberland, who as sone as he had taken him, rode out of the field with him, accompanied onelie with eight of his seruants, and rested not till he came to his owne castell where he dwelled, being thirtie miles distant from the place of the battell.

There was taken also beside him, the earles of Fife, Sutherland, Wighton, and Menteith, the lord William Douglas, the lord Wescie, the archbishop of Sancti Andrewes, and another bishop, with sir Homelin Foukes, and diuerse other men of name. There were slaine of one and other to the number of 15 thousand. This battell was fought beside the cite of Durham at a place called Hewils crosse, vpon a saturdaye next after the feast of saint Michaele, in the yeare of our Lord 1346. Of this ouerthrow Christopher Okland hath verie commendable written, sayeng,

—band omne dextro

*Iam Scotus intulerat vim Danelmensibus agris,
Cum formidandum scuis bellum instruit Anglus,
Aggrediturque hostem violentum fœdera sacra.
Nominis incerti Scotie plebs obuia gentis
sternitur, & tristi gladio cadit impia turba,
Frustra oblectantur Scotie comitibus ducisque,
Quorum pars iacet occumbens, pars cetera capta
Captiuum corpus dedit vincensibus, auro
Et paſto pretio redimendum, bellicus artus
Postulat. At David Scotie rex captus ad urbem
Londinensē fidei pendens dignissima facta
supplicia, adductus celebri concluditur arce.
Exiguus numerus volucri pede sſus equorum
Effugit in patriam, testis certissimus Anglos
Deuictos suos, & tristia funera narrant.*

¶ He that will see more of this battell, may find the same also set forth in the Scottish historie, as their writers haue written thereof. And for so much as by the circumstances of their writings, it should seeme they kept the remembrance of the same battell per seuerallie registred, we haue in this place onelie shewed what other writers haue recorded of that matter, and lest that which the Scottish chronicles write, to be seene in the life of king David, without much abridging thereof. The Englishmen after this victorie thus obtained, took the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, and also without any resistance subdued the countreies of Anandale, Galloway, Mers, Tindale, and Eskike forrest, extending their marches forth at that time vnto Colburnes Beth, and Solway hedge, and after vnto Earlinlipsis, and crosse Cause.

The quene of England being certeinlie informed that the king of Scots was taken, & that John Copland had conueied him out of the field, no man vnderstood to what place, she incontinentlie wrote to him, commanding him forthwith to bring his prisoner king David vnto hir presence: but John Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate answer, that he would not deliuer his prisoner the said king David vnto any person living, man or woman, except onelie to the king of England, his soueraigne lord and master. Where vpon the quene wrote letters

to the king, signifying to him both of the happie victorie chanced to his people against the Scots, and also of the demerit of John Copland, in detaining the Scottish king. King Edward immediatlie by letters commanded John Copland to repaire vnto him where he late at siege before Calis, which with all convenient speed he did, and there so excused himselfe of that which the quene had found himselfe grieved with him, for detaining the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onelie pardon him, but also gaue to him five hundred pounds sterling of yearelie rent, to him & to his heires for euer, in reward of his good service and valiant prowes, and made him esquire for his bodie, commanding him yet vpon his returne into England to deliuer king David vnto the quene, which he did, and so excused himselfe also vnto hir, that she was therewith satisfied and contented. Then the quene, after she had taken order for the safe keeping of the king of Scots, and good government of the realme, took the sea and sailed ouer to the king hir husband still lieng before Calis.

Whilste Calis was thus besieged by the king of England, the Flemings which had latelie before besieged Wetwine, and had raised from thence about the same time that the battell was fought at Cressle, now assemble together againe, and doing what damage they might against the Frenchmen on the borders, they laie siege vnto the towne of Aire. Whereafter, they wrought so for the king of England (earnestlie requiring their friendship in that behalfe) that their soueraigne lord Lewis earle of Flanders being as then about fiftene yeares of age, fianced the ladie Isabell daughter to the king of England, more by constraint indeed of his subiects, than for any good will he bare to the king of England: for he would often saie, and openlie protest, that he would neuer marrie hir whose father had slaine his: but there was no remedie, for the Flemings kept him in manner as a prisoner, till he granted to followe their advice. But the same weeke that the marriage was appointed to be solemnized, the earle as he was abroad in hawking at the bearon, felle awaie and fied into France, not staidng to ride his horse vpon the spurs till he came into Arthois, and so dishonorablely disappointed both the king of England, and his owne naturall subiects the Flemings, to their high displeasure.

While the king late thus before Calis, diuerse lords and knights came to see him out of Flanders, Brabant, Heinault, and Almaine. Amongst other came the lord Robert of Namur, and was retained with the king as his seruant, the king giuing him three hundred pounds sterling of yearelie pension out of his coffers to be paid at Bruges. During the time that the siege thus continued before Calis, the lord Charles de Blois, that named himselfe duke of Britaine, was taken before a castell in Britaine, called la Roch Darten, and his armie discomfited, cheslie by the aid of that valiant English knight sir Thomas Dagworth, who had bene sent from the siege of Calis by king Edward to assist the countesse of Pontfort and other his frends against the said Charles de Blois, that with a gret armie of Frenchmen and Britains, had the same time besieged the said castell of Roch Darten, restraining them within in such forceable manner, that they stood in great need of present succors. The said sir Thomas Dagworth aduertised hereof, with three hundred men of armes and foure hundred archers of his owne retinue, beside certeine Britains, approached to the siege, and on the 20 of June earlie in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, suddenlie set vpon the enemies, who hauing knowledge of his coming, were readie to receiue him as the day before, but being now surprised

The Scots fight worth.

The English men obtaine the victorie.

The king of Scots taken.

Heft. Boetius. R. Southwell. Fabian. Froissard.

Hewils crosse.

In Angl. prolog. sub Edwardo 3.

See in Scotland.

Heftor Boet. Countries of Scotland subdued by the Englishmen. Froissard.

John Copland refused to deliuer the K. of Scots.

John Copland refused.

La. Meit. The Flemings.

Froissard. 1346.

The earle of Flanders promised to deliuer the king of Scots to the king of England.

The lord Charles de Blois.

Sir Thomas Dagworth.

Sir John Copland.

passed thus on the sudden, they were greatlie amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as soon as the appearance of daie had discovered the matter unto them, so that they might know their friends from their enemies, they issued forth, and holpe not a little to the achieving of the victorie, which was cleerlie obtained before sunne-rising, and the French armie quite discomfited, greatlie to the praise of the said sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, considering their small number, in comparison of their aduersaries, who were reckoned to be twelue hundred god men of armes, knights, and esquires, besides sir hundred other armed men, two thousand cross-bowes, six hundred archers of the countrie of Britaine, and footmen of commons innumerable.

There were taken, besides the lord Charles de Blois naming himselfe duke of Britaine, diuerse other lords and men of name, as monsieur Guie de la Maall sonne and heire to the lord la Maall, which died in the battell, the lord of Rocheford, the lord de Beaumanour, the lord of Loisacke, with other lords, knights, and esquires, in great numbers. There were slain the said lord de la Maall, the vicount of Rohan, the lord of Chateau Brian, the lord de Spaille-Preit, the lord de Quintin, the lord de Rouge, the lord of Doreuall and his sonne, sir Rafe de Pontford, and manie other twentie men of armes, knights and esquires, to the number of betwixt six and seuen hundred, as by a letter written by the said sir Thomas Dagworth, and registred in the historie of Robert de Auesburie both appeare.

In this meane while, king Philip hauing daile wood him the power of his enimie king Edward did increase by aid of the Catterlings and other nations, which were to him alied, and that his men within Calis were brought to such an extreme point, that without speedie rescue they could not long keepe the towne, but must of force render it ouer into the hands of his said enimie, to the great prejudice of all the realme of France, after great deliberation taken vpon this so weightie matter, he commanded euerie man to meet him in their best arrare for the warre, at the feast of Pentecost in the citie of Amiens, or in those marches. At the daie and place thus appointed, there came to him Ddes duke of Burgoyne, and the duke of Normandie eldest sonne to the king, the duke of Orleans his yongest sonne, the duke of Bourbon, the earle of Foies, the lord Lois de Sanoie, the lord John of Heimalt, the earle of Arminacke, the earle of Foreest, and the earle Valentino, is, with manie others.

These noble men being thus assembled, they toke counsell which waie they might passe to giue battell to the Englishmen: it was thought the best waie had bene through Flanders, but the Flemings in fauor of the king of England denied, not onelie to open their passages to the Frenchmen, but also had leued an armie of an hundred thousand men of aine and other, and laid siege to Aire, and burnt the countrie all about. Whereupon there were manie sharpe bickerings and sore incontiners betwixt the Flemings and such Frenchmen as king Philip sent forth against them both, now, whilst the French armie laie about Amiens, and also before, during all the time that the siege lay at Calis: for all the French tows vpon the frontiers were stuffed with strong garrisons of soldiers, as Lille, faint Omers, Arras, Wul-longie, Aire and Ponttreuall, and those men of war were ever readie vpon occasion to attempt sundrie exploits. After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken bp, and returned home, or rather diuided into parts, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thousand men one and other came forward, taking his way through the countrie

called la Belme, and so by the countrie of Frankeberge, came streight to the hill of Sangate, betwixt Calis and Wissant.

The king of England had caused a strong castell to be made betwene the towne of Calis and the sea, to close vp that passage, and had placed therein three scoze men of armes, and two hundred archers, which kept the hauein in such sort that nothing could come in nor out. Also considering that his enemies could come neither to succour the towne, nor to annoie his host, except either by the downes alongst the sea side, or else aboue by the high waie, he caused all his manie to oztawe alongst by the coast of the downes, to stop vp that the Frenchmen should not approach that waie. Also the erle of Derby being come thither out of Guien, was appointed to keepe Belwand bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchmen could not approach anie waie, vnlesse they would haue come through the marshes, which to doe was not possible.

Fiftene hundred of the commons of Tourne wan a tower, which the Englishmen had made and kept for the impeachment of the Frenchmens passage by the downes, but that notwithstanding, when the marshals of France had well viewed all the passages and streets through the which their armie must passe, if they meant to fight with the Englishmen, they well perceiued that they could not come to the Englishmen to giue them battell, without the king would lose his people, wherebpon (as Froissard saith) the French king sent the lord Cestrey de Charnie, the lord Eustace de Ribamont, Guie de Pele, and the lord de Beaufieu unto the king of England, which required him on their maisters behalfe to appoint certeine of his counsell, as he would likewise appoint certeine of his, which by common consent might aduise betwene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battell vpon: whereunto the king of England answered, That there he was and had bene almost a whole yeare, which could not be vnknowne to his aduersarie their maister, so that he might haue come sooner if he would: but now, sith he had suffered him there to remaine so long, without offer of battell, he meant not to accomplish his desire, nor to depart from that, which to his great cost he had brought now at length to that point, that he might easilie win it. Wherefore if the French king nor his host could not passe those waies which were closed by the English power, let them seeke some other passage (said he) if they thinke to come hither.

In this meane while came two cardinals from pope Clement, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings, wherebpon commissioners were appointed, as the dukes of Burgoyne and Burbone, the lord Leues de Sanoie, and the lord John de Heimalt, other wise called lord Beaumont, on the French part: and the earles of Derby and Portsmouth, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the lord Walter de Spanne, on the English part. These commissioners and the legates (as intreators betwene the parties) met and communed three daies together, but agreed not vpon anie conclusion, and so the cardinals departed, and the French king perceiuing he could not haue his purpose, brake vp his host and returned to France, bidding Calis farewell. After that the French king with his host was once departed from Sangate, without ministering anie succour to them within the towne, they began to sue for a parlee, which being granted, in the end they were contented to yield, and the king granted to receiue them and the towne on these conditions; that six of the chiefe burgesses of the towne should come forth bareheaded, barefooted, and barelegged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the towne and castell in

The earle of Derby,

The request of the French lords to the king of England,

His answer,

Cardinals set to treat of peace.

They depart.

The French king returneth into France.

The conditions of the surrender of Calis.

R. H.

Chir

Fabian.

The French king alloweth an armie Froissard.

The Flemings besiege Aire.

Meir.

The French king cometh to wards Calis.

their hands, to submit themselves simple to the kings will, and the residue he was contented to take to mercie.

This determinate resolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne, assembled in the market place by the sound of the common bell before the captaine, caused manie a weeping eie amongst them: but in the end, when it was perceived that no other grace would be obtained, six of the most wealthie burgesses of all the towne agreed to hazard their lives for the safeguard of the residue, and so according to the prescript order devised by the king, they went forth the gates, and were presented by the lord Walter de Spauie to the king, before whom they knéled downe, offered to him the keys of the towne, and besought him to haue mercie vpon them. But the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commanded straight that their heads should be stricken off. And although manie of the noble men did make great intreatance for them, yet would no grace be shewed, untill the queene being great with child, came and knéled downe before the king hir husband, and with lamentable chere & weeping eies intreated so much for them, that finally the kings anger was asswaged & his rigor turned to mercie for

Electus namq; uolens regante Deu

so that he gaue the prisoners vnto hir to doe hir pleasure with them. Then the queene commanded them to be brought into hir chamber, and caused the halters to be taken from their necks, clothed them anew, gaue them their dinner, and bestowing vpon each of them six nobles, appointed them to be conuected out of the host in safeguard, and set at libertie.

Thus was the strong towne of Calis yelded vp into the hands of king Edward, the third of August, in the yeare 1347. The captaine the lord John de Wicars, and all the other captaine and men of name were staied as prisoners, and the common soldiers and other meane people of the towne were licenced to depart and vnder their houses, leauing all their armes and riches behind them. The king would not haue any of the old inhabitants to remaine in the towne, saue onlie a priest, and two other ancient personages, such as best knew the customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the towne. He appointed to send ouer thither amongst other Englishmen, there to inhabit, 36 burgesses of London, and those of the wealthie sort, for he meant to people the towne onlie with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defense thereof. The king and queene were lodged in the castell, and continued there, till the queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

The cardinals, of whome ye heard before, being come as legats from pope Clement to moue communication of peace, did so much in the matter, that a truce was granted betwixt the realme of England & France, for the terme of twelue moneths, or two yeares (as Froissard saith). But the English chonicle and Iacobus Meir seeme to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine moneths, though afterwards the same was prolonged. To the which truce all parties agreed, Britaine excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but still pursued the war the one against the other. After that this truce was accorded, the king with the queene his wife returned into England, and left as captaine within Calis one sir Americ de Paue an Italian knight, or (as other bookes haue) he was but captaine of the castell, or of some one of the towres of that towne, which seemeth more like to be true, than that the king should commit the whole charge of the towne vnto his gouernement, being a stranger borne, and therefore Iacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that twiteth how sir Americ de Paue was left but in charge

with the castell onlie, and that the towne was committed to the keeping of the lord John Beauchampe, and lettes his brother.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it seemed to the English people that the summe brake forth after a long cloudie season, by reason both of the great plentie of althings, and remembrance of the late glorious victories: for there were few women that were housekeepers within this land, but they had some furniture of household that had bene brought to them out of France, as part of the spoile got in Caen, Calis, Caranten, or some other good towne. And beside household stuffe, the English maides and matrones were bedecked and trimmed vp in French womens icuels and apparell, so that as the French women lamented for the losse of those things, so our women reioiced of the gaine. In this 22 yeare, from Whitsunmer to Whitsunmasse for the more part it continuallie rained, so that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reason whereof great floods ensued, and the ground therewith was soze corrupted, and manie inconueniences ensued, as great sickness, and other, in somuch that in the yeare following in France the people died wonderfullie in diuerse places. In Italie also, and in manie other countries, as well in the lands of the infidels, as in chistendome, this grieuous mortallitie reigned to the great destruction of people. About the end of August, the like death began in diuerse places of England, and especiallie in London, continuing so for the space of twelue moneths following. And vpon that ensued great barrennesse, as well of the sea, as the land, neither of them yielding such plentie of things as before they had done. Where vpon vittels and coze became scant and hard to come by.

About the same time died John Stretford archbishop of Canturburie, after whome succeeded John Wifford, who liued not in that dignitie past ten moneths, and then followed Thomas Wiedwardin, who deceased within one yeare after his consecration, so that then Simon Alap was consecrated archbishop by pope Clement the first, being the 53 archbishop that had sit in that seat. Within a while after, William archbishop of Yorke died: in whose place succeeded John Torsbie, being the 44 archbishop that had gouerned that church. Whereouer in this 23 yeare of king Edwards reigne, the great mortallitie in England still continuing, there was a practise in hand for recovering againe of Calis to the French kings possession. The lord Gessrie of Charnie lieng in the towne of S. Omers, did practise with sir Americ de Paue, to be receined into the towne of Calis by the castell, secretly in the night season. The Italian gaue eare to the lord Gessrie his sute; and to make few words, couenanted for the summe of twentie thousand crownes to betraie the towne vnto him, in such sort as he could best deuise.

Here writers varie: for Froissard saith that king Edward had information thereof, before that sir Americ de Paue uttered the thing himselfe; but the French chronicles, and also other writers assure, that the Italian aduertised the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him & the lord Gessrie of Charnie, before he went through with the bargain. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priue to the matter at Haueing Bowler in Essex (where he kept the feast of Whitsunmasse) & there vpon departing from thence, he came to Dover, and the daie before the night of the appointment made for the deliuerie of the castell of Calis (hauing secretly made his provision he took shipping, and landed the same night at Calis, in so secret manner, that but few of the towne understood of his arrival, he brought

Six burgesses of Calis presented to the king.

The queene obtained their pardon.

Calis yelded to the king of England.

Calis made a colonte of Englishmen.

The queene brought to bed in the castell of Calis. Polydor.

Caxton, la. Meir. A truce.

women hard to agree.

Sir Americ de Paue.

1347

Anno Regis Edwardi

1347

Anno Regis Edwardi

Death

36

Whitsun

Fabian

Froissard

The king

secretly

The Lord
of the
Universe.

1350

Sir Edward
to Kent.

The king crieth
Hanne
to the rescue.

The earles of
Stafford and
Suffolke, the
lordes Mont-
acute, Serkley
and la ware,

The French-
men alight
on foot.

Sir Gastace
 to Ribaumot
 a right val-
 ant knight.

He is taken
prisoner by
the king of
England.
The lord Des-
fric de Char-
nie is taken.

30

Anno Reg. 24.
The death
ceaseth.
Auesdurie.

Men bozne
With fewer
teeth than in
times past.
Caxton.
Tho. Walsin.
Polychron.

Auesburie.
Thom. Wa

A Spanish
fleet.
Spaniards
vanquish'd by
the K. of En-
gland by sea.

பி.ந.சு.

either

Thom. Wall.

Auesburie.

Froissard.

Sir Thomas
Dagworth
flame.Ambassadors
sent to the
pope.Anno Reg 25.
1351

Froissard.

The castell
of Guines
wone.

Polydor.

either on the Englishmens weapons points, or else were they drowned there in the sea, six and twentie of their ships were taken, in the which was found great store of good ware and riches. And so the king thought himselfe well reuenged of the Spaniards, which in the last yeare about Alhallontide, had entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth by towards Burdeaur, and there finding manie ships fraught with wines, slew all the Englishmen they found aboard, and tooke alwaie the ships with them: which iniurie moued the king to enterpise this exploit now at this time against them.

About the beginning of August, sir Raoull de Cahors, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, to the number of six score men of armes, fought before a castell called Aukon, with sir Thomas Dagworth, and there slew the same sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him. There were sent sollemne messengers this yeare vnto Rymington for the establishing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the king of England and France, at the sute of the pope, so that king Edward should haue resigned his title and claime to the crowne of France, and the French king should haue giuen ouer vnto him the whole duchie of Guen, to hold the same free, without knowledging of reioynt or superiority, or doing any manner of homage for the same: but such delays were made, and the sute so prolonged by the pope, that the earle of Derby, who with others was sent to him about this matter, returned without speake of his purpose for the which he went.

In the sixe and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Frenchmen hauing laid siege vnto the towne of saint John Dangel, the lord Dalbretson, hauing assembled six hundred men of armes, Gascoignes and Englishmen, meant to worke some feat for reliefe of them within, wher vpon, as he was marching through the countrie of Flandre, nere vnto Aunets the eighth of April, (as other haue) the first, he was encountered by the lord Guie de Beill, one of the marshals of France, & other French lords, where at length, the Frenchmen were discomfited, manie also slaine, and diuerse taken prisoners, of which number was the said marshall, with his brother the lord William, and sir Arnold de Wandreghen, beside others, to the number of 300 men of armes, but yet the siege remained, till for want of vittells the towne was rendered to the Frenchmen.

The same yeare in October, an English archer of the garrison of Calis, named John of Dancaster, by licence of the lord deputy of Calis, took with him threescore persons men of armes and archers, and in the night that goeth before the feast daie of S. Vincent, in the last quarter of the same night, he comming to the castell of Guines, found as well the watch as others fast asleep, wher vpon he passed a water that adioined to the castell, wading vp to the girdle, and so came to the wall, where he & his companie rearing by ladders, mounted by the same so secretly, that slaying the watch, being not past thre or foure persons that were on the walls, they entred the castell, and finding the Frenchmen asleep, slew those that vpon their wakening made any defense, and took the residue, whome they suffered to depart: and by this meanes they won the castell, finding great store of vittells within, and so as they found it, they kept it to the king of Englands vse. The French histories declare, that one Guillem de Beaumconroy that was captaine of this castell, betrayed the place to the Englishmen, for a summe of monie, and when the French king required restitution because the truce was not yet expired, he was shuffed off with this forged answer, that nothing was excepted by the assurance of the truce, concerning things that should be

bought and sold. The Frenchman that betrayed it, was shortly after put to execution at Amiens.

In this yeare were the first pences of silver called grotes and halfe grotes of foure pence & two pence the pence stamped, by the kings appointment, through the counsell of William de Coldington bishop of Winchester lord treasurer. Before that time, there were no other coines, but the noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the pences of silver called sterlings. Bicause these new pences wanted of the weight of the old sterling coine, the prices as well of vittells as of other wares, did daily rise, and ser-
uants and workemen waring more craftie then before time they had bene, demanded great wages. This yeare, vpon the euen of the Assumption of our lordie, sir John Bentlie knight, as then lord warden of Britaine, fought with the lord Guie de Beill, marshall of France (latelic ransomed out of captiuitie) in the parts of Britaine, nere to a place called Houdon, betwixt Rennes and Blarencell, where the said marshall was slaine, together with the lord of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beaunais, and diuerse other both Britains and Frenchmen.

In the seuen and twentieth yeare of his reigne, Edward held a parlement at Westmynster, after the feast of Easter, in which an ordinance was deuised, that wages for servants and laborers should be allowed, prohibiting them to receive above the rate which they were accustomed to take before the yeare of the great mortallitie. Seruants and laborers were indeed growen to be more suball than before time they had bene; but by reason of the prices of things were enhanced, it is like they demanded greater wages than they had done before time: and one cause of the dearth was imputed to the new coine of monie, being of lesse weight in the value thereof, than before it had bene, so that the bishop of Winchester being lord treasurer, who had counselled the king to ordeine those grotes and halfe grotes, was euill spoken of amongst the people. In this parlement there were statutes also made, that clothes should in length and in breadth through the realme, beare the same assise, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Northampton. Also, that all weares, milles, and other lets, should be removed forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance of ships, boats, or lighters to passe by and downe the same. But these good ordinances took little or none effect, by reason of bribes that walke abroad, and friendship of lords and great men, that sought rather their owne commoditie, than the common-wealths.

Shortly after the feast of Pentecost, the earle of Derby and Lancaster was made duke of Lancaster, and Rafe lord Stafford was created earle of Stafford. Whereas there had bene a treatie betwixt the lords of Britaine, and the king of England, not onelie for the deliuerance of the lord Charles de Blois, but also for the matching of his eldest sonne in marriage with one of king Edwards daughters, and so to introy the dukedome in peace: this matter was so far forwards, that in the yeare last passed, the said lord Charles, leauing two of his sonnes and a daughter in pledge for the payment of forty thousand francs, agreed vpon for his ransom; he was permitted to returne into Britaine to provide that monie: and withall, to procure a dispensation, that his eldest sonne might marrie with one of king Edwards daughters, notwithstanding that other wise they were within the degrees of consanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Where vpon this yeare about Michaelmas, he returned into England with the same dispensation: but because about the same time the Britains had taken by stealth an island with a castell therein, that the Englishmen had kept, & put all those which they found

round therein, to the sword, the said lord Charles, or
thertwile duke of Britaine, lost the kings fauour, so
that he would heare no more of anie such aliance, by
waie of marriage, as had bene communed of be-
fore: by reason whereof the Britissh lords, that were
in great number come ouer with the lord Charles de
Blois, were constrained to returne home, without
atchiuing anie part of their purpose, leauing the said
lord Charles and his chyldren behind them still here
in England.

Debate be-
tween the
dukes of
Brunswike &
Lancaster.

Auesburie.
Thom. Wall.
schmish that
this remou-
ing of the
staple of
wools was the
cause of
the death of
Edward's
sonne.

Fabian.

Sir Walter
Bentle com-
mitted to the
tower.

3 great
brought.

3 dearth.

Carron.

Carron brought
out of Zeland.

1354
Anno Reg. 28.
Thom. Wall.
Auesburie.

3 truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
France.

On the fourth day of September, the duke of
Brunswike and the duke of Lancaster should haue
fought a combat in Paris, about wordes the duke of
Lancaster should speake, in derogation of the duke
of Brunswikes hono: for the which the said duke had
appealed him in the court of France: but when they
were ready to haue tried it, and were on horsebacke
with their speares in hand within the lists, at point to
haue runne together, the French king caused them
to staie, and taking on him the matter, made them
friends, and agreed them. This yere the king by ad-
uise of his counsell remoued the mart or staple of
wools from the towne in Flanders, and caused the
same to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Lin-
colne, Wilsowe, Canturburie and Hull. This was
done in despite of the Flemings, because they held
not the coucnants and agreements which they had
made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arte-
ueld, by whose prouision the said mart or staple had
bene kept in sundrie townes in Flanders, to their
great advantage and commoditie.

Sir Walter Bentle, upon his comming ouer
forth of Britaine, where he had bene the kings licen-
tenant, was committed to the tower, where he re-
mained prisoner for the space of twelue moneths, be-
cause he refused to deliuer by the castels within his
gouernement, unto sir John Auenell knight, being
appointed to receiue the same, to the vse of the lord
Charles de Blois, at the same time when the treatie
of agreement was in hand, betwixt the king, and the
said lord Charles. But after, when it was perceiued
that damage might haue ensued by deliuerie of those
castels, sir Walter was set at libertie vpon suerties
yet they were bound for his forth comming, and that
he should not depart the realme: at length, he was
receiued againe into the kings fauour. In the sum-
mer of this seauen and twentieth yere, was so great
a drought, that from the latter end of March, fell lit-
tle raine, till the latter end of Iulie, by reason where-
of, manie inconueniences ensued: and one thing is
speciallie to be noted, that cometh the yere following
ward scant, and the price began this yere to be
greatlie inhauced. Also beemes and muttons wared
deere for the want of grasse, and this chanced both in
England and France, so that this was called the
deere summer. The lord William duke of Bauere
or Bawarie, and earle of Zeland, brought manie
ships into London, fraught with rie, for relafe of
the people, who otherwise had, through their present
pinching penurie, if not betterlie perished, yet pittie-
fullie pined.

In the eight and twentieth yere of king Edwards
reigne, upon a treatie that was holden by committ-
oners, appointed by the two kings of England and
France, after Calster, they were in maner sollie a-
gried vpon a peace, so that nothing wanted, but put-
ting vnto their scales. In the articles whereof it was
contained, that the king of England should intoy all
the lants of his dutchie of Aquitaine, without hold-
ing the same of anie by homage, or resort, and in con-
sideration thereof he should resigne all his claime to
the crowne of France. Wherevpon were ambassa-
dors sent from either king, vnto the pope, and a truce
taken, to indure till the feast of saint John Baptist

in the peare next following. Ambassadors for the
king of England were these: Henrie duke of Lan-
caster, John earle of Arundell, the bishops of Por-
towich and London, and the lord Guie de Brian. For
the French king, the archbishop of Rouen lord chan-
cello: of France, the duke of Burbon, and others:
but when the matter came to be heard before the pope
about Chistmasse, all went to smoke that had bene
talked of: for the Frenchmen denied that the arti-
cles were drawne according to the meaning of their
commissioners, and the pope also winked at the mat-
ter, so that the English ambassadors (when they saw
that nothing would be concluded) returned home all
of them) the bishop of Portowich excepted who depar-
ted this life there) and so their iourne came to none
effect.

This yere, the tenth of February, there rose a sore
debate betwixt the scholers and towncsmen of Ox-
ford. The occasion rose by reason of the falling out
of a scholer with one that sold wine: for the scholer
perceiuing himselfe euill bled, potwized the wine on
the brewers head, knocking the pot about his pate, so
as the blood ranne downe by his eares. Where vpon
began a soze fraie betwixt the scholers and towncs-
men, which continued for the most part of two daies
together. There were twentie towncsmen slaine, be-
side those that were hurt: but at length, there came
a great number of countremen forth of the villa-
ges next adioining, to aid the towncsmen, entring
the towne with a blacke banner, and so fiercelie assai-
led the scholers, that they were constrained to flee to
their houses and hostels, but their enemies pursuing
them, brake vp their doores, entered their chambers,
slew diuerse of them, and threw them into priuies,
tare their bookes, and bare awaie their goods. The
scholers herewith tooke such displeasure, that they
departed the vniuersitie: those of Mertton college,
and other the like colleges onelie excepted.

The bishop of Lincoln inhibited priests to cele-
brate diuine seruice in presence of anie laic man
within that towne of Drenford; and the king send-
ing his iustices thither, to take knowledge of this dis-
orderlie riot, there were diuerse, both of the towne-
smen and scholers indited, and certeine of the burgess
committed to ward. ¶ This yere, the first sun-
daie in Lent, the king held a roiall iustes at Wood-
stoke, for ioy of the quenes purifying, after the birth
of his first sonne, the lord Thomas, whome the bishop
of Durham (named Thomas) held at the fontfaine:
he was bozne the seauenth of Januarie last past. In
the parlement holden at Westminster this yere af-
ter Calster, the king tooke vpon him to make an end
of the quarrell betwixt the scholers and towncsmen
of Drenford, and sauing to euerie man his right,
pardoned the scholers of all transgressions: and this
he signified into euerie shire, by writs directed to the
shiriffes, they to proclame the same for moze notice
of the thing. And so in the summer following, the vni-
uersitie began againe to flourish, students resoz-
ning thither from each side, and falling afresh to their
academicall exercises, which they needed not to haue
discontinued, if either partie, I meane the towne-
smen or scholers, would haue tolerated and bozne one
with another, and not so rashlie haue undertaken the
reueenge of one anothers wrath and iniurie; but,

Oderunt pacem fultis & certamina querunt.

In this parlement, the processe of the iudgement
had and made against Roger Mortimer, late earle of
March, was reuoked, aduohated, and made void, so
that the lord Roger Mortimer was restored to the
title and possessions of the earldome of March, as
couline and heire to his grandfather the said earle of
March. Wherevpon, to this parlement came the bishop
of Carpentras, and the abbat of Clugnie, being sent
from

1355
Anno Reg. 29.
Debate be-
twixt the scho-
lers & towne-
men of Oxen-
ford.

Thom. Wall.
Auesburie.
The quarrell
appealed be-
twixt the
scholers and
townesmen of
Drenford.

from pope Innocent the first, to make sute to haue the truce p[ro]posed betwixt the two kings, of Eng- land and France, to whome the king himselte in per- son made this resolute answer, that he would not a- gree to any longer truce; for that, when diuerse times at the Frenchmens sute, he had consented to haue truce by mediation of two cardinals, sent to him about the same matter, his aduersaries in the meane time, whilest such truces indured, had done much harme and damage by subtill practises to per- sons and places beyond the sea, that were vnder his rule and gouernement, yet he said he would delibe- rate hereof with his counsell, and after intimate his pleasure to the pope, and to them of France by messengers which he would send ouer for that pur- pose: and so these ambassadors within foure daies after their comming, were thus dispatched with an- swer. Herewith in this parlement it was ordeined, that the prince of Wales, being as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, should passe ouer into Gascoigne, and haue with him a thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers, with a great num- ber of Welchmen.

Aueslurie.
A nauie pre-
pared.

The duke of
Lancaster.

About the same time the king caused foure ships to be p[ro]vided, rigged, and made readie at Ruther- hime, furnished with vittells for one quarter of a yere, and euerie of the said ships had principall streamers of the duke of Lancasters armes, who was appointed with a great power of chosen men of armes and ar- chers to passe to the sea with the same ships, but few of none of his companie knew whither; howles they had none. He had with him two of the kings sonnes, Lionell of Antwerpe, and John of Gant, the elder of them being about sixtene yeares of age. Also, there went with him the earles of Northampton, March, and Stafford, beside manie lords, barons, & knights. On the tenth of Iulie, he made saile to Greenewich, and there and at Sandwich he staid, till the Assump- tion of our ladie, the wind for the most part continu- ing all that while at west and south, contrarie to his iourne, as it might appeare. At length with much dif- ficultie he came to Winchelse, & after to the Weight. It was thought, that the dukes purpose was to passe into Normandie, to ioint with the king of Nauarre, who was at variance with the French king. But after it was knoven by espials that they were made friends, the duke of Lancaster doubting crooked measures, and hauing with him no horsemen, retur- ned home without further attempt.

Record. Tur.

On saint Benetines daie being fridaye, and the 17 of Iulie, master Humfrie Carleton p[ro]fessor of diuinitie, and John Carleton the younger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuersitie of Ox- ford, and John saint Fridewide maior, John Bere- ford, and John Porton, burgesses of the said towne of Oxford, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the same towne, came before the kings counsell at Westminster in the counsell chamber there, nere to the chereker, where the allegations on both parties being heard, and upon request made, that it might please his maiesties counsell, according to the submis- sions by both parties made vnto the king and to his counsell, to take order in the matter in controuersie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and busi- nesse which had chanced in the said towne, by the dis- order of the communaltie of the same, in breaking do- wne, and burning bp of houses, in taking awaie the bookes and other goods of the said masters and scholers, & in committing other transgressions. The counsell hauing consideration thereof, to auoid the decaie that might haue ensued to the said towne, made this end betwixt them, that the said towne (John Beresford, being in the kings prison, and Ro- bert Lardiner onelic excepted) should be bound to

The end and
award made
of the quarrell

passe vnto the said masters and scholers, dammified in the said tumult and businesse, for amends, and refo- mation of iniuries and losses susteyned (death and maiue excepted) two hundred and fiftie pounds, beside the goods taken and bozne awaie, to be resto- red againe, and this monie to be paid to the said chancellor, masters and scholers, on that side the mon- daie next before the feast of saint James, or else suffi- cient suerties put in for the paiement thereof, at cer- teine termes, as the parties should agree vpon: and in respect thereof, the said John Beresford, and John Porton, shall be released out of prison of the Spar- thalsea, at the baile of the said maior, and of Robert de Henkes, and John Dimmocks, till the next sessi- ons of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the said summes of monie be paid, or suerties put in for the paiement thereof, as before is said, or else the bodie of the said John Beresford, & John de Porton, shall be returned to the said prison, within thre daies after the feast of Peter ad Vincula, there to remaine in manner as before they did.

It was also ordeined by the counsell, with the as- sent of the said Humfrie and John Carleton, that all and euerie manner of persons of the said towne of Oxford, and the suburbs of the same, indicted and ar- reigned of the felonies and transgressions before mentioned, that should yeld themselves to the kings prison to be tried by law, and also all other that were at that present in prison, which the said Humfrie and John de Carleton should name (John de Beresford and Robert Lardiner excepted) might be let to baile, vpon sufficient suerties, that should undertake for them, bodie for bodie, to appeare at the next sessi- ons of gaole deliuerie, there to be tried, according to the order of law. And further it was ordered, that all such goods and cattels as were taken and carried awaie from the said masters and scholers in the said tumult and businesse, by the men of the said towne and suburbs, in whose hands, and in what places soe- uer within the said towne and suburbs, by inquisiti- ons, informations, or other meanes, they should or might be found, should be deliuered to the said chan- cellor, and p[ro]curators of the said Vniuersitie, to be by them restored vnto those persons, to whome they belonged. This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the reverent fathers, John archbishop of Yorke primate and chancellor of Eng- land, William bishop of Winchester lord treasurer, Thomas de Beempe lord keeper of the priue seale, and Dauid de Wollore master of the rolles, Henrie de Angelbie cleerke, and other of the kings counsell then and there present.

The prince of Wales (as ye haue heard) being ap- pointed to passe ouer into Gascoigne, set forward from London the last daie of June, and comming to Plimouth, where his nauie was appointed to be made readie, he staid there, for want of conuenient wind and weather a long time after. Finallie, ha- ving with him the earles of Warwick, Suffolke, Salisburie & Oxford, also the lord John Chandals, sir Robert Knols, sir Franke de Hall, the lord James Audelle, with diuerse other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers a great number, then in parlement to him assigned, he first set from Plim- mouth on the daie of the Ascension of our ladie. They were in all thre hundred saile, and finding the wind prosperous, they passed ouer into Gascoigne, where of the Gascoignes they were iustlie receiued. In August, the Englishmen that were in Britaine, warring against the Frenchmen, that toke part with the lord Charles de Blois, sue manie of them, & toke the lord of Beaumanoir, the vicount of Roan, and diuerse other. This yeare also, about Michael- masse, the king hauing summoned an armie to be

The Wall.
The prince of
Wales goes
ouer into
Gascoigne.

readie

An. Reg. 29.

The title of London.

The king in the north France. The lord Boucicant.

England. The king for want of victuals returned.

Auchurie.

The constable of France demanding battell.

The answer made to him.

Frenches taken by Scots.

Parliament.

readie at Sandwich, passed ouer to Calis with the same. There went ouer with him his two sonnes, Lionel of Antwerp earle of Ulster, and John of Gant earle of Richmond. He found at Calis a thousand men of armes that came to serue him for wages, forty of Flanders, Brabant, and Almaigne, so that he had about thre thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers on horsebacke, beside archers on foot a great number. The cite of London had sent to him five hundred men of armes, and five hundred archers all in one sute of liuerie, at their owne costs and charges. On the second of Nouember, he set from Calis, marching forth towards saint Omers, waisting the countrie by the waie as he passed.

The French king being at the same time within the towne of saint Omers, sent the lord Boucicant vnto the king of England, that vnder colour of communication, he might vield the kings power, who made such report thereof, vpon his returne backe to the French king, that he determined not to fight with the king of England, but rather to passe before him, and so to destroye vittells, that for want thereof, the king of England should be constrained to returne. And as he determined, so it came to passe, for the vittells were so cut off, that the Englishmen for thre full daies together, drank nothing but water. When therefore king Edward had followed his enemies so farre as Heiden, where he brake the parke, and burnt the houses within and about the parke, although he entered not into the towne nor castell, at length, for default of vittells, he returned backe, and came againe to Calis on saint Martins day, being the tenth after his setting forth from thence.

The morrow after being thursdate, and the twelue of Nouember, the constable of France, and other Frenchmen, came to the end of the cause of Calis, with letters of credence, offering battell on tuesdaie next following vnto the king of England, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Northampton, and the lord Walter de Manny, who in the kings behalfe declared to the constable, that the king of England, to eschew shedding of blood, would fight with the French king bodie to bodie, so to trie their right: and if he liked not of that match, then if he would chuse thre or foure knights to him that were nextest to him in blood, he should chuse the like number. But when this offer would not be accepted, the English lords offered battell the next day, being friday, or else on saturday following, at the Frenchmens choice: but the constable of France and his companie, continuing in their first offer, refused both those daies. When the English lords accepted the daie by them assigned, with condition, that if they brought not king Edward to giue battell that day, they would yeeld themselves prisoners, so that the Frenchmen would like wise undertake for their king. The constable hauing no answer readie, staied a while, and after that he refused to make any such couenant. Finally, when the English lords perceived their aduerfaries, not to meane battell, as their words at the first pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home. The king of England staied till the tuesdaie, and paid the strangers their wages, and so came backe into England. On the first of Nouember, whilst the king was thus abroad in Picardie, the Scots berie earle in the morning of that daie, came priuile to Berwik, entred by stealth into the towne, and sleaing thre or foure Englishmen, took it, with all the goods and persons within it, those excepted, which got to the castell.

In a parliament summoned this yeare, the morrow after the feast of saint Edmund the king, the lords and commons granted to king Edward fiftie thousand of euerie sacke of woll, that should be car-

ed ouer the sea, for the space of six yeares next ensuing. By this grant it was thought, that the king might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day, such vent of wools had the English merchants in that season. The parlement being ended the king about s. And whos tide set forward towards Scotland, and held his Christmasse at Newcastle. About which time by letters sent from the prince, the king was aduertised of his proceedings after his arrivall in Gascoigne, where being instant receiued of the nobles, and other the people of that countrie (as before we haue heard) he declared to them the cause of his thither comming, and toke aduise with them how to proceed in his businesse, and so about the tenth of October, he set forward to passe against his enemies, first entring into a countrie called Juliake, which together with the fortresses yeilded to him, without any great resistance. Then he rode through the countrie Armignac, waisting and spoiling the countrie, and so passed through the lands of the vicounts de la Riviere, and after entered into the countie de l'Estrac, and passing through the same, came to the countie of Comniges, finding the towne of s. Patrain void, being a good towne & one of the best in that countrie.

After this, he passed by the land of the earle of Albion, till he came within a league of Tholouse, where the earle of Armignac, being the French kings lieutenant in those parts, and other great lords and nobles were assembled. The prince with his armie tarried there two daies, and after passed ouer the riuier of Garonne, and after ouer an other riuier the reabonts, a league about Tholouse, lodging that night a league on the other side of Tholouse; and so they passed thorough Tholouse, daile taking townes & castels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrie was verie plentifull. Upon Alhalloves euen, they came to castell Paudarie, and from thence they toke the waie to Carcasson, into the which a great number of men of armes and commons were with dratone. But vpon the approach of the Englishmen, they slept a waie, and got them to a strong castell that stood nere at hand. The third day after, the Englishmen burnt the towne, and passing forth, trauesed all the countrie of Carcassonois, till they came to the towne of Barbonne. The people there were fled into the castell, in which the vicount of Barbonne was inclosed, with five hundred men of arms. The prince staied there two daies. The pope sent two bishops towards the prince, to treat with him of peace, but because the prince would not hearken to any treatie without commission from his father, they could not get any safe conduct to approach nether.

The prince hauing aduertisements here, that his enemies were assembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meet them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the earle of Armignac, the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the prince of Orange, with diuerse other nere to Tholouse, made some shew to impeach the prince his passage, yet in the end they withdrew, not without some losse, for the lord Bartholomew de Burwalch alias Burghetich, sir John Chandois, the lord James Audeley, and sir Thomas Felton, being sent forth to vield them, skirmished with two hundred of their men of armes, and toke of them five and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abide the English power, but still shanke a waie, as the prince was readie to follow them, and so he perceiving that the Frenchmen would not giue him battell, he withdrew towards Burdeaur, after he had spent eight weekes in that his iourne, and so comming thither, he wintered there, whilst his captiues in the meane time toke diuerse townes and castels abroad in the countrie. And now to the end we may haue moze plaine

The proceedings of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine.

Carcasson.

Barbonne.

Two bishops sent from the pope to the prince of Wales.

Informa: tion of the princes doings in those parties,
I haue thought good to make you partakers of a let-
ter or two, written by sir John Winkesfield knight,
attendant on the prince there in Gascoigne.

The copie of sir Iohn Winke-
fields letters.



My lord, as touching the newes in
these parts, may it please you to
vnderstand, that all the earles,
barons, baronets, knights, and
esquiers, were in helth at the making here-
of, and my lord hath not lost either knight or
esquier in this boiage, except the lord John
Lille, who was slaine after a strange man-
ner with a quarrell, the third day after we
were entered into our enimies countreies,
he died the fiftenth of October. And please
it you to vnderstand, that my lord hath rid-
den through the countreie of Arminac, and
hath taken many fensed townes, and burnt
and destroyed them, except certeine which
he hath fortified. After this, he marched in-
to the vicountie of Rouergne, where he
tooke a good towne named Pleasance, the
chiefest towne of that countreie, which he
hath burnt and destroyed, with the coun-
trie round about the same. This done, he
went into the countie d'Alstrie, wherein he
tooke manie townes, wasted and destroyed
all the countreie. After this, he entered into
the countreie of Cominge, and toke manie
townes there, which he caused to be de-
stroyed & burnt, together with all the coun-
trie abroad. He toke also the towne of S.
Matau, which is the chiefest towne of that
countreie, being as large in compasse as
Rozwich.

Afterward, he entered into the countie
of Lille, and toke the most part of the fen-
sed townes therein, causing diuerse of them
to be burnt and destroyed as he passed. And
after entring into the lordship of Tholouse,
we passed the riuer of Girond, and an other
a league aboue Tholouse, which is verie
great: for our enimies had burnt all the
bridges, as well on the one side of Tho-
louse, as the other, except the bridges with
in Tholouse, for the riuer runneth through
the towne. And the constable of France,
the marshall Cleremont, and the earle of
Arminac, were with a great power with-
in the towne the same time. And Tholouse
is a great towne, strong, faire, and well
walled, and there was none in our host
that knew the fowd there: but yet by the
grace and godnesse of God we found it.
So then we marched through the seignio-
rie of Tholouse, & toke manie good townes
inclosed, and burnt and destroyed them, and
all the countreie about.

Then we entred into the seigniozie of
Carcason, and we toke manie good towns,
before we came to Carcason, which towne
we also toke, which is greater, stronger, &
fairer than Poze. And as well this towne
as all other townes in the countreie were
burnt and destroyed. And after we had pas-

sed by manie iournies through the coun-
trie of Carcason, we came into the seig-
niozie of Narbon, and we toke manie
townes, and wasted them, till we came to
Narbon, which towne was holden against
vs, but it was wonne by force, and the said
towne is little lesse than London, and is si-
tuat vpon the Grekish sea, for that the di-
stance from the said towne vnto the Gre-
kish sea is not past two leagues, and there
is an haueu and a place to arrive at, from
whence the water cometh by to Narbon.
And Narbon is not but elcuen leagues di-
stant from Mountpellier, & eightene from
Eguemorts, & thirtie from Tugnon. And
may it please you to vnderstand, that the
holie father sent his messengers to my lord,
that were not past seuen leagues fro him,
and they sent a sergant at armes, that
was sergeant at armes attendant on the
doze of our holie fathers chamber, with
their letters to my lord, praieing him to
haue a safe conduct to come to declare to
his highnesse their message from the holie
father, which was to treat betwixt my L.
and his aduersaries of France: and the said
sergeant was two daies in the host before
my lord would see him, or receiue his let-
ters. And the reason was, bicause he had
vnderstanding, that the power of France
was come forth of Tholouse toward Car-
cason, so that my lord was driuen to turne
backe towards them suddenlie, and so did.

On the third daie when we should haue
come vpon them, they had knowlege guen
before day, and so retiring, got them to the
mounteins, halting fast toward Tholouse;
and the countreie people that were their
guides to lead them that waie, were taken
as they should haue passed the water. And
bicause the popes sergeant at armes was
in my keeping, I caused him to examine the
guides that were so taken; and for that the
guide which was thus examined, was the
constables guide, and his countreiman, he
might well see and know the countenance
of the Frenchmen vpon this examining
him. And I said to the same sergeant, that
he might well declare to the pope, and to
all them of Auignon, that which he had
heard or seene. And as touching the answer
which my lord made to them that were sent
to treat with him, you would be well apaid
if you vnderstood all the maner; for he would
not suffer in any wise that they should come
nearer vnto him. But if they came to treat
of any matter, he would that they should
send to the king his father: for my lord him-
selfe would not doo any thing therein, except
by commandement from my lord his fa-
ther.

And of my lords turning backe to follow
after his enimies, and of the passage of the
riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of cas-
tles and townes in this iournie, and of o-
ther things which he hath done against
his enimies in pursuit of them in this
iournie, being things right woorthie and no-
table, as manie know verie well, in like
maner

maner as sir Richard Stafford, & sir William Burton can more plainelie declare, than I to you can write, for it were too much to put in writing. And my lord rode thus abroad in the countrie of his enemies eight whole weekes, and rested not past eleven daies in all those places where he came. And know it for certeine, that since this warre began against the French king he had neuer such losse or destruction as he hath had in this iourne: for the countreies and good townes which were wasted at this iourne, found to the king of France euerie yeare more to the maintenance of his warre than halfe his realme hath don beside, except the exchange of his monie which he maketh euerie yeare, and the advantage and custome which he taketh of them of Poitou, as I can shew you by good remembrances, which were found in diuerse townes in the receivers houses: for Carcason and le Moignes, which is as great as Carcason, and two other townes in the coasts of Carcason, found to the king of France pannelle wages for a thousand men of armes: and beside that 100000 old crowns to mainteine the war.

And know you, that by the remembrances which we found, that the townes in Choulole which are destroyed, and the townes in the countrie of Carcason, and the towne of Marbonne and Marbonnois did find euerie yeare with the summs aforesaid, in aid of his war, foure hundred thousand old crownes, as the burgesses of the great townes & other people of the countrie which ought to know it, haue told vs. And so by Gods assistance if my lord had wherewith to mainteine this warre, and to make the kings profit and his owne honor, he should well enlarge the English marches, and gaine manie faire places: for our enemies are greatlie astonied. And at the making hereof, my lord hath appointed to send all the earles and baronets to abide in certeine places on the marches, to make roads, and to annoie his enemies. Now my lord, at this present I know none other newes to send, but you may by your letters command me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God grant you good life, joy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the tuesdaie next before Chastmasse.

The tenor of an other letter written by sir John Wingfield, directed to sir Richard Stafford knight, who had beene in Gascoigne, and there leaving his familie, was now returned into England.

Right deare sir, and right louing friend, touching newes after your departure, you may vnderstand, that there be taken and yelded fure townes inclosed, to wit, port saint Marie, Cleirac, Comings, Burgh, saint Pierre, Chastell Sacret or Satrat, and Brassake. Also seauentene castles, to wit, Collier, Baret, Lemmake, two castles

called Boloines, which ioine the one nere to the other, Hounicy, Wrelich, Freche-net, Mountender, Budeschales, Hounpoun, Montanac, Caleclare, Cernamont, Leistrake, Blaffac, Cont Destabilon, and Hounriuell. And will it please you to know that my lord John Chandois, my lord James Audoley, and your men that are with them, and the other Gascoignes that are in their companie, & my lord Baldwin Butetort, & that companie, & my lord Reignald Cobham, took the said towne, which is called Chastell Sacret or Satrat, by assault: and the bastard of Lisle which was capteine of the said towne was also slaine there, as they assaulted it, being stricken with an arrow thorough the head: and my lord Reignald is returned backe toward Languedocke: and my lord Baldwin towards Brassake, with their companies: and the lords John & James, and those of their companie remaine in Chastell Satrat, and haue vittis plentie of all sorts to serue them between this and Midsummer, except fresh fish and cabages as they haue certified vs by letters, wherefore ye need not take care for your men.

And there be in that towne more than three hundred glaues, and three hundred peomen, and a hundred and fiftie archers. And they haue rid before Agen, and burnt and destroyed all their milles, and haue burnt and broken downe all their bridges that lie ouer Garon, and haue taken a castell without the same towne, and haue fortified it. And monsieur John Darminake, and the seneshall of Algenois, which were in the towne of Agen, would not once put forth their head, nor anie of their people, and yet haue they bene twice before that towne. And monsieur Bulgaud was come, and monsieur Ernald de Spaine, and Grimon de Chambule, with three hundred glaues, and three sergeants Lombards, and they are in the towne of Hulschacke, which is in Cressie, and it is but a mile from Chastell Satrat or Sacret, and a league from Bressake, and ye may well thinke that there will be good companie one with another.

And further may it please ye to know, that monsieur Bartholomew is at Cernake with six score men of armes of my lords house, & six score archers, & the capitall de Buche or Beuf, the A. Monferrant, & the A. of Crotonie, which haue with them 300 glaues, & six score archers, and two hundred sergeants, beside them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanne, and Rochford, so that when they are together, they may be well six hundred glaues, and at the making hereof, they were vpon a iourne towards Anou and Poitou, and the earles of Suffolke, Oxford, and Salisburie, the lord of Hufeden, monsieur Ellis de Dommers, and other Gascoignes, with the which are well more then fure hundred glaues, and two hundred sergeants, and three hundred archers, and they were at the making hereof

Bulfacant

The capitall de Beuf.

hereof toward the parties of Rosfredame de Rochemade, and haue bene forth aboute twelue dates, and were not returned at the sending of these presents. My lord John Chandois, my lord James, and my lord Baldwin, and those which be in their compaignie are also forth upon a iourne toward their parties; my lord Reinold and those of the household, with the Gascoigns which be in their compaignie, are also forth upon a iourne towards their parties.

The earle of Warwike hath bene at Tonings & Clerake, to take those towne, and at the making hereof was gone towards Hermande to destroe their vines, and all other things which he can destroe of theirs. My lord is at Leiboine, and the lord of Bomiers at Fronlak, which is but a quarter of a leage from Leiboine: and my lord's people lie as well at saint Whilton, as at Leiboine, and monsieur Berard de Bret is there with him, and my lord looketh for newes which he should haue, and according to the news that he shall haue, he will behaue himselfe: for as it semeth, he standeth much on his honoz. At the making hereof, the earle of Arminac was at Auignion, and the king of Aragon is there also: & of all other parties which haue bene in diuerse places (whereof you know) I can not certifie you at the making hereof. Right dere sir, other thing I can not send unto you, but that you remember your selfe to send newes to my lord prince as soone as in anie wise you may, and so the Lord grant you good life and long. Written at Leiboine the 21 of Januarie.

These letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I find them in the chronicle of Robert Auesburie, to the end ye may perceiue how other writers agree therewith, with the same letters may serue as a touchstone to trie the truth of the matter. And so now I will returne to speake of the kings doings in the north part where we left him. On the fourteenth of Januarie h. Edward hauing his armie lodged nere the towne of Berwike, and his manie readie in the haue to assaile the Scots that were within the towne, he entered the castell which the Englishmen had in their hands, the lord Walter de Spaurie being their capteine, who had gotten certeine miners thither from the foreest of Deane, and other parts of the realme, which were busie to make passage vnder the ground by a mine, through which the Englishmen might enter into the towne. Whereupon, when the Scots perceiued in what danger they stood, and knew that they could not long defend the towne against him, they surrendered it into his hands without further resistance.

In the Scottish histories it is recorded, that when those which were within the towne of Berwike, heard how that an armie of Englishmen came to the succours of the castell, they raced the walles and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed with all the spoile which they had gotten there. But how soeuer it was, king Edward being againe possessed of the towne, he set men at worke to repare it, and passing forth to Norburge, there met with him the rightfull king of Scots Edward Balioll, who transferred & resigned all the right title and interest, which he had or might haue to the crowne and realme of Scotland into king Edwards hands: which resigna-

tion he confirmed by his letters patents thereof made and giuen vnder his hand and seale, dated the 25 of Januarie 1356, requiring king Edward to perseuere in pursute of his title to the bittermost.

King Edward hauing thus receiued the resignation and release of the crowne of Scotland, marched forth with his armie, till he came to Haddington, burning and destroeing the countrie on each side round about him, as he passed. And whilst he laie there, abiding for his ships, his men of warre were not idle, but ranged abroad in the countrie, and did all the damage to their enemies that they could deuise. At length his armie which he had at the same time on the sea, arriued on that coast, and landing, spoiled a church of our ladie, called the White kirke: but being returned to their ships, there arose such a tempest and vehement north wind, that manie of their vessels rushing and beating against the banks and sands, were drowned together with the men that were within them, for displeasure whereof king Edward fell to the spoile of the countrie againe, not sparing one place more than another: by reason whereof, as well abbies as all other churches and religious houses both in Haddington, in Edenborough, and thorough all other the parts of Louthian, where soeuer he came, were defaced and put to sacke. At length when he had accomplished his will, and so set things in order, he returned backe into England with the foresaid Edward Balioll in his compaignie, whome he kept with him, for doubt least he should reuolt, and procure some new trouble. In the moneth of Iulie the duke of Lancaster being sent to the aid of the king of Spaurre, came into Constantine, which is a portion of Spormandie, & there ioined with the lord Philip of Spaurre, brother to the king of Spaurre, and with the lord Godfre de Harecourt, the which being returned into France, and restored to the French kings fauour, was latelie againe reuolted, upon displeasure taken for the death of his nephew the lord John de Harecourt, as in the French histories ye may read more at large. They were in all about the number of foure thousand fighting men, and being assembled together, they went to Lisour, to Wyber, to Ponteau, & rescued the castell there, which had bene besieged by the lord Robert de Hotetot master of the crossebowes in France, more than two moneths: but now hearing that the Englishmen and Spaurrois approached, he departed from thence, leaving behind him for haile his engins and artillerie.

The duke of Lancaster passed forward unto Bretueil, which he caused to be relieved and furnished with necessarie things as was conuenient. And then leauing the cite of Eureur, which was as then in the Frenchmens hands, latelie yelded to them after a long siege, he went forward with the lord Philip de Spaurre in compaignie till they came to Wernacill in Perch, and there toke both the towne and castell, and robbed the towne and burnt a great part thereof. The French king, who had assembled a mightie armie, being aduertised of these matters, hastened forward towards the duke of Lancaster, folliue purposeing to giue him battell. The duke and the lord Philip de Spaurre, hauing knowledge that the French king folloved them, withdrew towards the towne of the Eagle, and the king still went after them, till he came to Trebenf two leages from the towne of the Eagle, and there it was shewed to him that he could not folloze his enemies any further, by reason of the thicke foreests, which he could not passe without great danger of his person and losse of his people. Then returned he with all his host, and toke from the Spaurrois the castell of Thilliers, and also the castell of Bretueil, which was yelded to him after two moneths siege.

h. Edward
foze allies
the Scots.

The duke of
Lancaster sent
to aid the king
of Spaurre.

Paulus Ac-
milus.

Froillard.

The castell
Wyber re-
sued.

The cite of
Eureur yelded
to the
Frenchmen.
Wernacill.

The French
king cometh to
giue the duke
of Lancaster
battell.

Heclor Boet.

Anno Reg. 30.

The resigna-
tion of the
realme of
Scotland
made by the
Balioll.

About

Froissard.
The prince of
Wales im-
posed the French
dominions.

About the same time, that is to saie, in Julie, the prince of Wales, having assembled an armie of men of warre, to the number of eight thousand, entred into the French dominions, and first passing through Auvergne, at length he came into the countie of Berrie, waisting and burning the townes and villages as he went, taking easie iournies for the better relafe of his people, and destruction of his enemies: for when he was entered into anie towne that was sufficientlie stored of things necessarie, he would tarie there two or three daies to refresh his soldiers and men of warre, and when they dislodged, they would strike out the heads of the wine vessels, and burne the wheat, oates and barlie, and all other things which they could not take with them, to the intent their enemies should not therewith be susteyned and nourished.

The citie of
Burgess.

Madame de
Lanion.

Warren
Wood.

The passages
stopped.

The prince
counseil.

After this, they came before the citie of Burgess, and there made a great skirmish at one of the gates, and there were manie seats of armes done. The host departed from thence, without doing anie more, and coming to a strong castell called Molbure, they fiercelie assailed it, but could not win it: the gentlemen within defended the walles and gates so manfully. When passed they forward, and came to Tierzon, a great towne and a good castell, but it was nothing stronglie fortified; and therefore was it wone perforce, the people within it being not sufficient to resist the ballant puissance of the Englishmen. Here they found wine and other vittels in great plentie, and hereupon they taried there three daies to refresh themselves at ease. But before they departed, the prince had advertisement given him that the French king was come to Chartres, with an huge assemblie of men of warre, and that all the townes and passages about the river of Loire were closed and kept. Then was the prince counseiled to returne and passe by Touraine and Poictou, and so that waie to Bourdeaux.

The prince following their advise that thus counseiled him, set forward toward Remozentine. The French king had sent into that countie to keepe the frontiers there, the lord of Craon, the lord Bouciquault, and the hermit of Chaumont, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Englishmen six daies together, and could never find anie convenient occasion to set upon them: for the Englishmen governed themselves so sagelie, that their enemies could not lightlie assaile them, but to their owne disadvantage. One day the Frenchmen laid themselves close in an ambush nere to the towne of Remozentine, at a marvellous streit passage, by which the Englishmen must needs passe.

Remozentine.

On the same daie there were departed from the princes battell, by licence of the marshals, certeine captains, Englishmen and Gascoignes, as the lord Bartholomew de Burghesce or Burwalche (as some write him) the lord of Aquident Calcongne, monsieur Petiton de Courton, the lord de la Mare, the lord Ballet, sir Daniell Passelew, sir Richard Bonchardon, sir Roell Loxing, the pong lord Spenser, and two of the Danbyetecourts, sir Edward, and another, who having with them two hundred men of armes, went forth to run before Remozentine, that they might view the place. They passed forth along by the Frenchmen which lay in ambush, as ye have heard, and they were not aduised of them, and they were no sooner passed, but that the Frenchmen brake out, and galloped after the Englishmen with great randon, having their speares in their rests.

Warrenth.

The Englishmen and the Gascoignes hearing how they came galloping after them, turned, and perceiving them to be their enemies, stood still to abide them. The Frenchmen couragiously gaue the

charge, and the Englishmen as ballantlie defended them, so that there ensued a great skirmish, which continued a long while, so that it could not be easilie iudged who had the better, nor on which side the fortunate issue of the present conflict would then fall (for

mutabilis alea Martis)

till that the battell of the English marshals approached, the which when the Frenchmen saw comming by a wood side, they fled straightwaies towards Remozentine, and the Englishmen followed in chase so fast as their horses might beare them, and entered the towne with the Frenchmen: but the French lords and the one halfe of their companie got into the castell, and so saved themselves. The prince hearing what had happened, came into the towne, and there lodged that night, sending sir John Chandois to talke with the capitaines of the castell, to know if they would yeld: and because they refused so to do, on the next morrow he caused his people to give an assault to the place, which continued the most part of the day, but yet missing their purpose, he commanded that they should draw to their lodgings, and rest them for that night.

In the morning as soon as the sunne was up, the marshals caused the trumpets to sound, and those that were appointed to give the assault againe, prepared themselves to it. The prince himselfe was present personallie at this assault, so that the same was enforced to the uttermost: but when they saw that by assaults they could not win the castell, they devised engines, wherewith they cast wild fire into the bafe court, and so set it on fire, which increased in such vehemence sozt, that it toke into the covering of a great tower, which was covered with reed: and then they within perceiving they must either yeld or perish with fire, came downe and submitted themselves to the prince, who as prisoners received them. The castell of Remozentine being thus wone and defaced with fire, the prince left it void, and marched forth with his armie as before, destroing the countie, and approached to Antou and Touraine. The French king came forwards toward the prince, and at Ambois heard how the prince was in Touraine, meaning to returne through Poictou. He was daillie advertised of the princes doings by such as were appointed to coast him ever in his iournie.

Then came the king to Poite in Touraine, and his people were passed the river of Loire at sundrie passages, where most convenientlie they might. They were in number twentie thousand men of armes, of noble men there were six and twentie, dukes and earles, beside a great number of other lords and barons: the foure sonnes of the king were there, as the lord Charles duke of Normandie, the lord Lewis after duke of Antou, the lord John after duke of Berrie, and the lord Philip which was after duke of Burgongne. The French king doubting least the prince should escape by speedie iournies out of his countie, before he could come to give him battell, removed to Chaunignie, and there passed the river of Creuse by the bridge, supposing that the Englishmen had bene before him, but they were not. Some of the Frenchmen taried behind at Chaunignie for one night, and in the morning followed the king. They were about two hundred men of armes under the leading of the lord Craon, the lord Raoul de Coucie, and the earle of Joignie. They chanced to incounter with certeine of the auant courours of the English armie, which removed that day from a little village fast by. Those Englishmen were not past three score men of armes, but well horsed, and therefore perceiving the great number of the Frenchmen, they fled towards the princes battell, which they knew was not farre off. Captains of the Englishmen were two knights

The French
men fled.

The prince
lodged in the
towne of Re-
mozentine.

The castell of
Remozentine
assaulted.

It is set on
fire.

They withed
submitted
themselves.

The French
king followeth
the prince of
Wales.

Froissard.
Seven thou-
sand chosen
men faith
Tho. Wall.

Chaunignie.

of Hainault, the lord Cusace Dambreticourt, and the lord John of Guiselles.

The lord Ma-
ouil de Cou-
cie taken.

Frenchmen
distressed.

The Frenchmen beholding them in this wise to flee, rode after a maine, and as they followed in chase, they came on the princes battell before they were aware. The lord Maouil of Coucie went so far forward with his banner, that he entred vnder the princes banner, and fought right valiantlie, but yet he was there taken, and the earle of Joignie, also the count of Bruce, the lord Chaunignie, and diuerse other, so that the most part of those Frenchmen were either taken or slaine, and verie few escaped. The prince vnderstood by the prisoners, that the French king was so farre advanced forward in pursute of him, that he could not auoid the battell. Then he assembled his men together, and commanded them to keepe order, and so rode that day being saturdaye from morning till it was toward night, & then came within two leagues of Poitiers: and herewith sending forth certeine capteins, to search if they could heare where the king was, he incamped himselfe that night in a strong place amongst hedges, vines, and bushes. They that were sent to discover the countrie, rode so far, that they saw where the French king with his great battell was marching, and setting vp on the taile of the Frenchmen, caused all the host to stir: whereof knowledge being given to the king, the which as then was entring into Poitiers, he returned againe, and made all his host to do the like, so that it was verie late per he and his people were bestowed in their lodgings that night. The English curriers returning to the prince, declared what they had seene and done. So, that night, the two armies being lodged within a small distance either of other, kept strong and sure watch about their campes.

The ordering
of the French
battell.

On the morrow after being sundaye, and the eighteenth daie of September, the French king caused his host to be diuided into three battells or wards, and in each of them were sixtene thousand armed men, all mitered and passed for armed men. The first battell was gouerned by the duke of Orleans, wherein were six and thirtie banners, and twise as manie persons. The second was led by the duke of Brabant, and his brethren, the lord Elwes & the lord John. The third the French king himselfe conducted. And while these battells were setting in arraie, the king caused the lord Cusace de Ribamound, and two other noble men to ride on before, to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and to aduise of what number they were. Those that were thus sent, rode forth and beheld the order of the Englishmen at god leisure, and returning, informed the king, that as they could iudge, the enemies were about two thousand men of armes, foure thousand archers, and fiftene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in such a strong place, and so well fenced with ditches and hedges, that it would be hard assaulting them therein.

The cardinal
of Piergozt.

The cardinal of Piergozt the popes legat, as then lying in the citie of Poitiers, came that morning to the king, and required him to absteine from battell, till he might vnderstand whether the prince would condescend vnto such conditions of peate as he himselfe should thinke reasonable, which if it might be brought to passe, the same should be more honorable for him, than to aduenture so manie noble men as were there with him at that present in hazard of battell. The king was contented that the cardinal should go to the prince, and see what he could doe with him. The cardinal rode to the prince, and talked with him till he was contented to come to a treatie. The cardinal returned to the French king, and required of him that a truce might be granted till the next daies sun-rising: which truce obtained, he spent that daie in riding to and fro betwixt them.

The prince of
Wales con-
tented to come
to a treatie.

The prince offered to render into the kings hands all that he had wonne in that bolage, as well townes as castels, and also to release all the prisoners, which he or any of his men had taken in that iournie: and further he was contented to haue bene sworn: not to beare armour against the French king within the terme of seven yeares next following. But the French king would not agree thereto: the bittermost that he would agree vnto, was this, that the prince and an hundred of his knights should yield themselves as prisoners vnto him, otherwise he would not haue the matter taken vp. But it was the French kings hap after (notwithstanding his hautes) to be taken captiue, as Okland noteth, saying,

seruilia sub iuga missus

Discret ut domino regi parere Britanno.

But the prince in no wise could be brought to any such unreasonable conditions, and so the cardinal could not make them friends, although he travelled earnestlie betwixt them all that daie. When it drew toward night, he returned toward Poitiers.

The Englishmen were not idle, whilst the cardinal was thus in hand to bring the parties to some good agreement, but cast great ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications about the place where their archers stood, and on the next morning, being mondaye, the prince and his people prepared themselves to receive battell, as they had done before, having passed the day before and that night in great defect of necessarie things, for they could not stir abroad to fetch forrage or other provisions without danger to be surprised of their enemies. The cardinal came againe earlie in the morning vnto the French king, and found the French armie ready in order of battell by that time the sunne was vp, and though he offered to sell in hand to exhort the king to an agreement, yet it would not be. So he went to the prince, and declared to him how he could doe no good in the matter, and therefore he must abide the hazard of battell for ought that he could see: wherewith the prince was content, and so the cardinal returned vnto Poitiers.

There is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) this cardinal of Piergozt was sent from the pope to traueil betwixt the parties for a peate to be had, and that the pope exhorted him verie earnestlie to shew his uttermost diligence and induour therein: at his setting forth to go on that message, the said cardinal (as was said) made this answer: Most blessed father (said he) either we will persuade them to peate, or quietnesse, either else shall the verie sintstones crie out of it. But this he spake not of himselfe, as it was supposed, but being a prelate in that time, he prophesied what should follow: for when the English archers had bestowed all their arrows vpon their enemies, they took the pebles from the place where they stood, being full of those kind of stones, and approaching to their enemies, they threw the same with such violence on them, that lighted against their helmets, armor, and targets, they made a great ringing noise, so that the cardinals prophesie was fulfilled: that he would either persuade a peate, or else the stones should crie out thereof.

The worthy prince like a couragious chieftaine, when he saw that he must needs fight, required his people not to be abashed at the great number of their enemies, sith the victorie did not consist in the multitude of men, but where God would send it: and if it fortune that the iournie might be theirs and his, they should be the most honored people of the world: and if they should die in that righteous quarrell, he had the king his father and also his brethren, in like case as they had friends and kinsmen, that would seeke their reuenge. And therefore he desired them that

The offer of
the prince
to Wales.

The French
kings great
sumptuous
demand.

The English
men fortifie
their camp.

The cardinal
trauelling to
Poitiers.

Tho. Wals-
ingham
prophesied
a peate.

The story
of the
battle of
Poitiers.

that daie to shew themselves like valiant men of warre: and for his part he trusted in God and saint George, they should see in his person no default. These of the like words did this most gentle prince speake, which greatly comforted all his people.

There were with him of earles, Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisbury, Stafford; of lords, Cobham, Spenser, Audeley, Berkeley, Waller, Warren, de la Mare, Bradeston, Burwalch, Felton, Pallow, and diuerse other: also sir John Chandois, by whome he was much counselled, sir Richard Stafford, sir Richard of Penbryche, and manie other knights and valiant esquires of England. Moreover, there was of Gascoigne, the capitall of Burz or Beuf, the lords of Pumes, Burguerrie, Chaumont, de Lelpare, Kolen, Gonferant, Landuras, the Shoulbich of Le Strad or Liscard, and other: and of Heinault, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, sir John de Gusselles, and other strangers. All the princes companie passed not the number of eight thousand men one and other, of the which as Iacobus Meire saith, thre thousand were archers: though Froissard (as I haue rehearsed before) reporteth the number of archers to be more, as in one place six thousand, and in another place foure thousand.

The French king having in his armie thre score thousand fighting men, wherof there were more than thre thousand knights, made so sure account of victorie, as any man might of a thing not yet had, considering his great puissance, in regard to the small number of his aduersaries: and therefore immediately after that the cardinall was departed, he caused his battels to march forward, and approaching to the place where the Englishmen stood readie to receiue their enemies, caused the onset to be giuen. There were certeine French horsemen, to the number of thre hundred, with the Almains also on horsebacke appointed to breake the arraie of the English archers, but the archers were so defended and compassed about with heges and ditches, that the horsemen of the French part could not enter to doe their feat, and being galled with the sharpe shot of the English bowes, they were ouerthrowne horse and man, so that the backward of the Frenchmen, wherein was the duke of Athens, with the marshals of France, the lord John de Cleremont, and the lord Arnold Wandzehen or Wendenhen, began to disorder within a while, by reason of the shot of the archers, together with the helpe of the men of armes, amongst whom in the forefront was the lord James Audeley, to performe a bow which he had made, to be one of the first setters on.

There was the lord Arnold Wandzehen taken prisoner, and the lord John de Cleremont slaine, so that the noble prouesse of the said lord James Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battell with the slaughter of manie enemies, was that day most apparent. The losall constancie of the noble earles of Warwicke and Suffolke, that fought so stoutlie, so earnestlie, and so fiercelie, was right manifest. And the prince himselfe did not onelie fulfill the office of a noble cheefteine, but also of a right valiant and expert souldiour, attempting what soeuer any other hardie warrior would in such cases haue done. Neither was this battell quicklie dispatched, nor easilie brought to end; but it was fought out with such obstinate earnestnesse, that thre times that daie were the Englishmen driuen to renew the fight, through the multitude of enemies that increased and came still vpon them.

Finallie, the marshals battell was quite discomfited: for the Frenchmen and Almains fell one vpon another, and could not passe forth; and those that were behind, could not get forward, reculed backe:

and while the marshals battell being on horsebacke thus assailed the English armie with great disadvantage, and was in the end beaten backe, the two battels of the dukes of Borbon and de Clearence, came forward, and likewise assailed the Englishmen, but could not preuaile. The archers shot so fiercelie, that to conclude, the Frenchmen behind, understanding the discomfiture of the marshals battell, and how their fellows before could not enter vpon their enemies, they opened and ran to their hostes, in whome they did put more trust for their safeguard by galloping on them alwaie, than in their manlike hands, for all their late brauerie and great boasts. One thing here discouraged the Frenchmen, and that was this: beside those Englishmen that were within the closure of their campe, there were certeine men of armes on horsebacke, with a number of archers also on horsebacke, appointed to coast vnder the couert of a mountain, adioining to the place, where they thought to strike into a side of the duke of Borbonnies battell, so that with the terrour hereof, and with the continual shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen not knowing where to turne themselves, sought to saue their liues by flight.

The prince of Wales, perceiuing how his enemies (for the more part of them) were fleeing awaie as men discomfited, sent out his horsemen as well on the one hand as on the other, and he himselfe with his whole power of footmen rushed forth, and manfullie assailed the maine battell of the Frenchmen, where the king himselfe was, who like a valiant prince would not flee, but fought right manfullie: so that if the fourth part of his men had done halfe their parts as he did his, the victorie by likelihood had rested (as Froissard saith) on his side: but he was forsaken of his thre sonnes, and of his brother the duke of Clearence, which fled out of the battell with cleare hands. Finallie, after huge slaughter made of those noble men, and other which abode with him euen to the end, he was taken, and so likewise was his yongest sonne Philip, and both put in great danger to haue bene murthered after they were taken, by the Englishmen and Gascoignes, struing who should haue the king to his prisoner, where in deed a knight of Flanders or rather Artois, borne in saint Omers, called sir Denise Goubecke, took him, but he was straightwaies taken from the same sir Denise by other that came in the meane season, better prouided (belike) of strength, and lead him awaie vnresisted.

There were slaine in this battell, of noblemen, the dukes of Borbon and Athens, the marshall Cleremont, sir Geoffrey Charnie that bare the cheefe standard of France, the bishop of Chaalons, sir Eustace de Ribamont, with diuerse other to the number of eight hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of name. In all there died on the French part sir thousand of one and other. The chase was continued euen to the gates of Poitiers, and manie slaine and beaten downe in the street before the gates, which the citizens had closed, for doubt least the Englishmen should enter with them that fled thither for safeguard. There were taken beside the king and his sonne, the lord Jaques de Borbon earle of Ponthien, brother to the duke of Borbon that was slaine there, the erle of Ew, the lord Charles his brother earle of Longuile, the archbishop of Sens, the earles of Ambosme, Salezbuch, Wentadoze, Lanheruile, Campes, and Dampmartine: also Archembald Douglas a noble man of Scotland, sonne to the honorable lord William Douglas that was killed in Spaine, the marshall Wandzehen or Wendenhen (as Iacobus Meire saith) with others to the number of seuentene hundred earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, beside those of the meaner sort; so that the Englishmen had

The marshals battell put to flight

The Frenchmen seek to saue themselves by flight Polydor.

Froissard. The valiantie of the French king.

The French king taken.

Ja. Meir. Sir Denise Goubecke. Froissard.

Problemen slaine.

Ja. Meir.

Polydor. The chase.

Froissard. Annales de France.

Archembald Douglas tak Jacob. Meir.

Prisoners taken.

Noblemen with the prince of Wales.

The capitall de Beuf.

The number of the prince his armie.

The number of the French.

The battell is begun.

The force of the English archers.

The lord James Audeley.

The Wolf. The earles of Warwicke and Suffolke.

had twice as many prisoners as they themselves were in number: and therefore it was devised amongst them, to put the most part of their prisoners to ransom there in the field, and to keep the rest for doubt of further danger, the multitude being so great as it was.

Thus was the prince of Wales slain in that notable battell fought in the fields of Poitiers and Halpertuse, two leagues from Poitiers, the nineteenth day of September being monday, in the year a thousand, three hundred, fiftie and six, which began in the morning and ended at none. But because the Englishmen were scattered abroad in chase of their enemies, the princes banner was set up in a bush, to draw all his men together. It was almost night yet they were all returned from the chase. The prince made a great supper in his lodging that night to the French king, and to the most part of his nobles that were taken prisoners, and did all the honour that he could devise to the king. And where he perceived by his chere and countenance, that his heart was full of penitence, carefull thought and heavinesse, he comforted him in the best manner that he might, and said to him: as followeth.

The prince
supper the
prisoners.

The meeke and comfortable oration
of the English prince to the French
king being taken prisoner.

Most noble king, there is no cause wherefore your grace should be penitue, though God this day did not consent to follow your will. For your noble prowess and dignitie roiall, with the supreme type of your kingly maiestie, remaineth whole and inviolate, and what soever may rightlie be called yours; so that no violent force of time shall blot out or diminish the same. The almightie God hath determined that the chance of war shall rest in his disposition and will as all other things. Your elders have attained both by land & sea manie noble enterprises. The whole compasse of Europe, all the east parts of the world, all places and countries, both far & nere, are full of monuments, witnessing the noble victories attained by the French people.

The cause of godlie living and religion, the dignitie and preheminence of christianitie hath bene defended and augmented by you, against the most mightie and puissant captains of the infidels, enemies to the said christian religion. All ages shall make mention of your worthe praises, no nation there is but shall confesse it selfe bounden at one time or other for benefits received at your hands; neither is there any people but such as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for reliefe and benefits, to proceed from you in time to come. One of two battels happilie have chanced among so manie triumphs otherwise than you would have wished; chance would it should be so, which may infable and make weak the power of hostes, armos, and weapon: your invincible courage and roiall magnanimitie lieth in your power to reteine: neither shall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of France which hath procreant and brought forth and nozi-

ded so many of my noble progenitors; shall perceive my good meaning towards him, as not forgetfull of mine elders, and toward your maiestie: (if you will vouchsafe that I should glose of that name) a most humble kinsman. There are manie occasions of love and friendship betwixt you and my father, which I trust shall take place, for I know all his thoughts and inward meanings: you shall agree and come to an atonement right easilie together, & I praise God he neuer take me for his sonne, except I have you in the same degree of honor, reverence, and faithfull love, which I owe towards him.

The king (as reason would) acknowledged this to proceed of great courtesie shewed toward him in the prince, and thanked him accordingly. And the prince performing in deed that which he spake with words, ceased from further using of fire, or other indignifying of the French dominions, and taking his waie through the countries of Poitou and Saintonge, by easie iournies, he and his people came to Blaise, and so passed over the water to Burdeaur in good safetie with all their riches and prisoners. The prince gave to the lord James Audelie (who had received in the battell manie sore wounds) five hundred marks of pearleie revenues assigned forth of his lands in England. The which gift the knight granted as freelic as he had received it unto foure of his esquires, which in the battell had bene ever attendant about his person, without whose aid & valiant support, he knew well that he had bene slaine sundrie times in the same battell by his enemies, and therefore thought it a dutie of humanitie and gratitude to make them amends with some temporall recompense, that had saved his life, than the which nothing is more deere, nor of greater price in the world, as the poet saith,

nihil est vita pretiosius ipso.

When the prince heard that he had so done, he marvelled what his meaning was thereby, and caused him to be brought before his presence, and demanded of him wherefore he had so lightlie given away that reward which he had bestowed upon him, and whether he thought that gift too meane for him or not. The lord Audelie so excused himselfe in extolling the good service done to him by his esquires, though whome he had so manie times escaped the dangers of death, that the prince did not onelie confirme the resignation of the five hundred marks given to the esquires, but also rewarded the lord Audelie with five hundred marks more of like pearleie revenues, in manner and forme as he had received the other.

When the newes of this great victorie came into England of the overthrow of the Frenchmen, and taking of the French king, ye may be sure there was great joy shewed by outward tokens, as bonfires made, feasts and bankets kept, through the whole realme. Likewise the Gascoignes and Englishmen being come to Burdeaur, made great reuel and pastime there, spending freelic that gold and silver which they had wonne in the battell of Poitiers, and elsewhere in that iourne. ¶ This yeare in Aprill the prince of Wales took shipping with his prisoners at Burdeaur, and on the fift of Maie arrived at Plimouth. On the foure and twentieth day of Maie he was with great honour solemne received of the citizens into the citie of London, and so conveyed to the palace of Westminster, where the king sitting in Westminster hall, received the French king, and after conveyed him to a lodging appointed for him, where he laie a season; but after he was removed to the

The first
king that
the prince

The prince
returneth
to Burdeaur
from the

The lord
Audelie receiveth
his reward

London.

At the
Admirals
Admiral
Admiral

The prince
brought
to the
court
England.

the Saucie, which was at that time a goodlie house, pertaining to the duke of Lancaster, though afterwards it was burnt and destroyed by Wat Tyler, Jacke Straw, and their companie. In this place the French king late, and kept house a long time after.

In the winter following were rotall iustices holden in Smithfield, at the which were present the kings of England, France, and Scotland, with manie great estates of all their three kingdoms, of the which the moze part of the strangers were as then prisoners. It was reported, that the French king could not so dissimble nor cloake his inward thought, but that there appeared some tokens of gréefe in his countenance, whilst he beheld these warlike pastimes. And when the king of England, & his sonne prince Edward with comfortable words required him after supper to put all perisue cares out of his fantasie, and to be merrie and sing as other did, he should make this answer with a smiling countenance, aluding to the complaint of the Israelites in time of their captiuitie vnder the gentiles, & saieing,

Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?

About the same time there came ouer into England two cardinals, the one called Talivard being bishop of Alba (commonlie named the cardinal of Pierreregoth) and the other named Nicholas intituled cardinal of S. Vitale or (as Froissard saith) of Dargell, they were sent from pope Innocent the first, to intreat for a peace betwixt the kings of England and France: but they could not bring their purpose to anie perfect conclusion, although they remained here for the space of two yeares: but yet onelie by good means they procured a truce betwixt the said kings, and all their assistants, to indure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feast of S. John Baptist, which should be in the yeare 1359: out of the which truce was excepted the L. Philip of Flandre, and his allies, the countesse of Montfort, and the whole duchie of Britaine.

Anon after, the French king was removed from the Saucie vnto the castell of Windsor with all his household, and then he went on hunting and hauing there about at his pleasure, and the lord Philip his sonne with him, all the residue of the prisoners abode still at London, but were suffered to go vp and downe, and to come to the court when they would. In the same yeare the duke of Lancaster besieged the citie of Rennes in Britaine, in the title of the countesse of Richmond, & his young sonne John of Montfort, that claimed to be duke of Britaine. Those that were within the citie, as the vicount of Rohan, and Bertham de Claiquin (who as then was a lustie young bachelor) and others defended themselves manfully for a time, but yet at length they were compelled to render the citie into their enemies hands.

About the same time two Franciscane friers were burnt at London, for matters of religion. & Pozeouer quene Isabell, mother vnto king Edward the third, departed this life the seauen and twentieth daie of August, and was buried the seauen and twentieth daie of November, in the church of the friers minors at London, not yet dedicated. & David king of Scotland, shortly after the truce was concluded betwixt England and France, was set at libertie, paying for his ransome the summe of one hundred thousand marks (as Pourdon saith) but whether he meaneth Scottish or sterling monie, I cannot saie. He also was bound by covenant now vpon his deliuerance, to cause the castles in Fife shire to be raised, which were knowne to be cuill neighbors to the English borderers, as Dunfrise, Dalwhinton, Spott, Dunmore, and nine other.

His wife quene Ione made such earnest sute to his brother king Edward for his husbands deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to release him vpon the payment of so small a portion of monie, and performance of the covenants, for the raising of those castles; although Froissard saith, that he was couenanted to paie for his deliuerance within the tearme of ten yeares, five hundred thousand nobles, and for suretie of that payment to send into England sufficient hostages, as the earles of Douglas, Murray, Mar, Sutherland, and Fife, the baron of Alesie, and sir William Camoisse. Also he couenanted neuer to weare armour against king Edward, within his realme of England, nor to consent that his subjects should so do: and further should vpon his returne home, do the best he could to cause the Scots to agree that their countrie should hold of him in fee, and that he and his successors, kings of Scotland, should do homage to the king of England, and his successors for the realme of Scotland.

In this two and thirtieth yeare, as witnesseth the French chronicles, sir Robert Knolles, James Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capitaines and men of warre as souldiours to the king of Flandre vpon the tenth day of March earlie in the morning scaled the walles of the citie of Auerre, and behaued them so manfully, that they were masters of the towne before the sunne was vp. They got exceedingly much by the spoile of that citie, and by ransoming the prisoners which they toke there. At length after they had remained eight daies in that citie, and taken their pleasures of all things within it, they brought so with the citizens, that to haue possession of their citie againe, and to haue it saued from fire, they agreed to giue to sir Robert Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thousand motons of gold, which amounted to the summe of twelue thousand and five hundred pounds sterling or there about; and yet was it agreed, that the Englishmen should burne the gates, and throwe downe the walles in diuers places. In Aprill next ensuing, the towne of Daubignie sir le Petre was likewise wone by the Englishmen; and the second daie of Maie Chastellon sir leigne was taken by the said sir Robert Knolles, and put to sacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcastle vpon Loire. Thus did the Englishmen and other, in title of the L. of Flandre, greatly indamage the realme of France, daily winning towne and castles, ransoming the people, and wasting the countries in most miserable wise, as in the historie of France you may read more at large.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixt the king of England, and the king of France, and articles thereof drawn in this forme, that the whole countries of Gascoine, Guien, Poidou, Touraine, Faindongo, Piergourd, Quercie, Limosin, Angoulmois, Calis, Guines, Bullogne, and Ponthien, should remaine to the king of England whelie without doing homage or paying anie reléfe for the same: but on the other part, he should renounce all his right, which he might by anie manner of meane claime to the countries of Normandie, Anjou, or Maine. And further, that the French king should paie a certeine summe of monie for his ransome, and deliuer sufficient pledges for the same, and so depart into France. These articles were sent ouer into France, that the three states there might confirme them, which they refused to do. Wherevpon when the truce ended, the warres were againe renewed. The king held this yeare the feast of S. George at Windsor, in more sumptuous manner than euer it had bene kept before.

In the same yeare also, siter John Wile bishop of

Froissard.

1358
Anno Reg. 32.

Annales de France.

The chief of Auerre taken by sir Robert Knolles.

Daubignie sir le Petre. Chastellon. Newcastle vpon Loire.

Take of a peace, and articles thereof drawn. Caxton.

Thom. Wale. Chie.

The bishop
of Elie.

Excommuni-
cation.

Such as de-
livered the
papal letters
hanged.

Discord be-
twixt priests
and friars.

Th. Walsing.
John of Gant
married.
1359
Anno Reg. 33.

Windsore ca-
stell repaired.
Additions to
Tower.

A solemn
joust at
London.

Carton.
The K. with
his four sons
are of the
challengers
part.

The French
K. renounced.
He departed
fro Hertford
the 29 of
June.
Polydor.

Elie, being as he take it, somewhat wronged by the
lady Blanche de Wake, and other that were of his
counsell, when the last yeare against the kings will
unto the popes court, where exhibiting his com-
plaint, he caused the pope to excommunicate all his
adversaries, sending to the bishop of Lincolne and o-
ther of the cleargie, that if they knew any of them so
excommunicated to be dead and buried, they should
draw them out of their graues: which was done.
And because some of those that were excommunica-
ted were of the kings counsell, the king took such
displeasure therewith, that he greivously disquieted
the prelates. Whereupon there were sent from the
court of Rome on the behalfe of the bishop of Elie,
certeine persons, which being armed, met the bishop
of Rochester lord treasurer, deliuering to him letters
from the pope, the contents of the which were not
known, and forthwith they shrank awaie: but the
kings servants made such pursue after them, that
some of them they took, and bringing them before the
kings iustices, upon their arraignment they were
condemned, and suffered death on the gallows.

Great discord rose also about this time, or rather
afore, betwixt the cleargie, and the foure orders of
friars, as in the booke of acts & monuments set forth
by master John Fox ye may read more at large. In
this yeare John of Gant earle of Richmond, come
to the king, the nineteenth day of Aprill married the
lady Blanche daughter to Henrie duke of Lanca-
ster at Reading; and because they were cousins with-
in the degrees of consanguinitie, forbidden by the
church lawes to marrie, a dispensation was procured
of the pope to remove that obstacle and let. In this
yeare the king set workemen in hand to take downe
much old bildings belonging to the castell of Wind-
sore, and caused diuerse other faire and sumptuous
works to be erected and set vp, in and about the same
castell, so that almost all the masons and carpenters
that were of any accompt within this land, were sent
for, and imployed about the same works, the ouerser
whereof was William Wickham the kings chap-
lain, by whose aduise the king took in hand to repaire
that place, the rather in deed because he was bozne
there, and therefore he took great pleasure to bestow
cost in beautifying it with such buildings, as may ap-
peare euen vnto this daie. Moreover, this yeare in
the Rogation week was solemn iousts enterprised
at London, for the maior and his foure and twentie
brethren as challengers did appoint to answer all
comers, in whose name and stead the king with his
four sonnes, Edward, Lionel, John, and Edmund,
and nineteene other great lords, in secret manner
came and held the field with honor, to the great plea-
sure of the citizens that beheld the same. ¶ He haue
heard how the Frenchmen refused the peace, which
was accorded betwixt K. Edward & their king, as
then prisoner here in England. Whereupon K. Edward
determined to make such warre against the realme
of France, that the Frenchmen with all their harts
should be glad to condescend and agree to reason: and
first he commanded all manner of Frenchmen (other
than such as were prisoners) to auoid out of Eng-
land. He also appointed the French king to be re-
moued from the castell of Hertford, where he then re-
mained, vnto the castell of Somerton in Lincolne-
shire, vnder the gard and conduct of the lord Willi-
am Deincourt, being allowed fouertie shillings the
day for the wages of two and twentie men at armes,
twentie archers, & two watchmen: as thus, for him-
selfe and sir John Birketon baronets, either of them
four shillings the daie; for three knights, sir Willi-
am Collemill (in place of the lord Robert Collemill,
that could not trauell himselfe by reason of sickness)
sir John Deincourt, and sir Saer de Rochford, ech of

them two shillings the daie; seuentene esquieres ech
of them twelue pence the day, eight archers on horse
backe euerie of them six pence the day, and twelue
archers on foot three pence, and the two watchmen ei-
ther of them six pence the day, which amounteth in the
whole vnto nine and thirtie shillings the day; and the
od twelue pence was allowed to the said lord Dein-
court to make vp the summe of 40 shillings. ¶ This
haue I noted the rather, to giue a light to the reader
to consider how chargeable the retenuing of men of
war in these daies is, in respect of the former times.
But now to our purpose.

The king meaning to passe ouer himselfe in per-
son into France, caused a mightie armie to be mu-
stered and put in a readinesse, and sent before him the
duke of Lancaster foure thousand speares, and two thousand archers, where the
said duke ioined with such strangers as were already
die come to Calis in great numbers, and together
with them entered into the French dominions, and
passing by saint Omers & Bethune, came to Mount
saint Eloi, a goodlie abbey and a rich, two leagues
distant from Arras, and there the host tarried foure
daies, and when they had robbed and wasted all the
countrie thereabout, they rode to Waie, and there
made a great assault, at the which a baronet of Eng-
land was slaine with diuerse other. When the Eng-
lishmen saw they could win nothing there, they de-
parted, and following the water of Some, came to a
towne called Chertie, where they passed the riuer, and
there tarried Alhallowen daie, & the night following.

On the same daie the duke of Lancaster was ad-
uertised, that the king was arrived at Calis the se-
uenteenth daie of October, commanding him by let-
ters to draw towards him with all his companie.
The duke according to the kings commandement o-
bedied, and so returned toward Calis. The king being
there arrived with all his power, took counsell which
way he should take. Some aduised him first to in-
uade Flanders, and to reuenge the inuiolent dealing
of the earle and the Flemings: but he would not a-
gree to that motion, for he purposed follie either by
plaine force to make a conquest of France, or else vi-
terlie to deströie and wast the countrie throughout
with fier and sword. Whereupon he set forwards the
fourth of Nouember, and passing through the coun-
tries of Arthois, and Tervendois, he came before
the citie of Reims. There went ouer with him in
this iourne, & with the duke of Lancaster, his four
sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, Lionel earle of
Ulster, John earle of Richmond, and the lord Ed-
mund his yongest sonne. Also there was Henrie the
said duke of Lancaster, with the earles of March,
Warwicke, Suffolke, Hereford (who also was earle
of Northampton) Salisburie, Stafford, and Driford,
the bishops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the lords
Percie, Deuill, Spenser, Birdifon, Kosse, Hamme,
Cobham, Howbray, de la Mare, Willoughbie, Fel-
ton, Basset, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audelie, Bur-
wasch, and others, beside knights and esquieres, as sir
John Chandois, sir Stephan Collanton, sir Powell
Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, sir Ri-
chard Pembridge, and others.

The siege was laid before Reims about saint An-
drewes tide, and continued more than seven weekes:
but the citie was so well defended by the bishop
and the earle of Porcien, and other capitaines within
it, that the Englishmen could not obtaine their pur-
pose, and so at length, when they could not haue for-
rage nor other necessarie things abroad in the coun-
trie for to serue their turne, the king raised his field,
and departed with his armie in good order of battell,
taking the way through Champaigne, and so passed
by Chaalons, and after to Arras on the river of
Seine,

The king
Lancaster
made a
great
armie
France.
The duke
of Lanca-
ster.

State of
France.

The king
arrived at
Calis.

Froissart.

Polydor.

Froissart.

Reims
siege.

1.

An. Reg. 34.

Anno Reg. 34.
Conners
wone.

Seine. From Perie he departed and came unto Conners, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtieth yeare of his reigne was wone by assault, but the castell could not be wone, for there was within it the lord Stennes constable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

Guillon.

Flaignic.

The number
of carriages.Caton.
Directions to
Ad. Merinault.Witchellie
burnt by the
French.A Composition
made to spare
the countie of
Burgonie.Frankis hath
Paradise in
Les Annales
de Burgonie.
Froillard.
The king of
England
marryeth to
sawes Paris

After the king had rested there five daies, and that his men were well refreshed with the wines and other such things, which they found in that towne in good plenty, he remoued and dreyd towards Burgonie, comming to a towne called Guillon or Aguilon, where he lay from Ashwednesday unto Spilent, having good provision of all maner of vittells by the means of an esquier of his called John Alanston, which had taken the towne of Flaignic not farre thence, wherein was great store of bread and wine and other vittells: and still the marshals rode forth, and oftentimes refreshed the host with new provision. The Englishmen had with them in their carriages, tents, pavillions, milles, ouens, and forges; also boates of leather cunninglie made and deuised, able to receiue three men a peece, and to passe them ouer waters and riuers. They had at the least six thousand carts with them, and for euerie cart foure horses which they had out of England.

In this meane while, the Frenchmen made certeine vessels forth to the sea, vnder the gouernance of the earle of St. Paule, the which vpon the fiftenth daie of March landed earlie in the morning at Winchellie, and before sunne rising entred the towne, and finding the inhabitants vnprovidid to make anie great resistance, fell to and sacked the houses, slue manie men, women and also childzen, and after set fier on the towne; and vpon knowledge had that the people of the countie next adioining were assembled, and comming to the rescue, he caused his men to draw to their ships, and so they taking their pillage and spoile with them, got them aboard, not without some losse of their companie, which were slaine in the towne by such as resisted their violence. Whiles the king laie at Aguilon, there came to him Ansaume de Salilans chancelloz of Burgonie, Jaques de Cienne, and other lordes of the countie, being sent from their duke, to agree with the king for the sparing of the lands and feignozies appertaining to the duchie of Burgonie.

The chancelloz, and the other Burgognian lordes found the king so agreeable to their request, that a composition was made betwixt him and the countie of Burgonie, so that he should make to them an assurance for him, and all his people, not to ouerrun or indamage that countie, during the space of three yeares, and he to haue in readie monie the summe of two hundred thousand flozens of gold, which sterling monie amounted to the summe of five and thirtie thousand pounds. When this agreement was ingrossed vp in writing, and sealed, the king dislodged, and all his host, taking the right waie to Paris, and passing the riuier of Nonne, entered into Castinois, and at length by easie iourneys, vpon a tuesday being the last of March in the weeke before Easter, he came and lodged betwene Pont le Herie, and Chartres, with his people in the countie thereabouts.

Here the duke of Normandie made meanes for a treatie of peace, which was laboured by a frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the friers Jacobins and the popes legat: he did so much, that a treatie was appointed to be holden on god fridaie in the Halcherie of Longegimew, where appeared for the king of England the daie of Lancaster, the erls of Warlike and Northampton, with sir John Chandois, sir Walter de Bannie, and sir William

Chemie knights: and for the French king thither came the earle of Gu constable of France, and the marshall Bouciquant, with other; but their treatie came to none effect: wherefore the king vpon the tuesday in the Easter weeke remoued nearer unto Paris, and vpon the fridaie following, being the tenth of Aprill, by procurement of the abbat of Clagnie newlie come from pope Innocent the first, the foresaid commissioners estewes did meet to treat of an agreement, but nothing they could conclude, the parties in their offers and demands were so farre at ods.

Vpon the sundaie next following, a part of the kings hoske came before the citie of Paris, and imbatteled themselves in a field fast by saint Marcellus, abiding there fro morning till thre of the clocke in the after none, to see if the Frenchmen would come forth to giue battell: but the French would not taste of that vessell. For the duke of Normandie (well considering what losse had insued within few yeares past unto the realme of France, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and taught by late triall and feeling of smart to dread imminent danger, for

Pulueribus didicit miles habere metum)

would not suffer anie of his people to issue forth of the gates, but commanded them to be readie onelie to defend the walles and gates, although he had a great power of men of warre within the citie, beside the huge multitude of the inhabitants. The Englishmen to prouoke their enemies the sower to saile forth, burnt diuerse parts of the suburbs, and rode euen to the gates of the citie. When they perceived that the Frenchmen would not come forth, about thre of the clocke in the afternone they departed out of the field and withdrew to their campe, and then the king and all the English host remoued towards Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to him the bishop of Beaunois then chancelloz of Normandie, with other, and so handled the matter with him, that a new daie of treatie was appointed to be holden at Bretignie, which is little more than a mile distant from Chartres, vpon the first day of Aprill next ensuing.

In which daie and place appointed, the foresaid duke of Lancaster, and the said earles and other commissioners met with the said bishop, and other French lords and spirituall men to him associate, on the behalfe of the duke of Normandie then regent of France, to renew the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good conclusion; but cause king Edward began to frame his imagination more to accorde with his aduersaries, than he had done of late, chesclie for that the duke of Lancaster with courteous words and sage persuations, aduised him not to forsake such reasonable conditions as the Frenchmen were contented now to agree vnto, sith that by making such manner of warre as he had attempted, his souldiers onelie gained, and he himselfe lost but time, and consumed his treasure: and further he might warre in this sort all the daies of his life, before he could attaine to his intent, and lose perhaps in one daie more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

Such words spoken for the wealth of the king and his subjects, conuerted the kings mind to fanthe peace, namelie by the grace of the Holie-ghost chesclie woorker in this case. For it chanced on a daie, as he was marching not farre from Chartres, there came such a storme and tempest of thunder, lightning, haile and raine, as the like had neuer bene seene by anie of the English people. This storme fell so hideous in the kings host, that it seemed the world should haue ended: for such vnrasonable great stones of haile fell from the skie, that men and horses were

The English
men before
Paris.Polydor;
The suburbs
of Paris
burnt.Froissard.
The bishop
of Beaunois

A new treatie

The duke of
Lancaster
persuadeth the
king to agree.An hideous
storme & tem-
pest of weather

D. li.

Laine

A peace con-
cluded.

The articles.

Fabian.
Froillard.

Homages and
services.

The date of
the charter
of the peace.

The French
kings ran-
some.

Hostages.

The French
king not to aid the
Scots.

Britaine.

flaine therewith, so that the most hardie were aba-
shed. There perished thousands thereby, as some haue
written. Then the king rememb'ring what reasona-
ble offers of agreement he had refused, upon remorse
of conscience (as by some writers should appeare) as-
ked forgiveness of the damage done by sword and
fire in those parts, and finally determined to grant un-
to indifferent articles of peace, for release of the chri-
stian inhabitants of that land: and so shortly after,
by the good diligence of the commissioners on both
parts, an unitie and finall peace was accorded, the
conditions wherof were comprised in fortie and one
articles, the chiefe wherof in effect were these.

1 First that the king of England should haue and
enjoy ouer and beside that which he held already in
Gascoigne and Guien the castell, citie, and countie of
Poitiers, and all the lands and countie of Poitou,
with the see of Tonars, and the lands of Belleuile;
the citie and castell of Raintes, and all the lands and
countie of Raondonge on both sides the riuer of
Charent, with the towne and fortresse of Rochell,
with their appurtenances; the citie and castell of A-
gent, and the countie of Agenois; the citie and cas-
tell of Piergozt, and all the land and countie of De-
rigueur; the citie and castell of Limoges, and all the
lands and countie of Limosin; the citie and castell of
Cahors, and the lordship of Cahorsin; the castell and
countie of Tarbe; the lands countie and countie of
Bigorre; the countie, countie, and lands of Gaure;
the citie and castell of Angouleme; and the countie,
land, and countie of Angoumois; the citie, towne
and castell of Robair; and all the countie, and coun-
trie of Rouergne; and if there were in the duchie of
Guien any lords, as the earles of Fofz, Arminache,
Lille, and Perigueur, the vicounts of Carmain, and
Limoges, or other holding any lands within the fore-
said bounds, it was accorded that they should doe ho-
mage and other custumarie seruices due for the same
vnto the king of England.

2 It was also agreed, that Calis and Guines, with
the appurtenances, the lands of Pontreuil on the sea
with the countie of Ponthieu, whole and entirelie
should remaine vnto the king of England. All the
which countie, cities, townes, and castels, with the
other lands and seigniories, the same king should
haue and hold to him and his heires for ever, even as
they were in demaine or fee, immediatlie of God, and
free without recognising any maner soueraintie to
any earthly man. In consideration wherof, king
Edward renounced all such claims, titles and inter-
est as he pretended vnto any part of France, other
than such as were comprised within the charter of co-
uenants of this peace first agreed vpon at Bretignie
aforesaid, and after confirmed at Calis, as appeareth
by the same charter dated there the foure & twentieth
daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1360.

3 It was also couenanted, that the French king
should paie vnto the king of England thirtie hun-
dred thousand crownes in name of his ransom: for
assurance of which payment, & performance of all the
couenants afoze mentioned, and other agreed vpon
by this peace, the dukes of Breance, Anion, Berrie,
and Burben, with diuerse other honorable person-
ages, as earles, lords, and burgesses of euerie good
towne, some were appointed to be sent ouer thither in-
to England to remaine as hostages.

4 It was further agreed, that neither the French
king nor his successors should aid the Scots against
the king of England or his successors; nor that king
Edward nor his heires kings of England should aid the
Flemings against the crowne of France.

5 And as for the title or right of the duchie of Bri-
taine, which was in question betwene the earles of
Blois and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both

kings being at Calis, the parties should be called be-
fore them, and if the two kings could not make them
friends, then should they assigne certeine indifferent
persons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeeres
respite to end the matter: and if within that terme
those that should be so appointed to agree them, could
not take by the matter betwixt the said earles, then
either of them might make the best purchase for him-
selfe that he could, by helpe of friends, or otherwise;
but alwaies provided, that neither of the kings nor
their sonnes should so aid the said earles, whereby the
peace accorded betwixt England and France, might
by any meanes be broken or infringed. Also, to whe-
ther of the said earles the duchie of Britaine in the
end chanced to fall by sentence of iudges, or other-
wise, the homage should be done for the same vnto
the French king.

All these ordinances, articles and agreements, with
manie mo (which here would be too long to rehearse)
were accorded and ratified by the instruments and
seales of the prince of Wales on the one part, and of
the duke of Normandie regent of France on the o-
ther part, as by their letters patents then sealed fur-
ther appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in
Normandie the sixteenth daie of Maie in the yeare
of Grace 1360, and the other at Paris the tenth day
of the same moneth, and in the yeare aforesaid. O-
uer & beside this, both the said princes toke on them
a solemne oth, to see all the same articles and coue-
nants of agreement throughlie kept, mainteined and
performed. This done, king Edward imbarcked him-
selfe with his foure sonnes and the most part of his
nobles at Bunden the twentieth daie of Maie, and so
sailed into England, leauing behind him the earle of
Warwicke to haue the gouernement of all the men
of warre which he left behind him, either in Guien or
in any other place on that side the sea.

There died in this iournie diuerse noble men of
this land, as the earles of Argh and Arford, the lord
John Graie then steward of England, and the lord
Geffrie de Sate, with diuerse other. The eight of Ju-
lie next ensuing, the French king hauing licence to
depart, landed at Calis, and was lodged in the castell
there, abiding till the king of England came thither,
which was not till the ninth day of October next af-
ter. On the foure and twentieth daie of October, both
the kings being in two traucres and one chappell at
Calis, a masse was said before them, and when they
should haue kissed the par, either of them in signe of
greater friendship kissed the other, & there they were
solemnelie swozne to mainteine the articles of the
same peace; and for moze assurance thereof, manie
lords of both parts were likewise swozne to main-
teine the same articles to the uttermost of their
powers. Whilste these kings laie thus at Calis, there
was great banquetting and chere made betwixt
them.

Also the duke of Normandie came from Bul-
longne to Calis, to visit his father, and to see the king
of England, in which meane time two of king Ed-
wards sonnes were at Bullongne. Finallie, when
these two kings had finished all matters in so good
order and forme that the same could not be amended
nor corrected, and that the French king had deliuered
his hostages to the king of England, that is to saie,
Ar dukes, beside earles, lords, and other honorable
personages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie:
on the morrow after the taking of their oths, that is
to saie on the five and twentieth daie of October, be-
ing sundaie, the French king was freely deliuered,
and the same daie before none he departed from Ca-
lis, and rode to Bullongne. The king of England
brought him a mile forward on his waie, and then
toke leaue of him in most louing maner. The prince
atten-

The king of
England re-
turneth home
The earle of
Warwicke.

The king of
England re-
turneth home
The earle of
Warwicke.

The king of
England re-
turneth home
The earle of
Warwicke.

The date of
the French
king's ransom.

The date of
the French
king's ransom.

The French
king at
Calis.

attended him to Bollongne, where both he and the duke of Normandie with other were estons sworne to hold and mainteine the forsaide peace without all fraud or colourable deceit: and this done, the prince returned to Calis. Thus was the French king set at libertie, after he had bene prisoner here in England the space of foure yeares, and as much as from the nineteenth daie of September, unto the five and twentieth of October. When the king of England had finished his businesse at Calis, according to his mind, he returned into England, and came to London the ninth daie of November.

Thus haue ye heard the originall beginning, the process, and issue of sundrie conflicts and battels, and speciallie of two, one of John the French king vnluckilie attempted against England; the other of David the Scottish king as vnfurnatlie ended. For both kings were subdued in fight, vanquished, and taken prisoners; with a great number of their noblemen, whereas they were in hope to haue gone auaite with the conquest, and to haue had renowne for their reward. Of which ouerthrow giuen to both these kings, with the clemencie of king Edward (in whose hands though their liues laie to be disposed as he list, yet he was so far from violating the same, that he shewed himselfe a wonderfull sauouer of their estates, and in fine not onelie put them to their reasonable ransoms, but restored them to their roialties, from the which their sinister lot had deposed them) Christopher Okland hath left this remembred:

In English
Edwards.

*Plantagenetia diuor reges iam illustri habebat
Captiuos genuit comites custodiamitis
Mulos ambabus clero regianibus ortos
Sanguine, quos fero bello cepere Britanni.
Attonen Eduardi viguit clementia regis
Tanta, et tanta animo virtus innata sedebat,
Ut pretio et pacto dimitteret ere redemptos
In patriam ad propriæ consanguinitatis amicos.*

Strange
wonders.

In this foure and thirtieth yeare of king Edward, men and cattell were destroyed in diuerse places of this realme, by lightening and tempest; also houses were set on fire and burnt, and manie strange and wonderfull sights seene. The same yeare Edward prince of Wales married the countesse of Kent, which before was wife vnto the lord Thomas Holland: and before that, she was also wife vnto the erle of Salisbury, and diuorced from him, and wedded to the same lord Holland. She was daughter vnto Edmund earle of Kent, brother to king Edward the second, that was beheaded in the beginning of this kings reigne, as before ye haue heard. And because the prince and she were within degrees of consanguinitie forbidden to marrie, a dispensation was gotten from the pope to remoue that let. In this yeare also was a great death of people (namelie of men, for women were not so much subiect thereto.) This was called the second mortallitie, because it was the second that fell in this kings daies.

Great death.

In Welsh
The prince
and countesse
were
killed.

This yeare also by the death of Richard fitz Kase priuat of Ardmach, that departed this life in the court of Rome; and also of Richard Kilminton deceased here in England, the discord that had continued for the space of thre or foure yeares betwixt them of the cleargie on the one part, and the foure orders of friers on the other part, was now quieted and brought to end. Moreover, this yeare appeared two castles in the aire, of the which the one appeared in the southeast, and the other in the south west, out of which castles about the houre of none sundrie times were seene hostes of armed men (as appeared to mans sight) issuing forth, and that host which sailed out of the castle in the southeast seemed white, and the other blacke. They appeared as they should haue fought either against other, and first the white had the

In Welsh
The prince
and countesse
were
killed.

upper hand, and after was overcome, and so banished out of sight.

About the same time, the souldiours which were discharged in France and out of wages, by the breaking by of the warres, assembled together, and did much hurt in that realme, as in the French histories ye may read. Their chiefe leaders were Englishmen and Gascoignes subiects to the king of England. The king assembled the states of his realme in parliament at Westminster in the feast of the Conuersion of S. Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor and whole effect of the peace concluded betwixt England and France, wherewith they were greatlie pleased, and hereupon the nobles of the realme, and such Frenchmen as were hostages, came together at Westminster church on the first Sunday of Lent next following: and there such as were not already sworne, receiued the oth for performance of the same peace, in a right solemne manner, hauing the tenor of their oths written in certeine scrols; and after they had taken their oths vpon the sacrament and masse booke, they deliuered the same scrols vnto certeine notaries appointed to receiue and register the same.

The mortallitie yet during, that noble duke Henry of Lancaster departed this life on the euen of the Annunciation of our ladie, and was buried at Leicester. John of Gaunt the fourth son to the king, who had married his daughter the ladie Blanche, as before ye haue heard, succeeded him in that dutchie as his heire in right of the said ladie. The same yeare also died the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Walter fitz Warren, and thre bishops, Worcester, London, and Ely. This yeare vpon the fifteenth day of January there rose such a passing wind, that the like had not bene heard of in manie yeeres before. It began about euensong time in the south, and that with such mightie force, that it ouerthrew and blew downe strong and mightie buildings, as towers, steeples, houses and chimnies. This outrageous wind continued thus for the space of six or seauen daies, whereby euen those buildings which were not ouerthrowne and broken downe, were yet so shaken, that they without repairing were not able long to stand. After this folowed a verie wet season, namelie in the summer time and harvest, so that much corne and haie was lost and spoiled, for want of seasonable weather to gather in the same.

The lord Lionel the kings sonne went ouer into Ireland, to be deputie to his father there, and was created duke of Clarence, and his brother Edmund was created earle of Cambridge; also Edward prince of Wales was by his father king Edward inuested duke of Guicn, and did homage vnto his father for the same, in like manner and forme as his father and other kings of England were accustomed to do for the said dutchie to the kings of France. And afterwards about the feast of Candlemasse next ensuing, the said prince sailed into Gascoigne, and arrived at Burdeaur, taking vpon him the gouernment and rule of the countrie. Moreover this yeare, the five first daies of Maie, were kept roiall iusts in Smithfield by London, the king and queene being present, with a great multitude of the nobles and gentlemen of both the realms of England and France; at which time came hither Spantards, Cipriots, and Armentians, requiring aid of the king against the infidels, that sore molested their confines. The Staple of wols was this yeare removed to Calis.

Also the sixteenth of October, a parlement began, that was called at Westminster, which continued till the feast daie of S. Brice, on which daie, the king at that time fiftie yeeres then past, was borne; whereupon, as it were in the yeare of his iubilie, he shewed him.

Froissard.

Anno Reg. 35.
Parliament.

Caxton.

Tho. Wals.
Adam Merimuch.

1262
Caxton.

A mightie
wind.

Anno Reg. 36.

Creations of
the kings
sonnes to de-
grees of hono-
Hen. Marle.

The prince of
Wales palleth
ouer into
Guicn.
Thom. Wals.
Additions to
Ad. Merim.
A iusts in
Smithfield.
The Staple
of wols remo-
ued to Calis.
A parlement.

A pardon.

A statute against puru-
uers.

A statute.

Lawiers to
plead their
causes in En-
glish.
Caxton,
Sec. of State,
orders to teach
scholers to
construe their
lessons in
English.1363
Anno Reg. 37.
Thom. Wall.Additions to
Adam Meri-
mich.
A statute of a-
rair against
coffine appa-
rell.These kings
came into En-
gland about
business with
Edwards.

1364

Anno Reg. 38.

The death of
the French
king.

Fabian.

himselfe more gracious to his people, granting par-
don to offenders, and revoking outlaws. Moreover,
it was ordeined in this parlement, that no manner of
person, of what estate or degree soever he was, the
king, the quene, and dukes onelie excepted, should
haue any purcuers of vittells, nor should take by a-
ny thing without readie payment, and those that
from thenceforth did contrarie to this ordinance,
should be extremelie punished. There was granted
to the king in this parlement six and twentie shil-
lings eight pence of euerie sacke of woll that was
to be transported ouer the sea, for thre peares next
insuing.

Furthermore, at the sute of the commons it was
ordeined and established by an act in this parlement
deuised, that men of law should plead their causes,
and write their actions and plaints in the English
tongue, and not in the French, as they had bene ac-
customed to do, euer since the Conquerors time. It
was ordeined also, that scholemasters should teach
their scholers to construe their lessons in English, &
not in French, as before they had bene vsed. The k.
shewed so much curtesie to the French hostages, that
he permitted them to go ouer to Calis, and there be-
ing nere home, to purchase friendship, by oft calling
on their friends for their deliuerance. They were suf-
fered to ride to and fro about the marches of Calis,
for the space of foure daies together, so that on the
fourth daie before sunne setting, they returned into
Calis againe. The duke of Anjou turning this liber-
tie to serue his owne turne, departed from thence,
and went home into France, without making his
fellowes priuie to his purpose.

This yeare a parlement was called by the king,
which began the ninth of October, from the which
none of the noble men could obtaine licence to be ab-
sent. In this parlement all rich ornaments of gold
and silver vsed to be woene in kiuies, girdels, ouches,
rings, or otherwise, to the setting forth of the bodie,
were prohibited, except to such as might dispend ten
pounds by yeare. Moreover that none should weare a-
ny rich clothes or furrer, except they might dispend
an hundred pounds by yeare. ¶ Moreover it was en-
acted, that labourers and husbandmen should not vse
any deintie dishes, or costlie drinks at their tables.
But these, and such other acts as were deuised and es-
tablished at this parlement, toke none effect, as af-
ter it appeared. In this yeare, there came into Eng-
land to speake with king Edward concerning their
weightie affaires, thre kings, to wit, the king of
France, the king of Scotland, & the king of Cyprus:
they were honorable receiued, and highlie feasted.

The king of Scotland, and the king of Cyprus af-
ter they had dispatched their business for the which
they came, turned backe againe; but the French king
fell sicke, and remained here till he died, as in the
next yeare ye shall heare. He arrived here in Eng-
land, about the latter end of this yeare, and came to
Eltham (where king Edward as then laie) on the
fourth and twentieth day of Januarie, and there dined.
After dinner, he took his horse and rode toward Lon-
don, and vpon Blacke heath, the citizens of London
clad in one kind of liuerie, and verie well horsed, met
him, and conueied him from thence through to Lon-
don, to the Banoy, where his lodging was prepared.
About the beginning of March, in this eight and thir-
tith yeare, the forenamed French king fell into a
greuous sicknesse, of the which he died the eight day
of April following. His corps was conueied into
France, and there buried at S. Denise: his erexques
were kept here in England in diuerse places right
solemnelie, by king Edwards appointment.

This yeare, by reason of an extreme sore frost, con-
tinuing from the seven and twentieth day of Septem-

ber last passed, vnto the beginning of April, in this
eight and thirtieth yeare (or rather from the seventh
day of December till the nineteenth day of March, as
Wallingham and other old writers do report) the
ground laie vntill, to the great hinderance and
losse of all growing things on the earth. This yeare
on Michaelmasse day, before the castell of Aulroy, not
far distant from the cite of Tames in Britaine, a
sore battell was fought betwixt the lord Charles de
Blois, and the lord John of Mountford. For when
there could be no end made betwixt these two lordes,
touching their title vnto the duchie of Britaine, they
renewed the wars verie hotlie in that countrie, and
procured all the aid they might from each side. The
king of France sent to the aid of his coufine Charles
de Blois a thousand speares; and the earle of Mount-
ford sent into Gascoigne, requiring sir John Chan-
dois, and other Englishmen there to come to his suc-
cour. Sir John Chandois gladly consented to this re-
quest, and therevpon got licence of the prince, and
came into Britaine, where he found the earle of
Mountford at the siege of the foresaid castell of Aul-
roy. In the meane time, the lord Charles de Blois,
being provided of men, and all things necessarie to
giue battell, came and lodged fast by his enemies.

The earle of Mountford aduertised of his approach,
by the aduise of sir John Chandois and other of his
capteins, had chosen out a plot of ground to lodge in,
and meant there to abide their enemies. With the
lord Charles of Blois was that valiant knight sir
Berthram de Clequin or Guesclin (as some write
him) by whose aduise there were ordeined three bat-
tels, and a rereguard, and in each battell were appoin-
ted a thousand of good fighting men. On the other
part, the earle of Mountford diuided his men like-
wise into thre battels and a rereguard. The first was
led by sir Robert Knols, sir Walter Hewet, and sir
Richard Bulle or Butrie. The second by sir Oliver
de Clifton, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and sir Pat-
rick Courne. The third the earle of Mountford him-
selfe guided, and with him was sir John Chandois as
sociat, by whom he was much ruled: for the king of
England, whose daughter the earle of Mountford
should marie, had written to sir John Chandois, that
he should take good heed to the businessse of the said
earle, and order the same as sagelie as he might de-
uise or imagine.

In ech of these thre armies were five hundred ar-
med men, and foure hundred archers. In the rereguard
were appointed five hundred men of warre, vnder the
gouernance of sir Hugh Caluerlie. Beside sir John
Chandois, & other Englishmen recited by Froissard,
there was the lord William Latimer, as one of the
chiefe on the earle of Mountfords side. There were
not past fiftene hundred good fighting men on that
side, as Thomas Wallingham plainelie writeth.
Now when the hostes were ordred on both sides (as be-
fore we haue said) they approached together, the French
men came close in their order of battell, and were to
the number of five and twentie hundred men of
armes, after the manner of that age, beside others.
Euerie man had cut his speare (as then they vsed, at
that time they should soine in battell) to the length
of five foot, and a short ar hanging at his side. At the
first incounter, there was a sore battell, and trulie
the archers shot right sterrelie, howbeit their shot did
litle hurt to the Frenchmen, they were so well ar-
med and furnished: the archers perceiuing that (be-
ing big men and light) cast awaie their bowes, and
entered in amongst the Frenchmen that bare the
arcs, and plucked them out of their hands, wherewith
they fought after right hardlie. There was done ma-
nie a noble feat of armes, manie taken, and rescued
againe.

Against

On Hugh Caluerlie.

The earle of Aruerres take prisoner.

For Bertham de Cleaquin.

In this year the earle of Montford.

The baronage for the peace.

1365.

John Reg. 39.

John. Wolf.

The lord Conuein: the king of England's daughter.

The lord Conuein: the king of England's daughter.

Against the earle of Montford's battell, fought the battell which the lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the first, the earle of Montford's part was sore oppressed, and brought out of order in such sort, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie had not in time releued them, the losse had runne on that side, but finally so long they fought, that all the battels assembled and ioined each to other, except the rereguard of the Englishmen, thereof (as is said) sir Hugh Caluerlie was chafe. He kept alwayes his battell on a wing, and ever succoured where he saw need. At length, the Frenchmen not able to indure the valiant downings of their aduersaries, began to breake. First the earle of Aruerres battell was discomfited, and put to flight, and the said earle sore wounded, and taken prisoner, but the battell of sir Bertham de Cleaquin as yet stood manfullie at defense, howbeit at length the Englishmen perforce opened it, and then was the said sir Bertham taken prisoner, vnder the banner of sir John Chadois.

Herewith also, all the other battels of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the lord Charles de Blois, were cleane discomfited, and put out of array, so that such as resisted, and stood at defense, were slaine and beaten downe, and amongst others, the lord Charles was there slaine himselfe, and all other either taken or slaine, except those that escaped by flight, amongst the which there were not manie of the nobilitie. For (as Thomas Walsingham saith) there were slaine about a thousand men of armes, and there were taken two earles, seuen and twentie lords, and fiftene hundred men of armes. The chase was followed to the citie of Reimes, eight great leagues from the place where the battell began. After this victorie, the earle of Montford conquered manie towncs and castles in Britaine, thereof the French king being aduertised, sent his brother the duke of Anjou, vnto the wife of the lord Charles of Blois now deceased, to comfort her in such an heauie case, and to take order for things as should be thought expedient, vntill further prouision might be made.

Shortlie after, there were sent vnto the earle of Montford, the archbishop of Reimes, the marshall Bouciquant, and the lord of Cran, as commissioners, to commune with him of a small agreement. Whereupon, after he had signified the matter vnto the king of England, and vnderstood his pleasure therein, this treatie was so handled, that peace thereof followed, and the parties were agreed in the month of Aprill next ensuing. ¶ This yeare (as some haue written) king Edward finished his warres vpon St. Stephens daie, and began the foundation of St. Stephens chapell at Westminster in memorie thereof, which chapell was afterwards finished by king Richard the second that succeeded him. ¶ In the nine and thirtieth yere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the citie of Angouleme, was borne the first sonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the seuenth yere of his age.

Also this yeare, the seuen and twentieth of Julie, Ingeran de Quines lord de Coucie a Frenchman, married the ladie Isabell daughter to R. Edward. The solemnization of the marriage feast was kept at Windsor in most roiall and triumphant wise. The said lord Coucie was created earle of Bedford, with an yerele annuittie of thirtie markes, going forth of the issues and profits of that countie, ouer and beside a thousand markes by yere, assigned to him and his said wife, and to the heires male of their bodies begotten, to be paid forth of the exchequer. About this time, there was a treatie also for marriage to be had, betwixt the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge, and

the ladie Margaret, daughter and heire to the earle of Flanders, which treatie went so far, that the earle came ouer to Douer, where the king was ready to receiue him, and there the earle promised by words of alliance, to giue his said daughter vnto the said lord Edmund in marriage: and after that the earle had bene at Douer, the space of three daies, passing the time in great solace and banketting, when he had finished his businesse, he returned backe againe into his countrie.

Whilest the king was thus at Douer with the earle of Flanders, the lord Latimer came from the lord John de Montford, to vnderstand his pleasure, touching the offers that were made for peace, vpon whose returne with answer, the peace was concluded as before we haue heard. This yeare was Peter king of Castile chased out of his realme, by his bastard brother Henrie, which was aided in that enterprise by sir Bertham de Cleaquin lachie deliuered, and other Frenchmen; so that the said Henrie was crowned at Burgus, vpon Easter daie: wherefore the said Peter was constrained to flee, and so came to Burdeau to sue for aid at the hands of the prince of Wales. This yeare by the kings commandement, a restraint was ordeined, that Peter pence should not be from thenceforth anye more gathered within this realme, nor anye such payment made at Rome, which had bene used to be paid there, ever since the daies of Ine, king of Westsaxons, which ordeined this payment toward the maintenance of a scholl for English schollers. But howsoever this payment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine shires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight, so greatly preuailed the vsurped power of that beast of Rome, which had poisoned the princes of the world with the dregs of his abomination, whose glorie shall end in shame, his hono: turne to horroz, and his ambitious climbing vp aloft aboute all princis palitie (to be compere with God) shall haue an irrecoverable ruine; as long agone, and of late likewise hath bene and now is prophesied of him, that he may readilie read his owne downefall into hell:

*In rapidas acherontis aquas, qui gloria mundi
Papa fuit, lapsu corruet ille graui:
Corruet ut rapidum descendit ab ethere fulmen,
Corruet in stygios tempus in omne lacus.*

In this yeare fell great abundance of raine in the time of hate hartest, so that much corne and hait was lost. ¶ There was also such fighting amongst sparrows in that season, that they were found dead on the ground in great numbers. Also, there followed great mortalitie of people, the sicknesse being so sharpe and vehement, that manie being in perfect health ouer night when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. Also, manie died of the small poeks, both men, women, and children. ¶ Howsoever this yeare, Simon Ilsep archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and Simon Langham bishop of Ely succeeded in his place. This yeare at Burdeau, was borne the second sonne of prince Edward named Richard, on the third daie of Aprill; his godfather at the fontstone was James R. of Spaine. ¶ Peter the king of Spaine, who (as we haue heard) was expelled out of his realme by his bastard brother, made such earnest sute to the prince of Wales for aid to be restored home, that finally the prince aduertising his father king Edward of the whole matter, by aduise from him, determined to bring home the said king Peter, and to restore him againe to his kingdome, by force of armes, in despite of all his aduersaries.

The prince indeed was verie desirous to take this enterprise vpon him, both of a certeine pitifull affection

The earle of Flanders.

The lord Latimer.

The king of Castile chased out of his realme. Froissard.

Peter pence.

The king of Westsaxons.

Prince hartest. Caxton.

Death.

R. Richard the second booke.

Froissard.

tion to relieve the miserable state of king Peter, and also of an ardent desire which he had to purchase a glorious fame thorough martiall deeds, and noble acts of chivalrie. Therefore having this occasion to imploy his time in such exercises, and now commanded thereto of his father, he was exceedingly glad in his mind, and with all speed that might be, made his provision both of a sufficient armie of men of warre, and also of all other things necessarie for the furniture of such an enterprise: but first, he took good assurance of king Peter, for the payment of the soldiers wages: so the king left at Baionne three of his daughters, Beatrice, Constance, and Isabell as pledges, for performance of all the covenants agreed betwixt him and the prince.

1367
Anno reg. 41.

The prince secretly forward to ward to warre in Spaine. He entred into Pauarre.

Thus when the prince, by the aduise and counsell of sir John Chandois, and sir Robert Knols (by whome he was much ruled) had taken direction in his businesse, for that his iourne into Spaine, in each condition as was thought behoofull, he with the king of Spaine in his companie, passed forth with a puissant armie, and came to the streets of Roncuaille, at the entrie into Pauarre, and obtaining so much friendship of the king of Pauarre, as to haue the passages of his countie opened, they entered into his realme through the same, as friends, without finding any resistance. In this meane time, Henric king of Spaine, having knowledge that the prince of Wales was thus comming against him, to restore his brother king Peter to his former degree, by aduise of sir Berthram de Clequin, got a great number of soldiers out of France, by whose aid he might the better defend himselfe against his enemies.

The king of Pauarre taken by the Frenchmen.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Pachaule.

The king of Spaine sent to the prince.

Altozia, Diana.

Polydor.

Now it chanced, that whilst the prince of Wales was passing thorough Pauarre, toward the entrie of Spaine, certaine of those Frenchmen, under the leading of sir Oliver Hannie, take the king of Pauarre prisoner, as he was riding from one towne to another. Hannie marvelled at that chance, and some there were that thought he suffered himselfe to be taken for a cautele, because he would not aid the prince of Wales any further, nor conduct him through his realme, as he had promised to do. But the prince nothing dismayed herewith, passed forward, by the guiding of a knight of Pauarre, called sir Martin de Care, and finally came to the confines of Spaine, and lodged at Altozia, not far from his enemies. For king Henric of Spaine, understanding which waie the prince drew, came forward to encounter him, and might do some his field, not far from the borders of his realme, at a place called saint Pachaule: and thus were both the hosts lodged within a small distance the one against the other.

King Henric had sent to the prince an herald of armes with a letter, requiring to know of him for what cause he moued warre against him, sith he had neuer offended him. The prince taking deliberation for answer of this letter, kept the messenger with him, and perceiving that king Henric came not forward, but late still at saint Pachaule, strongly incamped, he removed from Altozia, and came to a towne called Diana, where he staid two daies to refresh his people, and after went forward, and passed the riuer which diuideth the realmes of Castile and Pauarre, at the bridge of Croigne. King Henric aduersed hereof, departed from saint Pachaule, and came before the towne of Pauarret, situate on the same riuer. Not manie daies before the prince passed the riuer at Croigne, king Henric had sent forth two of his brethren, the earle Dom Cellie, and the lord Sanches, with sir hundred horsemen, to view the princes host.

They chanced to encounter two hundred English

horsemen, whom after long and sharpe fight they distressed, & slew sir William Felton, one of the chiefe leaders of those Englishmen, and took sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other, both knights and esquires. Whether that king Henric was greatlie encouraged by this good lucke in the beginning, or that he trusted through the great multitude of his people, which he had there with him, to haue the upper hand of his enemies, true it is, that he coueted soe to giue them battell; and although he might haue wearied the prince, and constrained him for want of vittells to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at some great aduantage, if he had deferred the battell, as the marshall of France Dandrehen gaue counsell, yet he would needs fight in all the hast, and therefore did thus approach his enemies.

The prince perceiving that his aduersarie came forward to encounter him, dispatched the herald with an answer to the letter which he had of him received, containing in effect, that for great considerations, he had taken vpon him to aid the rightfull king of Spaine, chased out of his realme by violent wrong, and that if it might be, he would gladlie make an agreement betwixt them; conditionallie, that king Henric of necessitie must then forsake the administration, and all the title of the kingdome of Spaine, which by no rightfull meane he could inioy, and therefore if he refused thus to do, he was for his part resolved how to proceed. The herald departed with this answer, and came therewith vnto king Henric, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puissant armie at Pauarre, so that then both parties prepared themselves to battell.

The prince having with him thirtie thousand men of Englishmen, Gascoignes, and other strangers, ordered three battells, of the which, the first was led by the duke of Lancaster, and with him was sir John Chandois constable of Guien, sir William Beauchampe son to the earle of Warwick, the lord Dabryet, sir Richard Dangle, and sir Stephan Cousen-ton, marshalls of Guien, & diuerse other. The middle ward was gouerned by the prince, and with him was the foresaid Peter king of Spaine, and diuerse other lords and knights of England, Poitou, and other countries, as the vicounts of Chatelareault and Rochecort, the lords of Partnie, Pinan, Lanebaton, and others, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Thomas Spencer, sir John Crendon, and a great sort more, whose names it would be too long to rehearse. The reereward was vnder the gouernance of the king of Galoques, & with him were associated the earls of Arminacke, Dalbryeth, Piergozt, Cominges, the capitoll of Buck, sir Robert Knols, and manie other valiant lords, knights, and esquires.

On the second day of Aprill, the prince with his battell thus ordered, removed from Croigne, and marching that day two leagues forward, came before Pauarret, and there took his lodging, within a small distance from his enemies, so that both parties prepared to giue battell the next day in the morning, commanding that euerie man at the sounding of the first trumpet, should apparell themselves, that they might be ready vpon the next sound to be set in order of battell, and to go against their enemies. The Spaniards very earlie in the morning drew into the field, and ordered three battells in this wise. The first was led by sir Berthram de Clequin, wherein were all the Frenchmen and other strangers, to the number of foure thousand knights and esquires, well armed and appointed, after the manner of France. In the second battell was the earle Dom Cellie, with his brother the lord Sanches, having with them fiftene thousand men on foot, and on horsebacke. The third battell and the greatest of all was gouerned by king Henric

Sir Thomas Felton brother to the prince.

The number of the princes armie.

The chiefe reiers of the same armie.

The order of the Spaniards.

An. Reg. 41.

The number
of Spaniards
slain.

Henrie himselfe, having in that battell seven thousand horsemen, and threescore thousand footmen, with crossbowes, darts, speares, lances, and other abilliments of war: so in all three battells he had fourscore and six thousand men on horsebacke and on foot.

The Duke of
Lancaster.

The prince of Wales, at the breaking of the daie was readie in the field with his people arranged in order of battell, and advanced forward with them toward his enemies, at a hasting pace; and as they passed a little hill, they might see as they were descending downe the same, their enemies comming likewise towards them, in good order of battell. When they were approached nere together, and readie to joine, the duke of Lancasters battell encountered with the battell of sir Berthram de Cleaquin, which two battells berie eagerly assailed each other, so that there was betwixt them a sore conflict, and well continued. The erle Don Telle, and his brother the lord Sanches, upon the first approach of the princes battell towards them, fled out of the field, and with them two thousand speares, so that the residue of their battell were hostlie after discomfited, for the capitall of Bis othertwise Beuf, and the lord Clifton, came upon them on foot, and slue and hurt manie of them, so that they brake their arraie, and fled to save themselves.

The capitall
of Bis.

This chance discomfited the hearts of the Spaniards right sore, but yet king Henrie like a valiant gentleman came forward, and encouraged his men all that he might, so that there was a cruell battell, and well foughten a long time. For the Spaniards with slings cast stones in such fierce manner, that they claue therewith manie an helmet and bassenet, hurt manie, and overthrow them to the earth. On the other part, the English archers shot freshly at their enemies, galled and slue the Spaniards, and brought them to great confusion: yet king Henrie nothing abashed herewith, wheresoever he perceived his men to shrink, thither he resorted, calling upon them, and exhorting them to remember their estimations and duties, so that by his diligence and manfull encouragement, thuse that daie did he staie his people, being at point to give over, and set them in the faces of his enemies againe. Neither did the souldiers alone manfully beaue themselves, but the capitaines also stoutlie laid about them. King Peter like a lion pressed forward, coueting to meet with his brother Henrie, that he might take his reuenge on him with his owne hands. Cruell was the fight, and tried throughlie with most eager and fierce minds.

The archers.

King Peter.

The Spaniards
departed
hither.

At length, when the Spaniards were no longer able to susteine the force and violence of the Englishmen, Gascoignes, & other which were there against them, they brake their arraie, and fled: so that neither the authoritie nor bold exhortation of king Henrie, could cause them to tarrie anie longer: whereupon, when he saw himselfe forsaken of his people, and that few abode with him to resist his enemies, he also to save himselfe fled out of the field, being fullie persuaded, that if he had bene taken, no ransom should haue saved his life. The battell that was best fought, and longest held together, was that of the strangers, which sir Berthram de Cleaquin led. For if the Spaniards had done halfe their parts as well as the Frenchmen, & other in this battell, the matter had gone harder against the Englishmen than it did: yet finally, by the noble courage of the duke of Lancaster, and the valiant prowesse of sir John Chandois, sir Hugh Caluerlie, & others, the Frenchmen were put to flight, and their battell quite discomfited. The slaughter in this battell was great, both of them that were slaine in the field, and of those that were drowned in the river that runneth by the towne of Pauvret.

After that the battell was ended, and that such as had followed the chase were returned, the prince caused the fields to be searched, to vnderstand what number had bene slaine in the battell: they that were appointed to take the view, upon their returne reported, that there was dead of men of armes five hundred and threescore, and of commons about seauen thousand, and five hundred of the English part: there were slaine of men of name, but foure knights, two Gascoignes, one Almaine, and the fourth an Englishman, and of other meane souldiers, not past foure (as Froissard saith.) But others affirme, that there were slaine of the princes part about sixtene hundred; which should seme to be more like a truth, if the battell was fought so sore and fiercelie, as Froissard himselfe doth make report. Holbeist, there be that write, how the duke of Lancaster won the field by great fortune and valiance, yet the prince came nere to his enemies. But howsoever it was, the Englishmen obtained the victorie in this battell, fought on a saturdaye being the third of Aprill, in the yeare 1367. There were taken prisoners, to the number of two thousand, and amongst them the erle of Dene, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the marchall Dandehen or Denhen, and manie other men of name.

The number
slaine at this
battell at Pauvret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

Froissard.

Caxton.

After the battell, king Peter went to Burgos, and was receiued into the citie, and hostlie after, that is to say, on the wednesdaye following, the prince came thither, and there held his Easter with king Peter, and tarried there about three weekes. In the meane time, they of Asturgus, Toledo, Lisbon, Cordoua, Calice, Siuill, and of all other places of the kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage unto king Peter, promising him to be true to him ever after: for they saw that resistance would not availe so long as the prince should be in the countrie. After this, the prince was in hand with king Peter, for the souldiers wages, by whose aid he was thus restored into his former estate. King Peter went unto Siuill, to make thist for monte accordinglie, promising to returne againe, within a few weekes, and to see euerie man paid, according as he had covenanted. For when he was driven out of his realme, and came to Burdeaur to craue aid of the prince, he promised, that so soone as he should be restored to his kingdome, he would see the souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himselfe thereto, both by his oath and writing given vnder his seale. But when he obtained his purpose, he forgot all friendlie dutie, and was so farre from performing his promise, that he cloaked his ill meaning with a feigned tale, and sent the prince a message spiced with hypocrisie and vnthankfulnesse, two foule faults in a priuat man, much more odious in a prince and great state, as the poet wisely and truelie saith in this diffition:

*Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.*

The prince tarried for the returne of king Peter, both weekes and moneths, but could not heare anie tidings of him. He therefore sent unto him, to vnderstand the cause of the staie: his answer was, that he had provided monie, and sent it by certeine of his men toward the prince, but the companions that served vnder the prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had the conueiance of it: he therefore required the prince to rid the realme of those snaphances, and to leaue behind him some of his officers, to whome in name of him he would make payment of such monie as was due. This answer pleased not the prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that present he could not haue, for as much likelihood he saw: and therefore, taking order with king Peter how the payment should be made,

King Peter's
dissimulation.

he prepared to returne into Gascoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure moneths next ensuing, king Peter should paie the one halfe of the wages due to the soldiers for this iourne, unto such as the prince should leaue behind him to receiue the same, and the other halfe within one yeare.

Tho. Wals.

The prince
put to his
lasts for de-
taunt of paie.

The prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make monie thereof to paie his soldiers, namely, the companions, which he had called forth of France, so that he left himselfe bare of all riches, to keepe touch with them, although king Dampeter failed in his promise each waile forth. For where the prince should haue had in recompense towards his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the said Dampeters assignement, so that he sent one of his knights to take seisine of the same lands, he was neuertheless disappointed, for he could not come by any peaceable possession of those lands, and so returned greatlie impouerished, hauing spent in this iourne all that he could make. In the meane time the bassard Henrie, hauing escaped out of the field by flight, got him into France, and there through fauor of the duke of Anjou, so purchased for himselfe, that he got together a certeine number of Britains and other soldiers, & comming to the frontiers of the princes land in Gascoigne, got a towne in Bigore, called Bannieres, and made war vpon the princes subiects.

The prince
returneth into
Gascoigne.

The prince obtaining passage for himselfe and his men, of the kings of Aragon and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the bassard Henrie forsake his garrison at Bannieres, and went into Arragon, and there got the king of Arragons assistance: & finally, in the yeare 1369, returning into Spaine, recovered the kingdome, and slue his brother king Peter, as in the historie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this historie of England, I doe here passe over. This yeare, in the month of March, appeared a blasing starre, betwixt the north and west, whose beames stretched towards France as was then marked, threatening (as might be thought) that within a small time after it should againe be wrapped and set on fire with new troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrie was not in quiet, but harried in diuerse parts, by such soldiers as had bene with the prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people were for the more part Englishmen and Gascoignes, as sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tresnel, Robert Cenne, sir Gaollard Agier, the bourge of Bertueil, the bourge Camois of Continges, as Denise Sauvage thinketh, the bourge of Lespare, Pandon of Paludon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Mitigo, Lamut, and manie other.

The duke of
Clarence go-
eth into Fra-
nce.

The lable
Violant.

In this 42 yeare of king Edwards reigne, his second son the lord Lionel duke of Clarence and earle of Ulster passed the sea, with a noble companie of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and went thorough France into Lombardie, there to marrie the lable Violant, daughter to the duke of Millane. He was honorable receiued in all places where he came, and speciallie at Paris, by the dukes of Berrie and Burgognye, the lord Coucie and other, the which brought him to the court, where he dined and supped with the king, and lodged within the palace. On the next day he was had to a place where the queene lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueied to the court againe, and supped that night with the king, and on the morrow following, he took his leaue of the king and queene the which gaue to him great gifts, and likewise to the noble men of England that came over with him, to the value of twentie thousand florens and aboue: he was conueied from place to place, with

certeine of the French nobilitie, till he came to the borders of the realme, and then entering into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where the earle of Sauoy was ready to receiue him, and there he remained foure daies, being highlie feasted amongst the ladies and damosels: and then he departed, and the earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to do him the more honor, for his sister was mother to the bride, which the duke should marrie.

To speake of the honorable receiuing of him into the citie of Millane, and of the great feast, triumph, and banketting, and what an assemblee there was in Millane of high states, at the solemnizing of the marriage betwixt him and the said lable Violant, it were too long a procelle to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the lord Gileas gaue unto such honorable personages as were there present, amounted in value to an inestimable summe. The writers of the Millane histories affirme, that this marriage was celebrated on the fiftieth daie of June, in the yeare 1367, which being true, the same chanced in the 41 yeare of this kings reigne, and not in this 42 yeare, though other authors agree, that it was in the yeare 1368. But to returne to other doings where we left.

We haue heard how the prince of Wales could get no monie of the king of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had receiued to serue him in the reducing of the said king home into his countrie: wherefore the prince hauing bene at great charges in that iourne, was neither able to satisfie them, nor mainteine his owne estate, without some great aid of his subiects, and therefore he was counselled to raise a subsidie called a suage, through all the countrie of Aquitaine, to run onelie for the space of five yeares. To this paiement, euerie chimnie or fire must haue bene contributoie, paing yearely one franke, the rich to haue borne out the poore. And to haue this paiement granted, all the states of the countrie were called together at Poier. The Poitouins, and they of Rainsonge, Limosin, Rouergne, and of Rochell, agreed to the princes request, with condition, that he should keepe the course of his coine stable, for the terme of seven yeares.

But diuerse of the other parts of Guien refused that ordinance, as the earles of Arminake, and Cominges, the vicount of Carmaigne, the lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Canbe, Vincognet, and diuerse other great barons: but yet to depart quietlie from the assemblee, they required a time to take better aduise, and so they repairing into their countries, determined neither to returne againe according to their promises, nor to suffer any suage to run amongst them at all, and were so much offended with the motion, that they sought occasion forthwith to reuolt from the English obedience and submission, knowing that

*Pañores tendere boni haud deglubere cultris
Villosum assuecunt pecus.*

And therefore diuerse lords of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the peers of France, their complaints of the grieuous impositions & wrongs, which the prince went about to laie vpon them, affirming that their reioyng ought of speciall duty to be to the crowne of France, and to the king there, as to their lord Paramount. The French king, who would not seeme to breake the peace betwene him and the king of England, dissembled the matter, and told them that he would peruse the tenor of the charters and letters of the peace, and so far forth as he might by permission of the same, he would be glad to do them good. The earles of Arminake, Berigourd, Cominges, and the lord Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this answer, and so

his inter-
tainment
Sauoy.

his returne
into Aquit.

Corio in the
historie of
Millane.

La. Meir.
Froissard.
Caxton.

Froissard.

The priuie
wales con-
tributed into
den his sub-
jects with a
sage subsidie.

Cotme more
be enhanced
may abate.

The dream
of this was
the cause of
Gascoignes
reuolting to
the French
king.

staid in France, till they might understand further, both of the French kings mind, and of the princes doings. This yere in October, was Simon Langham archbishop of Canturburie elected to the dignitie of a cardinall, and then William Willeste, bishop of Worcester, was remoued into the see of Canturburie.

The earle of Saint Paule

About the same time, the earle of saint Paule, one of the hostages in England, staid from hence, without taking any leaue, or saying farewell. At his coming into France, he greatly furthered the lute of the lords of Gascoigne, & finally so much was done on their behalfe, that the French king was contented that the prince of Wales should be appeale, and summoned to appeare before the French king as judge in that point, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made their resort unto him, as reason was they should. This appeale was written, and duly examined.

1369
The prince of Wales appeares

The tenor of the said prince of Wales
his appeale or summons of appearance before the French king, &c.

G Charles by the grace of God king of France, to our nephue the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, send greeting. So it is, that diuerse prelates, barons, knights, vniuersities, communalities, and colledges of the marches and limits of the countrie of Gascoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our realme, besides diuerse other of the duchie of Aquitaine, are resorted, and come to our court, to haue right of certeine grieues, and vniuersall troubles, which you, by vnadvised counsell, and simple information, haue purposed to do vnto them, whereof we greatly maruell. Therefore, to withstand, and to redresse such things, we are so conioined to them, that we haue thought good, by our roiall power, to command you to repaire to our cite of Paris, in proper person, and there to shew and present your selfe before vs, in the chamber of our peres, that you may be constrained to do right to your people, concerning the grieues which they alledge that you are about to oppresse them with, who claime to haue their resort into our court: and that you faile not thus to do, in as sparie manner as ye can, immediately vpon the sight and hearing of these present letters. In witnesse whereof, we haue to the same set our seale. Given at Paris, the five and twentieth day of Januarie.

Anno Reg. 43.

The prince of Wales to the messenger.

These letters were giuen to a knight and a clerke, to beare and present to the prince, which according to that they had in charge, went to Burdeaur, and there getting licence to come before his presence, they read the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openly told them for a plaine answer, that he meant to accomplish the French kings request, for his coming to Paris, but that should be with his helmet on his head, and threescore thousand armed men, to beare witness of his appearance. The messengers perceiving the prince to be sore offended with their message, got them away, without taking their leaue: but before they were passed the limits of the English domination, they were laid by command-

ment of the prince, and committed to prison, within the cite of Agen.

About the same time, the duke of Berrie returned into France, hauing licence of king Edward for an whole yere; but he bare himselfe so wisely, that he returned not againe at all: for he excused himselfe, till time that the warre was open. In like manner, the more part of all the other hostages, by one meane or other were returned into France, and some indeed were deliuered vpon their ransomes, or other considerations, so that the French king being deliuered of that obstacle, was the more readie to breake with the king of England, and therefore vpon knowledge had of the princes answer, to those that he sent with the appeale, by such of the messengers seruants as were returned, and declared how their maisters were delt with, he courtly prepared for the warre. The lord John Chandois, and other of the princes counsell foresaw that would insue of leauieng the suage, and therefore counselled the prince, not to proceed any further in it. But he hauing onlie regard to the relese of his souldiers and men of warre, would needs go forward with it. And indeed, if he might haue brought it to passe, as it was denied, that euerie household should haue paid a franke for himselfe, age, the summe would haue growne to twelue hundred thousand frankes by the yere, which had bene a great relese, and that made him the more earnest, because he might haue bene able so to haue paid his debts.

The duke of Berrie.

The lord Chandois.

Chimnage.

Now, when it was perceiued certeinly that open rebellion would therof insue, and that king Edward was certified of the whole state of the matter, and how diuerse of the lords of Aquitaine were withdrawne vnto the court of France, in manner as before ye haue heard, he deuised a letter, which he caused to be published through all the parts of Aquitaine the effect whereof was this: That where the people of that countrie found themselves graued for such exactions as were demanded of them, he meant therefore vpon examination of their iust complaints, to see their wrongs redressed. And further, he was contented to pardon all such as were withdrawne to the French king, so that within a moneths space they would returne home; requiring them, that in no wise they should stirre any seditious tumult, but to remember their oths of allegiance, and to continue in the same, according to their bounden duties; and as for him, he would be readie to see them eased, that would shew by plaine proofe how they had bene otherwise graued than reason might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduise of all his counsellours.

A letter published by the prince to appease the Gascoignes.

But this courteous letter little auailed, for daile the Gascoignes revolted from the prince, and turned to the French part. Moreover, another occasion of grudge chanced to renew the malice betwixt the R. of England, and the French king. For whereas ye haue heard, that the earle of Flanders had affianced his daughter and heire to the lord Edmund of Langlie, earle of Cambridge, a shift was made, namely by the earles mother the countesse of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithstanding the same affianced, she was married to Philip duke of Burgogonie, who was surnamed the Hardie, by this occasion, as I. Meir saith. It chanced, that whilst he was prisoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to wait at the table, where his father and the king of England sat together at meat. And because a noble man of England that was appointed likewise to attend at the same table, serued first the king of England before the king of France, this Philip vp with his fist, and toke the English lord a blow on the eare, saying; Wilt thou serue the king

Ia. Meir.

Philip duke of Burgogonie marieth & erie of Flanders daughter.

The cause of his surname the Hardie.

of England first, where the French king sitteth at the same table: The Englishman out with his dagger, & would haue striken the said Philip, but the king of England straight charged him to the contrarie, and praising the deed of the young stripling, said vnto him, *vous estes Philippe hardie*, Thou art (said he) the hardie Philip. And so from that daie he bare that name euer after. There be other that saie, how he took that surname, because in the battell of Poitiers he abode still with his father till the end of the battell, without shewing any token of feare, or faintnes of courage.

The earles of Arminacke & Perigord, Froissard.

The L. wake discomfited.

Fabian.
The French king proce-
deth against
the prince in
iudgement of
the appeale.
Froissard.

The earles of Arminacke and Perigord, with the other lords of Gascoigne, that had made their appeale (as ye haue heard) to the chamber of the peeres of France, when they understood that the prince had imprisoned the messengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, began to make warre on the princes lands. The first enterpryse they made, was the discomfiting of the lord Thomas Wake sene-
shall of Rouergne, as he was riding from Agen vnto the cite of Rodais, with thre score spears, and two hundred archers in his companie. Also the French king being now provided for the war, and understanding the minds of the people within certeine townes under the dominion of the Englishmen, in his high court of parlement holden at Paris, proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellacion before made by the earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, against prince Edward. And moreover he sent ouer into England the earle of Salisbury, and a knight called sir William Doyman, to signifie to the king of England, how he thought himselfe not honozable vsed, & that the king of England did but slenderlie keepe the covenants of the peace, considering that he did not find meanes to reforme such of his subiects Englishmen and Gascoignes, as daile robbed and wasted the countries & lands belonging to the crowne of France.

These ambassadoys were staied for the space of two moneths, & still they complained of the wrongs that the Englishmen had done, contrarie to the covenants of the peace, but the king made small account thereof, because he perceived it was a forged matter that they alledged, and so in the end sent them awaie. At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Britaine that was coming with letters of defiance to the king of England from the French king, and as he had in commandement, he declared to them the effect of his message, wher vpon with all speed they passed ouer to Bullongne, and were glad they had so escaped. The Britaine came to the court, and deliuered the defiance to the king, according to the instructions which he had receiued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceiued by good view taken of the seale and signet, that the same were of authoritie, he licenced the messenger to depart, and fell in counsell with the peeres of his realme, what he should do in so weightie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought necessarie by them, that he should assemble his court of parlement, and so he did. In the which (vpon declaration made how insuriously the French king after manie wrongfull dealings had now broken the peace, and sent his defiance vnto the king in so despitefull wise as might be) there was granted towards the maintenance of the warre thus begun, thre sixtens of the temporalitie, and thre sixtens of the spiritualtie, to be paid in thre yeares.

At the selfe same time that the defiance was made to the king here in England, the earle of S. Paule, and Guic de Chatillon master of the crossbowes in France, entered into the countie of Ponthieu, toke Abouille, and an English knight called sir Nicholas Louaigne senehall of that countie vnder the king

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

of England, as then being within it. They toke also saint Valerie, Crotoie, Rue, Pont saint Renie, and to be short, reduced the whole countie of Ponthieu vnder the French obedience, which had remained in possession of the Englishmen for the space of a hundred and twelue yeares, euer since Edward the first had the same assigned to him in name of a dowrie, with his wife queene Elianor, sister to Alfonso B. of Castile. And yet were the people of that countie ready now to revolt to the French dominion, notwithstanding their former long continued obedience to the Englishmen: for other wise could not the Frenchmen so easilie haue come to their purpose, but that the people were covenanted before to receiue them, and betraie those few Englishmen that were amongst them.

About the same time also, it fell so ill for the Englishmen, that the prince of Wales was troubled with a sore sicknesse, that had continued long with him, euer since his being in Spaine, by reason whereof his entrees were the more bold to make attempts against him, and daile went about to allure and intise his subiects of the marches of Gascon to revolt from him, in somuch that the cite of Cahors, and diuerse other townes thereabout turned to the French part. Thus was the peace which had bene so suertie made, and with so manie solemn oths confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen together by the eares againe in sundrie places, and namelie in Aquitaine, where sundrie armies were abroad in the fields, diuers sieges laid, manie townes taken, often encounters and skirmishes made, sometime to the losse of the one part, and sometime of the other, and the countries in the meane time harried and spoiled, that maruell it is to consider, and so long a procelle it should be to rehearse the tenth part of such chances as daile happened amongst them, so that it might well haue bene said of that sore & tumultuous time:

O quam difficiles sunt sint paces dies.

King Edward sent ouer into Gascoigne the earls of Cambridge and Penbrooke, with a certeine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriving in Britaine, passed through that countie by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as then lieng at Angouleme in Poitou, by whom they were sent to ouerrun the earle of Perigords lands, and so they did, and after laid siege to Burdille, hauing with them about thre thousand men one and other. There came with them forth of England foure hundred men of armes, foure hundred archers, and (as Froissard saith) beside their captains, these earles which he nameth, to wit, the lord of Tabelesne (or rather Bradstone as I take it) sir Brian Stapleton, sir Thomas Balaster, and sir John Triuet. Whilste the said earles went thus to make warre against the earle of Perigord, sir Hugh Caluerlie with two thousand men of warre was sent also to ouerrun the lands of the earle of Arminacke, and of the lord Walbet; sir John Chandois late in the marches of Thoulouze at Mountaubon, & afterwards besieged Terreres, and in the end wan it; and so likewise did the earles of Cambridge and Penbrooke win Burdille, by reason of a fallie that they within made forth, and passed so far from their fo:restre, that the Englishmen got betwixt them and home.

Sir Robert Knols came from such lands as he had in Britaine, to serue the prince now in these warres of Gascoigne, and was by him made chiefe gouernor of all his men of warre, who bare himselfe right worthilie in that charge. The first iournie which he made at that time, was into Quercie, hauing with him beside his owne bands, certeine knights of the princes retinue, as sir Richard Donchardon, sir Se:phart Gouffenton, sir Raell Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John

The countie of Ponthieu taken by the French king.

The prince of Wales troubled with a sore sicknesse.

The countie of Cahors taken by the French king.

Success in the Gascoigne.

Burdille taken.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

Sir John Chandois.

Burdille taken.

Sir Robert Knols.

John Erue, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Thomas Balasier, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Spoinne seneschall of Aigemois, sir Baldwin de Freuille, and others. At their comming into Quercie, they besieged a strong fortrese called Durnell, within the which were diuerse capteins of the companions, as Aimon d'Otigo, the little Pechin, Jaques de Bray, Perot de Sauoie, and Arnaudon de Pons, the which so valiantlie defended the place, that although the lord Chandois, accompanied with sir Thomas Felton, the capitall of Beuf, sir John de Dominiere, sir Thomas Percie, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and others came with their retinues from Pontaubon, to reinforce that siege, yet could they not obtaine their purpose, but raising from thence after fixe weekes siege (constrained thereto through want of vittels) they marched straight to a towne called Domme, which they besieged, hauing in their armie fiftene hundred men at armes, beside two thousand archers and bigands, so called in those daies, of an armour which they wore named bigandines, used then by footmen, that bare also targets, or pauisses, and certeine darts or iauelincs to throw at their enemies.

Be. Cant.

The towne and castell of Domme were so strong of themselves, and so well provided of men of warre that were appointed to the gard of the same, with the lord thereof called sir Robert de Domme, that after the English capteins perceived they should but lose time to linger about the winning of that towne, they called their siege, and marching further into the countrie, won Cauachies, Freins, Rochinador, and Aille franche, vpon the marches of Toulouzain, greatlie to the displeasure of the duke of Anion that lay at the same time in the cite of Toulouze, & could not remedie the matter. ¶ But to recite euerie particular enterpryse, as the same was atchieued by the English capteins and men of warre in that season, it should be more than the purpose of this volume might permit, and therefore I passe ouer diuerse things, which I find registered by Froissard and other writers, onelie aduertising you, that as the Englishmen thus made fore warres against their aduersaries abroad in those quarters: so the Frenchmen on the other part had assembled great numbers of men of warre, not onelie to defend their frontiers, but also by insualions to win from the Englishmen towns and castles, and to wast such countries as would not turne to their side. Thus were all those countries in troubles of warre.

Froissard full of warre.

The two kings also of England and France, signified to their neighbours the causes of this warre, laing the fault either to other, and excusing themselves as cleare and innocent therein. Edward duke of Gelberland, nephew to the king of England, as sonne to his sister, and the duke of Gulike confine to the kings children by their mother that was daughter to the earle of Heinnault, took great despite that the French king had broken the peace, as they were thoughtlie persuaded, and that he had defied king Edward, as before ye haue heard. Wherevpon they sent their defiance vnto the French king, threatening to be reuenged on him to the uttermost of their powers. Duke Albert of Bavier, was once minded also to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards such persuasions were used on the French kings part, that he chose to remaine as neuter betwixt them both, refusing to take anie part.

Chronicle of Bavier.

Among the soldiers also called companions, which serued the prince in this season, there were three capteins, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Otigo, Bernard de Wilske, & Bernard de la Sale. These three remaining as then in Limosin, hearing that the duke of Burbons mother, which was also

mother to the French queene, late within the castell of Bellesperch in Bourbonnois, with a small compaignie about hir, rode thither in one daie and a night, so that in the morning they approached the castell, scaled it, and took it, with the ladie within it. And though they were after besieged in the same castell by the duke of Burbon and other Frenchmen, yet they defended it, till the earls of Cambridge and Denbroke, with fiftene hundred speares, and three thousand of other men of warre, came and offered the Frenchmen battell, lodging afore them fiftene daies. And when they perceived that the Frenchmen would not issue out of the battide (in which they laye) to giue battell, the earles of Cambridge and Denbroke caused all them within the castell to come forth, and to bring with them the duches of Burbon, whome they led awaie in sight of hir sonne, leauing the castell void and free for him to enioy.

The duke of Burbons mother taken.

The French king provided a great number of ships to assemble together at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to beset them aboard in the same ships, that they might saile into England, and make warre against king Edward in his owne countrie. Chiefeine of this armie should haue bene his brother the duke of Burbon, but this iournie was broken, for the Frenchmen were eased of the paine to come to seke the Englishmen at home in England, they comming ouer into France, and proffering them battell euen at their owne doores. For the king of England hauing leuied a power of archers, and other men of warre, sent them ouer vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Lancaster. There went with him in this iournie, the earles of Hereford and Salisburie, the lord Ros, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord de la Ware, the lord de la Pole, the lord Walter of Spannie, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Thomas Grantfau, sir Alane Burehul, sir Richard Sturrie, & diuerse other. They went ouer about Midsummer. And after they had rested a little, the duke set forward and rode forth into the countrie, spoiling and harrieng the same, and when he saw time, returned againe to Calis.

The French king prepareth a nauie.

The duke of Lancaster set into France with an armie.

The French king being at Roan, heard of the arrivall of this armie at Calis, and that his countrie of Picardie was in great danger: he changed his purpose therefore of sending an armie into England, and with all speed appointed that his power should with his brother the duke of Burgognie turne toward Calis, to resist the duke of Lancaster. Wherevpon when the duke of Lancaster heard that the duke of Burgognie was thus comming toward him, he issued forth of Calis, and comming into the vallie beneath the hill of Turneham, there took his field, and fortified the place with strong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to resist his enemies if they would assaile him. The duke of Burgognie came still forward, till he approached verie nere to the duke of Lancasters campe, and pight downe his field a loft vpon the hill of Turneham, so that the fronts of both hostes were within lesse than a mile either of other.

The duke of Lancaster fortified his campe.

The duke of Burgognie. Fabian. Froissard.

There was come to the duke of Lancaster a knight of the marches of Almaine, called sir Robert de Hamur with an hundred speares: but yet the duke of Lancasters host was but one handfull of men, in respect of the huge number of the French armie, wherein were (as Froissard writeth) foure thousand knights beside others. But yet for all his great puissance and number of men, he would not adventure to assaile the Englishmen in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue done, but kept himselfe and his men vpon the hill, from the foure and twentieth of August, vnto the twelfth of September, and then dislodged not much to his honour, howsoever writers do ex-

Sir Robert de Hamur.

Caxton.

The earle of
Warwicke.

Froissard.

The queene of
England de-
parteth this
life.The three pe-
titions to the
king.The praise of
queene Phi-
lip.The queenes
colledge.The duke of
Lancaster maketh a iourne
into France.

S. Biquier.

case it, declaring how his brother had giuen him
freight commandment that in no wise he should
fight with the Englishmen: and that when he had
sent to his brother for commission either to fight, or
to remoue, he was commanded to turne with all
speed vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that
time. Some there be that write, how that after both
these hostes had lien the one against the other a long
space, to the repace of both chieftains, it chanced that
the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick
came thitherward by sea, to be at the battell, which he
heard would shortly follow betwene the two ar-
mies: but yee he was come to land, the Frenchmen
for feare durst no longer abide, but secretlie in the
night departed and fled towards Hesdin, and so to
Paris, for the which their flight, the duke of Bur-
gognie was after blamed of his brother the French
king.

In this meane while, that is to saie, on the euen of
the Assumption of our ladie, died that noble prin-
cesse, the ladie Philip queene of England. It is said
that when she perceived that the most needs depart
out of this transitorie life, she desired to speake with
the king hir husband, and when he was come to hir
with a sorrowfull hart to see hir in that state, she toke
him by the hand, and after courteous words of indu-
cation, she required of him to grant hir three requestes.

The first request was, that all such merchants, and
other men, with whom she had bargained in any con-
dition, might be answered of all such debts as she
owght them, whether they dwelled on this side the
sea or beyond.

The second request was, that all such ordinances
and promises, as she had made to churches as well
within this realme, as in the parts of the further side
the sea, might be performed.

The third request was, that it might please him to
choise out none other sepulchre when God should call
him out of this world, but beside hir at Westmin-
ster.

This queene, to traine the English youth vnto
vertuous conuersation, & to giue occasion that they
might be brought vp in learning and good instructi-
ons, founded a colledge at Oxford, furnishing it with
godlie buildings, and a church, that they might both
serue God, and profit in their studies, whereupon it is
called the queenes colledge euen to this daie.

But now to returne to the duke of Lancaster. He
shall vnderstand that after the departure of the
French armie beside the hill of Turnham, the said
duke returned to Calis, and there refreshed himselfe
and his people the space of three daies. And then he
set forward againe, & with him as marshalls of the
host, was the earle of Warwick, and the lord Roger
Beauchampe, with the lords and knights before re-
membred. They toke their iourne to S. Omers, and
by Turwin, and then through the countie of saint
Paul, still burning the countie as they went. They
rode not past three or foure leagues in a daie, and kee-
ping on their waie, they came by saint Biquier, and
at the plannes vnder Abule passed the riuer of
Some, and then entred into the countie of Amieu,
in purpose to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne
the French kings nanie. Thus passing forward thro-
ugh Amieu, and the countie of Cleue, they entred
into the archbishopricke of Roen, and marching forth
by Doye, came vnto Harflew: but the earle of saint
Paul, and the lord of Fienmes constable of France
which had coasted the English armie in all this iour-
ne, with a great power of men, was gotten before
them, and entred into this towne, so that they knew
how they should but lose their paine, if they did assaile
it, and so therefore after they had lien before it three
daies, on the fourth day they dislodged, & went backe

again to Calis, returning through the coun-
trie of Ponthieu, and before Abule chanced to en-
counter a number of Frenchmen, which gaue to the
duke battell. In the which was taken sir Hugh de
Chatellon, master of the crossbowes of France, with
other knights, esquires, and burgeses of that towne,
and about sixtene score of the French part slaine.

There be that write otherwise herof, shewing how
the said sir Hugh Chatellon was taken by an an-
bush laid by sir Nicholas Louaine, as the same sir
Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not past
ten or twelue with him, to see how the passage of Ro-
uaise was kept by them that had charge thereof.
How soeuer it came to passe, taken he was, & brought
to the duke of Lancaster, that reioiced greatly of
that god hap: and so marching forward, he passed the
riuer at Blanchetaque, and dreyed towards the towne
of Reu on the sea side, and so to Pontreuil, and fi-
nallie to Calis. Then were the strangers licenced to
depart: and because it was far in the winter, as a-
bout saint Martines tide, the duke and the most part
of his armie returned into England. In this yere
chanced the third mortalitie, which was exceeding
great both of men and beasts, that the like had not
bene heard of. And amongst other people that peri-
shed of that pestilentiall sicknesse, that worthy
knight and noble capteine the earle of Warwick died
at Calis in the moneth of Januarie, after his re-
turne from Harflew.

The countie of Aquitaine
was full of trouble in this meane time, either part
seeking to grieue other to the vttermost of their
powers. John Hastings earle of Penbrooke, ha-
uing with him certeine bands of men of warre, re-
couered diuerse towne and castels in those parts: but
when he perceived how the enimies that were not
far from the place where he was lodged, shewed ma-
nifest tokens of feare, in marching one while vncre-
tainelie forward, and an other while fetching great
compasses about, he somewhat vnwardlie setting vp
on them in their campe, was discomfited and put to
flight, so that getting him into a place of the Tem-
plers, that was closed about with a wall, he remai-
ned there in great danger to be taken prisoner of his
enimies that assailed him, if the lord John Chandois
seneschall of Poitou had not come to the rescue, and
pledged him forth.

But shortly after, the said lord Chandois was
slaine by the enimies (whom first he had overcome)
whilst without god aduise he put off his helmet, and
so receiuing a stroke with a glaue that entred into
his head, betwixt his nose and his forehead, he neuer
after spake word, not liuing past a day and a night
after he was hurt. The death of this right famous,
wise, and valiant knight, was bewailed as well of
the Frenchmen as Englishmen. The French king
himselfe, when he heard that he was slaine, greatly
lamented the mishap, affirming that now he being
dead, there was not any left able to aggr the
kings and realmes of England and France: so much
was he feared, esteemed, and beloued of all men. But
alas what auailed all their mourning and laimen-
ting against the necessitie of death, sith we know that

Est commune mori, mors tamen parit honori.

After he was thus slaine, sir Thomas Bertie was
made seneschall of Poitou. By reason of the great
dret and raine that fell this yere in more abun-
dant than had bene accustomed, much corne was
lost, so that the price thereof was sore enhanced, in so
much that wheat was sold at three shillings foure
pence the bushell. But as concerning the death, the
west parts of the realme was sore afflicted with
this mortalitie, and namelie at Oxford there died a
great number of scholars.

Somewhat before this time, the ladie Blanche
daughter

Froissard.
The countie
of France
taken.

Froissard.

The third
mortalitie.
Caxton.
Polydore.
The countie
of Aquitaine
partly this
life.

Polydore.

Froissard.

Thom. W.
Sir John
Chandois
slaine.
Froissard.Sir Tho-
mas Bertie
made
seneschall.

An. Reg. 43. 44.

The churches
of Lancaster.
Paris.Polychron.
Anno Reg. 44.
Fradard.
Polychron.Sir Robert
Knolles with
an armie sent
into France.Emce with
Scots.Sir Meir.
The number
of men of war
in this armie.
Fradard.The suburbs
of Arras
burnt.The towne of
Bapaume.The French
not withdraw
into their for-
tresses & strong
townes.

daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster, departed this life, and was buried on the north side of the high altar in the cathedrall church of saint Paule within the citie of London, where his husband John of Gaunt was after also interred. She ordeined for his husband and for his selfe a solenne obit to be kept yearelie in that church, where the maiors being present with the shiriffes, chamberlaine, and sword-bearer, should offer each of them a pennie, and the maiors to take vp a pound, the shiriffes either of them a marke, the chamberlaine ten shillings, and the sword-bearer six shillings eight pence, and euerie other of the maiors officers two and twentie pence, and the number of eight officers belonging vnto the shiriffes (and by them to be appointed) eight pence a peece. ¶ This yeare was granted to the king in parlement assembled at Westminster of the spirituall mens livings a tenth for the space of three yeares, and a fiftieth of the temporallie during the same tearme.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten together a great summe of monie, as well by borrowing of the clergie as of the laitie, he leuied an armie, & sent the same ouer to Calis about Midsummer, vnder the gouernance of that worthy cheefkeine Sir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the L. Fitz Walter, the lord Granton, Sir Alaine Burbull, Sir John Bourchier, Sir William Spennille, Sir Geoffrey Mountseley, and diuerse other noblemen, knights, and worthy capteins. About the same time, the king of England concluded an abstinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of nine yeares, yet so that the Scots might arme themselves, and at their pleasure serue and take wages, either of the English or French, by reason whereof, Sir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred speares of the realme of Scotland.

When this armie had lien and rested in Calis about the space of seauen daies, Sir Robert Knolles caused euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the first daie nere to the castell of Fiermes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not about twelue thousand men. Froissard saith, they were but fiftene hundred speares, & foure thousand archers. Within the castell of Fiermes was the constable of France, that was lord thereof, with such a number of souldiers and men of warre, that the Englishmen thought they should but lose their labour to assaile it. And so they passed forth by Turrouane, and toward Arras, riding not past foure leagues a daie, because of their carriages and footmen. They took their lodging euere about none, and laie nere vnto great villages.

The French king had furnished all his townes and fortresses in Picardie with strong garrisons of souldiers, to defend the same against all chanches that might happen either by siege or sudden assault. The Englishmen therefore thought not good to linger about the winning of anie of the strong townes, but passed by them, waisting or ransoming the countries. At Arras they shewed themselves before the barriers, and when none would issue to skirmish with them, they set fire on the suburbs, & departed. From thence they took the waie by Baupalmes, and so came into Clermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Clermendois, into the which all the people of the countie were withdrawn, with such goods as they might carie with them. And in like manner had those done which inhabited about S. Quintine, Peronne, and other strong townes, so that the Englishmen found little abroad, fanning the barnes full of coyne for it was after haruest.

Thus they rode saue and easilie, two or three leagues a daie, and so went on to recover monie of their en-

mies, they would compound with them within strong townes, to spare the countie from burning and destruction, for such a summe as they agreed by on, by which meanes Sir Robert Knolles got in that boiage about the summe of an hundred thousand frankes. For the which he was after accused to the king of England, as one that had not dealt iustlie in so doing. In this sort passing the countie, they came before Poion, and after they had rested a while afore the towne, they went forth waisting and burning the countie, and finallie passed the riuer of Harne, and so entered into Champaigne, and passed the riuer of Aube, and also diuerse times they passed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing toward Paris, and comming before that citie, they lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and shewed themselves in order of battell before the citie. This was on the twentieth fourth daie of September.

The French king was at the same time within the citie, & might behold out of his lodging of S. Paule, the fiers and smokes that were made in Gastinois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Englishmen, but yet he would suffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the citie, both of such as had coasted the English armie in all this iourne, and also of other which were come thither by the kings commandement, beside the burgesses, and inhabitants of the citie. When Sir Robert Knolles perceived that he should haue no battell, he departed and drew toward Aniou, where they wan by strength the townes of Maas and Anellie. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell such discord amongst the English capteins, through couetousnesse and enuie, that finallie they diuided themselves in sunder, greatlie to the displeasure of Sir Robert Knolles their generall, who could not rule them.

There was a knight among them named Sir John Spinsterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this armie, a good man of his hands (as we call him) but peruerse of mind, and verie deceitfull, and to Sir Robert Knolles (to whome he was much beholde) most unfaithfull. This knight, perceiving the unwill minds of certeine young lords and knights there in the armie, that repined at the gouernement of Sir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did sometime at the gouernance of Camillus (the cheefe of whome were the lord Granton, the lord Fitz Walter, and others) did his best to picke them forward, sounding them in the eare, that it was a great reproch for them being of noble parentage, to serue vnder such an old rascall as he was, eche of them being able to guide their enterprise of themselves, without his counsell, by which flattering of them, and disgracing of him, the said Spinsterworth did much mischief, for

Lingua loquax, odiosa, prociat omne molestem.

Indeed this Sir Robert Knolles was not descended of anie high linage, but borne in the countie of Chester of meane ofspring, neuertheless through his valiant prowesse, and good seruice in warre, growne to such estimation, as he was reputed worthy of all honour due to a noble and skilfull warrour, so that it was thought the king could not haue made his choise of one more able or sufficient to supplie the roime of a cheefkeine, than of him: but yet, although this was most true, his aduise could not be heard, nor the au thoritie appointed him by the king beare anie swaie. For where he counsell'd that they should now upon the approaching of winter draw forth of France into Britaine, and there remaine for the winter season, they would not so agree, nor obey his will. Whereby on it came to passe, that Sir Bertham de Cleaquin, at that time newlie made constable of France, understanding this diuision to grow amongst the Eng-

The English
men before
Paris.Thom. Walf.
Sir Simon
Spinsterworth.Bernondsey.
Sir Robert
Knolles borne
in Chester.Sir Robert
Knolles countie
fell not fol-
lowed.

Discord what
cometh of it.
Caxton.

Froissard.
The cite of
Limoges
besieged.

Limoges tak-
en by the
fr.

Polydor.
Froissard.

The prince
returned into
England.
Thom. Walf.

lishmen, and that they were divided into parts, let
upon them so much to their disadvantage, that he dis-
tressed them, and took of the more part of them:
but sir Robert Knols with the flower of the archers
and men of warre went into Britaine, and there sa-
ved himselfe, and those that followed him. ¶ Here
you may see, how those that before through amitie
and good agreement were of such force as their eni-
mies durst not once assaile to annoie them, now by
strife and dissention among themselves were slaine
or taken by the same enemies, and brought to confu-
sion. To which purpose it is proverbie and trulie said,

Lasodium gignit, charas concordia stringit.

In this meane time that sir Robert Knols made
this boiage through the realme of France, the prince
of Wales laid siege to the cite of Limoges, which
was revolted to the Frenchmen. There were with
him at the laicng of this siege, his brethren, the duke
of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, sir Gui-
chard Dangle, sir Lois de Harecourt, the lord of
Pons, the lord of Partenaie, the lord of Pinane, the
lord of Cannabouillon, sir Percinail de Coulongne,
sir Gessie de Argenton, Polacouns: and of Cal-
coignes, the lord of Mountferrant, the lord de Chau-
mount, the lord de Longueren, sir Americ de Harfe,
the lords of Domniers, Puident de l'Esparre, the
Soulbich de Lestrade, the lord of Serond, and manie
other of Englishmen there were, sir Thomas Per-
cie, the lord Kos, the lord William Beauchampe, sir
Michaell de la Pole, sir Stephan Couffenton, sir Ri-
chard Pontchardon, sir Baldwin Freuille, sir Si-
mon Burle, sir Dangouffe, sir John Deuereux, sir
William Penille or (as some copies haue) Penille,
and manie other. There was also sir Eustace Dam-
brecourt, and of the companions, sir Perducas
Dalbith, who in the beginning of these warres be-
ing turned French, was by the persuation of sir Ro-
bert Knols procured to returne againe to the prin-
ces service before the siege of Durmelle.

The prince being thus accompanied with these
worthy capteins and men of armes, to the number
of twelus hundred, beside a thousand archers and o-
ther footmen, induored by all waies he could deuise
to indamage them within. In the end he caused the
walles to be undermined, and quite reuerled into
the ditch, & then giuing assault, entered by the breach,
and made an huge slaughter of them within, in so
much that of men, women, and children (for none
were spared in respect of age or sex) there were slaine
and beheaded that daie about three thousand. The bi-
shop with certeine knights and capteins were taken
and had their liues granted, though the bishop was
in great danger to haue lost his head, because he was
a chiefe doer in yielding the cite before unto the
Frenchmen.

While the prince late at siege before Limoges (a
litle before he won it) thither came to him his bre-
thren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cam-
bridge, the lord Kos, sir Michaell de la Pole, sir Ro-
bert Kos, sir John Saintlo, and sir William Beau-
champe, with a faire number of men of war, spears,
and archers. The prince then after he had waite Li-
moges, and erected some cruelitie there to the ter-
ror of other; his maladie which still continued upon
him, rather increased than diminished, so that he was
advised by physicians to returne into England, in
hope that change of aire should restore him to health.
For the which consideration and other causes of busi-
nesse which he had to do with his father, touching cer-
teine weightie affaires he took the sea, and came o-
uer into England, leaving the gouernement of A-
quitaine unto his brother the duke of Lancaster, as
his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimouth in the
beginning of Ianuarie.

Spencer in this 44 yeare of king Edward, the
king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at
Claringdon found the king, and there talked with
him of such matters as they had to conclude betwixt
them two. But for that the king of Nauarre could
not assure the king of such covenants as should haue
passed betwixt them two, it was not thought meet by
the kings counsell to worke too far upon his bare
word, that had before time shewed apparant proofes
of his inconstant dealing. And suerlie this doubt arose
not without cause, as his doings shortly after de-
clared: for although he seemed now at this present to
be a verie enimie to the French king, yet shortly af-
ter he was reconciled to him againe, and became his
great friend for the time it lasted. This yeare in the
moneth of Febtuarie was a parlement called, in
the which there was demanded of the spiritualtie a
subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, and as much of the
laic. The temporall men some agreed to that pay-
ment, but the cleargie excused themselves with faire
words and shifting answers: in somuch that the
king took displeasure with them, and deposed certeine
spirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the
chancellor, the priuie seale, the tresuro, and such o-
thers, in whose romes he placed temporall men.

The bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Beau-
uots being both cardinals, were put in commission
by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the
kings of England and France for a peace. But al-
beit they did their indeuour therein, and moued both
kings to the bittermost of their powers, yet their mo-
tions toke none effect, and therefore was the warre
pursued to the bittermost betwixt the parties, & name-
lie in Aquitaine, where the fortresses were so inter-
medled one with an other, some English, and some
French, that one knew not how to beware of an o-
ther, nor to avoid the danger, so that the countrie of
Poitou and other the marches thereabout were in
great tribulation. Sir Robert Knols, sir Thomas
Spencer, sir John Triuet, and sir Hugh Hastings,
diuiding their powers insunder, went to recouer
townes, some in one quarter, and some in an other,
and certeine they assaied, but preuailed not: the in-
habitants doubting to be punished for their in-
truths, made such stout resistance.

After this, the duke of Lancaster appointed sir Ro-
bert Knols to repaire againe to Calis, and by the
waie (if occasion serued) to attempt the recouerie of
Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iourne through
France by Paris, came into the marches of Picar-
die: and because in comparison to this man, all the
English capteins were litle feared of the French-
men, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the constable of
France, leaving the fortresses in the marches of A-
quitaine sufficientlie stuffed with men of warre and
munition, followed sir Robert Knols, still readie to
assaile the hindermost companies, or else to set on the
sides of his enemies. So that there chanced manie
skirmishes betwixt them, & manie men were slaine
on both parts; but at length, when sir Robert Knols
saw no likelihood to atchaine his purposed intent in
recouerie of the townes of Ponthieu, as Abuille and
other, he drew straight to Calis, and the constable re-
tired backe into France.

In this 46 yeare, sir Robert Alston was sent into
Ireland as lord deputie there, and in the same yeare,
the duke of Lancaster being as then a widower, ma-
ried the ladie Constance eldest daughter to Peter
king of Spaine, which was slaine by his bastard bro-
ther Henrie (as before ye haue heard). Also the lord
Emund earle of Cambridge married the ladie Ja-
bell, sister to the same Constance. Their other sister
named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, son
to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this
life

life a little before this time at Batonne, where they were all thre left as hostages by their father, when the prince went to bring him home into his countrie (as before ye may read.) Froissard writeth, that the duke married the ladie Constance in Gascoigne, and that shortly after he returned into England with his said wife and his sister, leaving the capitall de Burey, and other lords of Gascoigne and Poitou in charge with the rule of those countries. By reason of that marriage, the duke of Lancaster, as in right of his wife being the elder sister, caused himselfe to be intituled king of Castile, and his said wife queene of the same realme.

The earle of Hereford being sent to the sea, with certeine ships of warre, was encountered by the flemish fleet, before an haven in Britaine called the Baie, where was fought a sore battell, and long continued for the space of thre houres: howbeit finallye the victorie abode with the Englishmen, notwithstanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better provided for the matter. There were taken of their side and twentie ships, with their Admirall John Peterson. They had bene at Rochell for twine, and now were come to the Baie for salt upon their returne homeward, and hearing that the Englishmen would come that waie, staid for them, and first gaue the onset. For ye must remember, that by reason that the earle of Flanders had married his daughter to the duke of Burgognie, which he had first promised to the earle of Cambridge, there was no perfect friendship betwixt the realme of England, and the countries of the said earle of Flanders.

Sir Guichard Dangle made king of the Center, 1362.

The earle of Pembroke first was taken.

Castell.

These some were taken by the Englishmen.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poitou, that was come over with the duke of Lancaster, to procure the king to send some new aid into Aquitaine, was for his approved valiance and tried truth to the king of England, made knight of the garter. And moreover at his instance the king rigged a nauie of ships, and appointed the earle of Pembroke as general, to sail with the same into Aquitaine, and there to remove the siege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell. The earle according to his commission toke the sea with a fleet of fortie ships prepared for him: but per he could enter the haven of Rochell, he was assailed by an huge fleet of Spaniards, and there vanquished, taken prisoner, and led into Spaine. The Spaniards had for capitains foure skilfull warriours, Ambrose Bouquenege, Cabete de Blake, and Alphonse de la Rochelle, who had under their gouernment fortie great caravels, and thirtene trim barkes thoroughly furnished and appointed with good mariners and men of warre.

The earle of Pembroke had with him nothing the like number of ships, nor men: for (as Froissard writeth) he had not past two and twentie knights with him, or (as other haue) not past twelue, being for the more part of his owne retinue or household: and yet those few Englishmen and Poitouns that were there with him, bare themselves right valiantlie, and fought it out to the bittermost. There were slaine sir Simon Montague, sir John de Postague, and sir John Cister; and there were taken prisoners, besides the earle himselfe, sir Robert Bassett, sir John Curson, sir Almes de Grandson, sir Guichard Dangle, the lord of Pinanc, sir John de Griueres, sir Jacques de Surgieres, the lord of Lannabouton, sir John de Hardane, and others. This battell was fought on Midsummer euen, in this sir and fortith yeare of king Edwards reigne. The earle had (as Froissard writeth) treasure with him, to haue waged three thousand men of warre, which neuer did any man good, for (as he was informed) the ship wherein

he was aboard, perished with diuerse other being burnt or sunke. The English writers saie, that it was no maruell though this mishap chanced vnto him, because he had in parlement spoken against men of the church, in giuing counsell that they might be constrained to paie greuous subsidies, towarde the maintenance of the kings warre, and that no lesse heauie payments and subsidies should be imposed vpon them, than vpon the secular sort. Wherein he seemed to beuzaie a malicious mind against the clergie, who as in no age they haue wanted foes, so in his time they found few friends, being a generation appointed and ordeined in their cradels to be contemned of the world, speciallie of great men, of whose fauour and goodwill it is truelie & rightlie said,

Gratia magnatum nescit habere statum.

By reason of this misfortune thus happened to the English fleet, the Frenchmen recovered manie towines and castels out of the Englishmens hands, in the countries of Poitou, Saintonge, Limosin, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

About the same time the French king sent foure thousand men to the sea, vnder the guiding of one Yuans a bantished Welsh gentleman, the which landing in the Ile of Gernesey, was encountered by the capitaine of that Ile called sir Edmund Rous, who had gathered eight hundred men of his owne souldiers together, with them of the Ile, and boldlie gaue battell to the Frenchmen: but in the end the Englishmen were discomfited, and foure hundred of them slaine, so that sir Edmund Rous fled into the castell of Cornet, & was there besieged by the said Yuans, till the French king sent to him to come backe from thence, and so he did, leaving the castell of Cornet, and sir Edmund Rous within it as he found him. The Frenchmen this yeare recovered the cite of Poitiers, Rochell also, and the most part of all Poitou, and finallye laid siege to Towars in Poitou, wherein a great number of the lords of that countrie were inclosed, the which fell to a composition with the Frenchmen to haue an abstinence of warre for themselves, and their lands, till the feast of saint Michaell next ensuing, which should be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they sent to the king of England their soueraigne lord, to certifie him what conditions they had agreed vnto, that if they were not aided by him, or by one of his sonnes within the said tearme, then they to yeld them and their lands to the obedience of the French king.

Not long before this, the capitall of Burey was taken prisoner, and sir Thomas Bertrie, with diuerse other Englishmen and Gascoignes before Towars by sir Yuans of Wales and other French capitaine, so that the countries of Poitou and Saintonge were in great danger to be quite lost, if speedie succours came not in time. Whereupon king Edward advertised of that agreement which they within Towars had made, raised an armie, rigged his ships, and in August toke the sea, purposing to come before the day assigned, to the succours of that fortresse: but the wind continued for the space of nine weekes so contrary vnto his intent, that he was still diuened backe and could not get forward toward the coast of Rochell, where he thought to haue landed, so that finallye when the daie of rescuing Towars came, he nor anye of his sonnes could appeare in those parts, and so to his great displeasure he returned home, and licensed all his people to depart to their houses. By this means was Towars deliuered to the Frenchmen, which ceased not in such occasions of aduantage to take time, and follow the steps of prosperous fortune.

About this season the duke of Britaine being sore displeased in his mind, that the Englishmen suffered

Froissard. Yuans a Welsh gentleman.

Sir Edmund Rous.

The proposals first made of the Frenchmen in Poitou.

Towars in danger to be lost.

Th. Walling.

1373 Anno Reg. 47. The duke of Britaine.

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ned dalle losses in the parts of Aquitaine, would gladly haue aided their side, if he might haue got the nobles of his countrie to haue ioined with him, but the lords Clifton and de la Pole, with the viscount of Roan, and other the lords and barons of Britaine, so much fauoured the French king, that he perceived they would revolt from him, if he attempted any thing against the Frenchmen. He therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of England his quarrell, and fearing to be attacked by his owne subjects, and sent to Paris, dispatched messengers to R. Edward, requiring him to send some powder of men of warre into Britaine, to defend him against the malice of such as were altogether French and enemies to England.

The lord Perceval sent into Britaine.

Englishmen distressed by the constable of France.

Dames want by him.

The constable of France sent into Britaine.

Sir Robert Knols.

The duke of Britaine cometh over into England.

The earle of Salisbury.

Polydor. The duke of Lancaster sent over into France with an armie.

In Meir. Froissard.

Noble men that went with him in that iourne.

King Edward forthwith sent ouer the lord Perceval, with foure hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, the which arriuing at saint Matthewes de fine Poterne, remained there all the winter. Whereupon the Britaines being sore offended therewith, closed their townes and fortresses against their duke, and shewed much euill towards him. The constable of France sir Berthram de Cleauquin, laing siege to the towne and castell of Sireth in Poitou, discomfited a number of Englishmen that came to raise his siege, by means whereof he got not onlie Sireth, but also Mort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and fortresses which the Englishmen held till that day within Poitou, Saintonge, and Rochelais. Shortly after this, the constable returned into France, and was appointed by the king there to go with an armie of men of warre into Britaine, and there to take into his hands all such townes and fortresses as belonged to the duke of Britaine, because he had alied himselfe with the king of England, and receiued Englishmen into his countrie, to the prejudice of the realme of France.

The duke being aduertised of the constables coming, was counselled by sir Robert Knols (whom the king of England had sent to aid him) that he should passe ouer into England, and there to be a suter in his owne cause for more aid to be sent into Britaine, to resist the Frenchmen that now sought to bring the whole countrie into their possession. The duke inclining to this aduise, went ouer into England, and in the meane time the constable came and wan the most part of all the townes and fortresses of that duchie, except Brest, where sir Robert Knols was, and certeine other. The earle of Salisbury with a great nauie of shippes, well furnished with men of armes and archers, laie vpon the coast of Britaine all that time, and greatlie comforted them within Brest, in somuch that he came on land, and offered battell to the constable if he would haue come forward & receiued it.

In the moneth of Iulie in this seuen and fourthie yeare of king Edwards reigne, the duke of Lancaster was sent ouer vnto Calis with an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) but as Froissard saith, they were but thirtene thousand, as thre thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers. This boiage had bene in preparing for the space of thre yeares before. The duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the English nobilitie, beside the duke of Lancaster that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Edward Spenser that was constable of the host, the lords Willoughbie, de la Pole, Bassett, and diuerse others. Of knights, sir Henric Percie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robert, Walter Belwet, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Stephan Cossington, sir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

When they had made ready their carriages and other things necessarie for such a iourne which they

had taken in hand, that is to say, to passe through the realme of France vnto Burdeaur, they set forward, hauing their armie diuided into thre battells. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the foreward: the two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine, the middle ward or battell, and the reeward was gouerned by the lord Spenser constable of the host. They passed by S. Omers, by Currouane, and coasted the countrie of Arthois, and passed the water of Some at Corbie. They destroyed the countries as they went, and marched not past thre leagues a day. They assailed none of the strong townes, nor fortresses. For the French king had so stuffed them with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceived they should trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Normandis, they rested them seuen daies, and at their departure set fire on the towne, because they could not win the church which was kept against them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and so marched forward, passing the riuers of Esare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coasted them, but durst not appoach to giue them battell.

Here to Ribamound, about 80 Englishmen of sir Hugh Caluerlies band were distressed by 120 Frenchmen: & likewise beside Seissons, 120 English speares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie speares, and twentie archers were vanquished by a Burgonian knight called sir John de Clenne, that had with him thre hundred French speares. Of more hurt by anie encounters I read not that the Englishmen sustained in this volage. For the Frenchmen kept them aloofe, and meant not to fight with their enemies, but onlie to keepe them from vittells, and fetching of forrage abroad, by reason whereof the Englishmen lost manie horses, and were in dead daunger to great scarcitie of vittells. When they had passed the riuier of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderstood how the Frenchmen laid themselves in sundrie ambushes to distresse them, if they might espie the aduantage: but the duke of Lancaster placing his light horsemen, with part of the archers in the foreward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to coner that battell, wherein he himselfe was, the residue of the horsemen with the rest of the archers he appointed to the reeward, and so causing them to keepe close together, marched forth till he came into Poitou, & then in reuenge of the Poitouins that had revolted from the English obedience, he began a new spoile, killing the people, wasting the countrie, and burning the houses and buildings euerie where as he passed, & so finally about Chiffemasse came to Burdeaur.

Whilost the duke of Lancaster was thus passing through the realme of France, pope Gregorie the eleventh sent the archbishop of Rauenna and the bishop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to & fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the duke of Lancaster: but the duke and the Englishmen kept on their waie, and so finally keeping forwards about Chiffemasse came to Burdeaur. The legats pursued their treatie, but the parties were so hard, that no reasonable offers would be taken. The two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine laie in Burdeaur all the residue of the winter, and the Lent following. The same yeare that the duke of Lancaster made this iourne through France, the king of England sent certeine ambassadors to the pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reseruations of benefices within his realme of England, but that those which were elected bishops might inioy their sees, and be confirmed of their metropolitane;

The French king thought that the Englishmen were not to fight with the Englishmen.

Falun.

The Frenchmen meant not to fight with the Englishmen.

Polydor.

The duke of Lancaster was the duke of Lancaster's armie in marching.

The duke of Lancaster was the duke of Lancaster's armie in marching.

Caues. The duke of Lancaster was the duke of Lancaster's armie in marching.

Cathedral
churches.

Commissioners
appointed to
meet and com-
mune of peace

Death of the
archbishop of Can-

Simon Sud-
bury archbishop.

The beginning
of the nature
of the peace

metropolitane and archbishop, as of ancient time they had bene accustomed.

The pope would not at that present determine any thing therein, but commanded them that were sent that they should certifye him againe of the kings pleasure and further meaning, in those articles and other touching him and his realme. Also this yere it was decreed in parlement, that cathedral churches might enjoy the right of their elections, and that the king should not hinder them that were chosen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations. ¶ In the same parlement was granted to the king a disline of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie. ¶ Moreover at the sute of the popes legats, a respite of war was granted betwixt the kings of England and France, but so that the Englishmen lost in Calcoine a great number of castles and townes, by reason of a composition made before, that if they were not rescued by the middle of August, they should then yield themselves French: and because the truce was agreed upon to endure till the last of August, the Englishmen took no heed to the matter. It was further agreed upon, that in the beginning of September, there should meet in the marches of Picardie, the duke of Lancaster, and other of the English part, as commissioners to intreat of peace; and the duke of Anjou and other on the French part, the popes legat to be there also as mediator. When this agreement was thus accorded, the duke of Lancaster, and the duke of Britaine, with the earls of Warwick, Suffolke and Stafford, the lords Spenser, Willoughbie and others, took the sea at Burdeaux the eight of Julie, and returned into England.

This yere the fifth of June, died William Willelmy archbishop of Canturburie, after whose death the monks chose to that see the cardinal of Winchester, with which election the king was nothing contented, so that after much monie spent by the monks to obtaine their purpose, at length they were disappointed, and doctor Simon Sudburie was admitted to that dignitie, who before was bishop of London, being the seamen and fifth archbishop that had ruled that see. He was chosen by the appointment of the king, and consent of the pope. For alredie was that decree come out of vñe, whereby the elections of bishops haue rested in the voices of them of the cathedral church: for not onelie this Simon archbishop of Canturburie, but other also were ordeined bishops from thenceforth, by the will and authoritie of the popes and kings of this realme, till at length it came to passe, that onelie the kings instituted bishops, and the bishops ordeined other gouvernours under them of meaner degrees.

Thus the popes within a while lost all their authoritie, which they had before time within this realme in the appointing of bishops, and other rulers of churches; and in like manner also they lost shortly after their authoritie of leuening tenths of spirituall promotions, the which they in former times had used, to the great detriment of the realme, which lost nothing by this new ordinance: for the English people were not compelled afterwards to depart with their monie vnto strangers, so largelie as before, to content the greedynesse of that covetous generation of Romanyshs, whose insatiable desires would admit no stint, as infected with the dyopie of filthy avarice, for

*omnia des cupido, sua non perit inde cupido,
Quo plus sunt potius suntur aque.*

This restraining reformation concerned the benefit of the whole land verie much: for Edward the third was the first that caused an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie should take to obtaine any spirituall promotions within this realme of the pope, or by any other lutes to his court, except by waite

of appeale: and that those that were the aiders of any such offenders against this act, should run in danger of the same paine, which act by those kings that succeeded was not onelie commanded to be kept, but also confirmed with new penalties, and is called the statute of Pryemunire.

About Candlemasse there met at Bruges as commissioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king, the dukes of Anjou, and Burgognie, the earle of Salebruce, and the bishop of Amiens with others. Finally, when they could not agree upon any good conclusion for peace, they accorded upon a truce, to endure to the first of Maie next ensuing in all the marches of Calis, and vp to the water of Some, but the other places were at libertie to be still in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed upon to continue till the feast of All saints next ensuing. About the same time that the foresaid commissioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did so much with his father in law king Edward, that about the beginning of Aprill he sent ouer with him into Britaine the earles of Cambridge, March, Warwick, and Stafford, the lord Spenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camois, sir Edward Twiford, sir Richard Bonchardon, sir John Lescelles, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Hugh Wallings, and diuerse other worthy captains with a power of three thousand archers, and two thousand men of armes, all verie well furnished to fight.

They landed at saint Matheus or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they took the castell by force, and the towne by surrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wan it likewise by force of assault, and then went to Bieu de Clair, a towne strongly fenced, and well manned. In hope yet to win it, the duke of Britaine and the English lords laid siege to it, but hearing that an English knight, one sir John Deureur was besieged in a fortrese which he had newlie made, by the vicount of Roan, the L. Clifton, and other of the French part, they raised from Bieu de Clair, and hastied forward to the succor of sir John Deureur, earnestlie wishing to find their enemies in the field, that they might give them battell: but the Britissh lords hearing that the duke and the Englishmen approached, made no longer abode, but got them with all speed vnto Campellie a towne of great strength not farre off, and therein closed themselves for their more safetie. The duke of Britaine hearing that they were fled thither, followed them, and laid siege round about the towne, inforcing himselfe to obtaine the place, and so had done in deed by all likelihood verie shortly, if at the same time, by reason of a truce taken for twelue monthes, he had not bene commanded by the duke of Lancaster, without delaye to cease his war, and bryake vp his campe: as he did.

There were sundrie meetings of the commissioners for this treatie of peace, and still they took longer time for continuance of the truce. And because that Britaine and all the other countries of France (as should seme) were included in this truce, it seemeth that this was some second truce, and not the first truce, which included onelie the marches of Calis, and those parts vp to the water of Some. But howsoeuer it was, the duke of Britaine being in a great forwardnesse to haue recovered his duchie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to haue reduced his rebellious subiects vnder due obedience againe, was not by this truce concluded out of time, greatlie disappointed, and so brake vp his siege from before Campellie, and sent home the English armie. He went himselfe to Autroie, where his wife was; and taking order

Caxton.

I 2 7 5
Anno Reg. 49.

The commissioners meet
at Bruges.

A truce taken
betwixt Eng-
land & France.

Fabian.

Froissard.

Tho. Wals.
An armie sent
ouer into Bri-
taine with the
duke.

Towns won

Sir John
Deureur.

This truce
was intended
to endure from
midsummer in
this 1375,
vnto midsum-
mer in 3 yeres
next ensuing.
Tho. Wals.

The duke of
Britaine dis-
appointed by
the truce.

order for the fortiffing and keeping of those places, which were in his possession, he came backe againe into England, and brought his wife with him.

A litle before the concluding of this truce, the Englishmen and others within the fortresse of saint Saviour le vicount, in the Ile or rather Close (as they call it) of Constantine, which had bene long besieged, made a composition, that if they were not rescued by a certeine daie, then should they yeld up the place to the Frenchmen. Now because this truce was agreed before the daie appointed for the rescue of that place, with condition that either part should intop and hold that which at that present they had in possession, during the terme of the truce; the Englishmen thought that saint Saviour le vicount should be saved by reason of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie avouched, that the first covenant ought to passe the last ordinance. So that when the daie approached, the French king sent thither six thousand speares, knights, and squiers, beside other people: and because none appeared to giue them battell, they had the towne deliuered to them.

S. Saviour le vicount yelded.

Thom. Wall. Fabian.

The lord Spencer be-parteth this life. Polydor. The earle of Denbroke ecclesiast.

John Stow.

Froissard. Commissioners met to communion of peace.

The demands on both parts.

In this 4th yeare of Ed. Edwards reigne, a great death chanced in this land, and in diuerse other countries, so that innumerable numbers of people died and perished of that contagious sicknesse. Amongst other the lord Edward Spenser died the same yeare, a man of great renoume and valiantnesse. Also the earle of Denbroke, hauing compounded for his ransom, as he was vpon his returne from Spaine, coming homewards through France, he fell sicke, and being brought in an horselfitter to Arras, he died there, on the 16 daie of Aprill, leauing a sonne behind him not past two yeares of age, begot of the countesse his wife called Anne, daughter vnto the lord Walter de Harie. Polydor mistaking the matter, saith that Harie the countesse of Denbroke, who builded Denbroke hall in Cambridge, was wife to this John Hastings earle of Denbroke, whereas in deed she was wife to his ancesor Aimer de Valence earle of Denbroke (as John Stow in his summarie hath trulie noted.) She was daughter to Sup earle of saint Pole, a worthy ladie and a vertuous, tendering so much the wealthfull state of this land (a great part wherof consisteth in the good bringing up of youth, and training them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenance of students she began the forsaide commendable foundation, about the yeare of Christ 1343, vpon a plot of ground that was hir owne, hauing purchased licence thereto of the king, to whom she was of kin.

During that greuous mortalitie and cruell pestilence before remembred, the pope at the instant request of the English cardinals, granted vnto all those that died in England, being thinen and repentant of their sinnes, cleane remission of the same, by two buls inclosed vnder lead. The duke of Lancaster about the feast of All saints met with the French commissioners againe at Buges. There was with him the duke of Britaine, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king there appeared the duke of Burgonie, the earle of Salebruch, and the bishop of Amiens. And at saint Omers laie the duke of Anion, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishop of Carpentras toke great paine to go to and fro betwene the parties: but they were so far at ods in their demands, and as it were of set purpose on the French behalfe, that no good could be done betwixt them. The French king required to haue Calis rased, and to haue againe fourtene hundred thousand franks, which were paid for the ransom of king John. The king of England demanded to haue all the lands restored to him in Gascoigne and Guen clerelle exempt of all recoits. So when

nothing could be concluded touching a final peace, the truce was renewed to indure till the feast of S. John Baptist next ensuing, which should be in the yeare 1376.

In this fifth yeare, king Edward assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which was demanded a subside of the commons for the defense of the kings dominions against his enemies. Therevnto answer was made by the common house, that they might no longer beare such charges, considering the manifold burthens by them suffred in time past. And further they said, it was well knowne the king was rich enough to withstand his enemies, if his monie and treasure were well imployed: but the land had bene of long time euill gouerned by euill officers, so that the same could not be stored with chaffer, merchandize, or other riches. The commons also declared whom they toke and iudged to be chiefe causer of this disorder, as the duke of Lancaster, & the L. Latimer lord chamberleine to the king; also dame Alice Perers, whom the king had long time kept to his concubine; and also one named sir Richard Sturrie, by whose sinister meanes and euill counsell the king was misled, and the land euill gouerned. Wherefore the commons by the mouth of their speaker sir Piers de la Mere, required that those persons might be remoued from the king, and other more discreet set in their romes about his person, and so put in authoritie, that they might see to his honour and weale of the realme, moze than the other had done before them.

This request of the commons by support of the prince was allowed, and granted, so that the said persons and other of their affinitie were commanded to depart the court, and other (such as were thought meet by the prince, and the sage piores of the realme) were placed in their steads. Shortly after, the commons granted to the king his whole request, so that he had of euerie person, man and woman, being aboue the age of fourtene yeares, soure pence, poze people that liued of almesse onelie excepted. Likewise the cleargie granted, that of euerie beneficed man, the king should haue twelue pence, and of euerie priest not beneficed soure pence (the soure orders of friers onelie excepted.) But per this monie could be leuied, the king was constrained to borrow certeine great summes in sundrie places, and therefore he sent to the citie of London for foure thousand pounds. And because Adam Staple the maior was not diligent in furthering that lone, he was by the kings commandement discharged on the 22 daie of March, and Richard Whittington mercer chosen in his place.

On the eight of June being Trinitie sundae (the parlement yet continuing) that noble and famous prince Edward the kings sonne departed this life within the kings palace at Westminster. His bodie was conueied to Cantarburie with great solemnitie, and there honozablie buried. He died in the 46th yeare of his age: a prince of such excellent demeanour, so valiant, wise and politike in his doings, that the verie and perfect representation of knightthod appeared most liuelie in his person, whilest he liued, so that the losse of him stroke a generall sorrow into the harts of all the English nation. For such was his towardnesse, or rather perfection in princelie gouernement, that if he had liued and attained to the crowne, euerie man iudged that he would surerlie haue exceeded the glorious renoume of all his ancesors. This princes death is by exelie touched by C. Okland, who (after mention made of the great victories atchieued by his father the king against his enemies, and concluding him to be verie happy and fortunate in the issue of his attempts) saith

1376. An. Dom. 1376.

The lord Spencer be-parteth this life. Polydor. The earle of Denbroke ecclesiast.

The request of the commons.

The black prince departs this life.

Polydor. The prince is buried at Cantarburie.

*in chrys ille monarcha
vndiq; ter salix, nisi quod trux Atropos occat
Anie diem gnati fatalia flamina vitæ.*

Froulard.

Sir Piers de
la Spere.
Froulard.The truce
prolonged.
Polydor.

Polydor.

Trot.
Cantou.The nobles
feyne to the
prince of
Wales.1377
Anno reg. 51.
Froulard.
Commissioners
sent to HuguesCommissioners
sent to Pontreuil.
Knull.The truce
estimated
prolonged.Sir Hugh
Caluerlie
lieutenant
of Calis.

The French king kept his obsequie in most reuerend wise, in the chapel of his palace at Paris. After his death, the king called to him againe the foresaid persons, that had bene from him remoued, and the said sir Piers de la Spere that was speaker in the parlement (as before yee haue heard) for his eloquence shewed in repprouing the misgouernment of the said persons (and namelic of the said dame Alice Peres) was now committed to prison within the castell of Nottingham. About the same time the truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Aprill next following. ¶ King Edward, after the deceasse of his sonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, sonne to the said prince, as heire to him, prince of Wales, and gaue to him the earldomes of Chester & Co. ne. wall. ¶ Moreover, because the king waied feeble and sicklie through languor (as some suppose) conceiued for the death of his sonne, he appointed the rule of the reline to his sonne the duke of Lancaster, ordeining him as gouernour vnder him, and so he continued during his fathers life.

A great riot happened betwixt the seruants of the earle of Warwicke, and the tenants of the abbat of Cuesham, so that manie of the said abbats seruants were slaine and hurt. The fish-ponds and warrens belonging to the abbie were broken and spoiled, so that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not bene sent downe to the earle, commanding him to steie his men from such misdemeanours. All the nobles of the realme were caused to sweare, that after the kings decease they shuld admit and mainteine Richard prince of Wales for their king and souereigne lord. And vpon Christs masse day, the king caused him to sit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high estate, as representing the personage of the heire apparant to the crowne.

This yeare being the one and fiftith and last of king Edwards reigne, there were sent againe to Hugues as commissioners to treat of peace on the part of king Edward, John lord Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the maior of London. And for the French part thither came the earle of Salebruch, monsieur de Chatillon, and Willibert Lespoit. And still the two legats were present as mediators betwixt the parties, mouing a marriage to be had, betwixt Richard prince of Wales, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the French king. But they departed in sunder for this time without anie conclusion. But shortly after in Lent following, there was a secret meeting appointed to be had at Pontreuil by the sea, whither came from the king of England, sir Richard Dangle a Poitoune, sir Richard Stan, & Geoffrie Chaucer. For the French king there appeared the lord Coucie, and others. These commissioners treated a long season concerning the marriage, and when they had vnderstanding and felt each others meaning, they departed and made report of the same to their masters. The truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Maie.

And in the meane time, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of saint Dunie lord chancellour of England, and the bishop of Hereford went ouer to Calis. In like case the lord of Coucie, and sir William Dorman chancellour of France came to Pontreuil. But they durst not meet at anie indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that either partie had of other, for anie thing the legats could saie or do. Thus these commissioners abode in that state till the truce was expired. And when the warre was open, then sir Hugh Caluerlie was sent ouer to Calis, to remaine

vpon safe keeping of that towne, as deputie there. The earle of Salisburie, and the other commissioners returned into England, and with them the duke of Britaine. On the twelfth day of Aprill this yeare, one sir John Spinterworth knight, was slaine, hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Tiboine, being first condemned and abidged to suffer that execution before the maior of London, and other the kings iustices in the Guildhall, for treason by him committed, in defrauding souldiers of their wages: for where he had receiued great summes of monie to make payment thereof to them, he retained the same to his owne vse.

Tho. Walf.
Fabian.
Sir John
Spinterworth
beheaded.

Moreover (as in the fortye foure yeare of this king yee haue heard) he was the cheefe procurer and setter forward of the dissention that rose in the armie, which vnder the leading of sir Robert Knolles was sent into France. And when in that iournie he had lost most of his men, and was escaped himselfe into England, he laid all the blame on sir Robert Knolles, accusing him to the king of heinous treason; so as the king toke no small displeasure against the said sir Robert, insomuch that he durst not returne into England, till he had pacified the kings wrath with monie, and that the knowne fidelitie of the man had warranted him against the malicious and untrue suggestions of his enimies. Wherevpon the said Spinterworth perceiuing his craft to want the wished successe, he fled to the French king, and conspiring with him to annoie the realme of England by bringing the Spanish nauie to inuade the same, at length he was taken in the towne of Dampillon in Flaunde, and brought backe into England, where he tasted the deserued fruit of his contriued treason (as before yee haue heard.)

Thom. Walf.

About this season, there rose in the vniuersitie of Oxenford a learned man John Wicliffe, borne in the north parts, who being a secular prest, and a student in diuinitie, began to propound certeine conclusions greatlie contrarie to the doctrine of the church in those daies established, speciallie he argued against monks, and other men of religion that inioined great riches, and large possessions. There were diuerse that gaue good eare to him, insomuch that sundrie learned men of that vniuersitie preached and set forth the doctrine that he taught. Amongst other articles which they held, these were the cheefe and principall.

Thom. Walf.
John Wicliffe.

1 That the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, was not the bodie of Christ, but a figure thereof.

The cheefest
articles preached by Wicliffe.

2 That the church of Rome was no more head of the vniuersall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Christ vnto Peter, than to anie other of the apostles, and that the pope had no more power in the keies of the church than anie other prest whatsoever.

3 That temporall lords might both lawfullie and meritoriously take the temporall goods and reuenues from the church, if it offended; and if anie temporall lord knewe the church to offend, he was bound vnder paine of damnation to take from it the temporalities.

4 That the gospel is sufficient in this life to direct by rule euerie christian man.

5 That all other rules of saints, vnder the observing thereof diuers religious doe liue, ad no more perfection to the gospel, than washing ouer with linc doth the wall.

6 That the pope, nor anie other prelat of the church, ought to haue anie prisons wherein to punish offenders.

These and manie other opinions did these men hold and mainteine, and diuerse lords and great men

Welche & his
fellows main-
teined by cer-
taine lordes.

The duke of
Lancaster in
danger by the
Londoners.

The lord
Percie.

Tho. Wals.
The decesse
of ks. Edward
the third.

Fabian, pag.
262, 263.

This issue.

This praise.

of the land favoured their cause. But when these conclusions were brought before the pope, he condemned the number of 23 of those articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his bulls to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London, that they should cause the said Wicliffe to be apprehended, and examined upon the said conclusions, which they did in presence of the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percie, and hearing his declaration, commanded him to silence, and in no wise to deale with those matters from thenceforth, so that for a time, both he and his fellows kept silence: but after at the contemplation of diuerse of the temporall lordes, they preached and set forth their doctrine againe.

The same day that Wicliffe was conuicted thus at London, before the bishops and other lordes, thorough a word spoken in reproch by the duke of Lancaster vnto the bishop of London, straightwaies the Londoners getting them to armour, meant to haue slaine the duke, & if the bishop had not staid them, they had surely set fire on the dukes house at the Savoy: and with much ado might the bishop quiet them. Among other reprochfull parts which in despite of the duke they committed, they caused his armes in the publike street to be reuerfed as if he had bene a traitor, or some notorious offender. The duke and the lord Henrie Percie, whom the citizens sought in his owne house to haue slaine him, if he had been found, hearing of this riotous stir and rebellious commotion, forsooke their dinner and fled to Benington, where the lord Richard, sonne to the prince, together with his mother then remained, exhibiting before their presence, a grieuous complaint of the opprobrious iniuries done vnto them, by the wilfull outrage of the Londoners. For this and other causes, the citizens were soze hated of the duke, in so much that he caused the maiors & aldermen that then ruled to be discharged of their romes, and other put in their places.

The king being more grievously bered with sickness from daie to daie, either increasing by the course therof, or renewed by some new surfeit, finally this yeare departed out of this transitorie life at his manour of Shene, now called Richmond, the 21 daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1377, after he had liued 65 yeares, & reigned fiftie yeares, foure moneths, & 28 daies. His corpe was conueied from Shene by his foure sonnes, namelie Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie duke of Boke, and Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Cambridge, with other nobles of the realme, and sollemnelie interred within Westminister church, with this epitaph in his memorizall:

*Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum praeceptorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edmundus, regni complens iubilaeum,
Inuictus pavidus, polens bellis, et acerbatus.*

He had issue by his wife quene Philip 7 sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died young, Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Boke, Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Buckingham after made duke of Gloucester, and an other William which died likewise young. He had also three daughters, Marie that was married to John of Mountford duke of Britaine, Isabell wedded to the lord Concie earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in marriage with the earle of Penbroke.

This king, besides other his gifts of nature, was aske greatlie by his familie personage. He had a proudent wit, sharpe to conceiue and understand; he was courteous and gentle, doing all things sage-ly and with god consideration, a man of great temperance and sobrietie. Those he chiefelie fauoured and

aduanced to honour, and romes of high dignitie, which excelled in honest conuersation, modestie, and innocencie of life, of bodie well made, of a comely stature, as neither of the highest nor lowest sort: of face faire and manlike, eyes bright and shining, and in age bald, but so as it was rather a seemelie to those his ancient yeares than any disfiguring to his visage; in knowledge of martiall affaires verie skilfull, as the enterprises and warlike acts by him achieved do sufficientlie witnesse.

In what estimation he was had among strangers it may appeare, in that he was not onelie made vicar of the empire by the emperor Lewis of Baviere, but also after the decesse of the same emperor, diuerse of the electours, as Lewis marques of Brandenburg, Robert or Rupert count Palatine of the Rhene, and the young duke of Saronie, with Henrie archbishop of Spentz, elected him to succede in place of the said emperor Lewis. Further the lesse, he giuing them hartie thanks for the honour which they did vnto him herein, refused to take the charge vpon him, alledging that he could not haue time to supplie the romes, by reason of the warres that he had in France, to recouer his right which he had to that realme.

This is noted by writers to be a token of great wisdom in this noble king, that would not go about to catch more than he might well gripe. Examples of bountious liberalitie, and great clemencie he shewed manie, and the same verie notable; so that in manner he alone amongst all other kings was found to be one, subiect to none, or at the least, to verie light and small faults. But yet he was not void of euill haps: for whereas, during the terme of forty yeares space he reigned in high felicitie, and as one happy in all his doings: so in the rest of his time that followed, he felt a wonderfull change in fortune (whom writers compare to the mone for hir variableness, and often alterations, as neuer at a staie, saing,

*Nullum fortuna variatur imagine luna,
Crescit, decrescit, in eodem sistere nescit*)

shewing hir selfe froward to him in most part of his proceedings: for such is the state of this world, felidome doth prosperitie continue, and guide the sterne of our worldlie doings, as it well appeared by this noble prince. For in the first yeares of his reigne, after he once began to gouerne of himselfe, he recouered that which had bene lost in Scotland, by great victories obtained against his aduersaries in that land, and passed further into the same, than euer his grandfather king Edward the first had done before him, subduing the countrie on each hand, so that he placed gouernours, and bestowed offices, lands, and liuitings in that realme at his pleasure.

Amongst other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a charter vnder his great seale containing a grant made vnto John Cure and his heires for his god seruice done in those parts, of a manour called Ketnes in the countie of Roxfar (which lieth in the north of Scotland) with a market euerie mondaie, and a faire for three daies together at Epichaelmasse, as the euen, the daie, and the morrow after. Also he granted to the same John Cure, free warren throughout the same lordship. This John Cure was ancestour vnto the lord Cure that now liueth, who hath the same charter in his possession. As for this kings victories in France, the same were such as might seeme incredible, if the consent of all writers in that age confirmed not the same. But as these victories were glorious, so yet they proued not so profitfable in the end: for whereas he had soze burdened his subiects with taskes and subsidies, at length they wared wearie, and began to withdraue their forward minds to helpe him with such summes

John Cure
referred to
the last
yeare of his
reigne.

Propheta
veritatis.

John Cure
on continu
referred to
the last
yeare of his
reigne.

as had bene requisite for the maintenance of the warres, which the Frenchmen prolonged of purpose, and refused to trie their fortune any more in fight fields, whereby when he was constrained to be at continuall charges in such lingering warres, to defend that which he had erst gotten by force, and couenants of the peace, the sinewes of warre, to wit monie, began to faile him, and so the enemies recovered a great part of that which before time they had lost, both on the further side the seas, and likewise in Scotland.

This must needs be a great grieue unto a prince of such a stout and valiant stomack, namelye sith he had bene so long time before accustomed to find fortune still so fauourable vnto him in all his enterprises. But finallye the thing that most greued him, was the losse of that most noble gentleman, his deere sonne prince Edward, in whom was found all parts that might be wished in a worthy gouernour. But this and other mishaps that chanced to him now in his old yeares, might seme to come to passe for a reuenge of his disobedience shewed to his father in forsaking against him, although it might be said, that he did it by constraint, and through the aduise of others. But whether the remorse hereof, or of his other offences moued him, it may seme (as some write) that the consideration of this worlds mutabilitie, which he tried to the full, caused him (as is thought) to haue in mind the life in the world to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the church and college of saint Stephen at Westminster, and another at Cambridge called The kings hall, giuing thereunto lands and reuenues, to the maintenance of them that would giue themselves vnto learning.

Quene of gold & siluer.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furnishing forth of such other charges and expenses as he toke in hand to beare out, he had some helpe by the siluer mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, in like manner as his grandfather king Edward the first had. For one Matthew Crolwoth, the keeper of his mines in those parts, yelded diuerse accounts of the siluer and profits of the same, betwene the second and fifteenth yeare of his reigne, as well for the siluer as for the lead, after the siluer was fined from it. Also John Speneron succeeding in the same office, accomptant of the profits of the same mines, from Michaelmasse in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, vnto the second of Nouember in the thre and twentieth yeare, yelded vpon his accounts, both the siluer and the lead thereof remaining. Moreover he let by indenture in the two and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, vnto John Ballancer, and Walter Golbeater, his mines of gold, siluer, and copper, in the countie of Deuonshire, for terme of yeares. There is an account thereof remaining, and by the same (as it appeareth) was answered for the first yeare twentie markes. The second yeare the patentees died, and the king then disposed the same to others. In the eight and twentieth yeare of his reigne, he committed by indenture his said mines in Deuonshire, to one master John Hamner, and one Herman Kainesbo: pe of Boheme, minors, yelding to the king the tenth part of the care, as well of the gold and siluer, as of the lead and copper that should be gotten forth of the said mines.

In this kings daies, there liued manie excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martiall prowesse, as partlie is touched in this discourse of his reigne; and first, the said noble and most valiant king, the prince of Wales his sonne surnamed the blacke prince, the duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt sonne to the king, and his father in law duke Henrie, Commande earle of Cambridge, and after duke of

Pozke, the earles of Warwike, Huntington, Salisburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell and others; the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Basset, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Walter de Haunty and Penruier, the lord Edward Spenser, the lord John Chandois, the lord James Audelcy, Sir John Copland, Sir Thomas Felton, Sir Robert Knolles, who (as I haue said) being borne in Cheshire of meane parentage, through his manlie prowesse, and most skillfull experience in the warres, grew to be right famous.

Moreover, Sir Hugh Caluerlie borne in the same shire, the capitall de Benue a Gascoigne, Sir Thomas Percie, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Baldwin de Feuil, Sir John Harleston, Sir James Dipe, Sir Thomas Dagworth, & that valiant English knight Sir John Hawkewood, whose fame in the parts of Italie shall remaine for euer, where (as their histories make mention) he grew to such estimation for his valiant achieved enterprises, that happie might that prince or common-wealth accompt themselves, that might haue his seruice, and so liuing there in such reputation, sometimes he serued the pope, sometimes the lords of Millane, now this prince or common-wealth, now that, and other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, would keepe the same, till some liking entertainment were offered, and then would he sell such a towne, where he had thus remained, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Barnabe lord of Millane gaue vnto him one of his base daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for his dowry.

This man was borne in Essex (as some write) who at the first became a tailor in London, & afterwards going to the warres in France, serued in the rowme of an archer, but at length he became a capteine and leader of men of war, highly commended and liked of amongst the souldiers, in so much that, when by the peace concluded at Bretaigne, in the yeare 1360, great numbers of souldiers were discharged out of wages, they got themselves together in companies, and without commandement of any prince, by whose authoritie they might make warre, they fell to of themselves, and soze harried and spoiled diuerse countries in the realme of France, as partlie ye haue heard: amongst whom this Sir John Hawkewood was one of the principall capteins, & at length went into Italie, to serue the marques of Monferrato, against the duke of Millane: although I remember that some write, how he came into that countrie with the duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true: but it may well be, that he was readie to attend the said duke at his coming into Italie. And thus much concerning such famous capteins as serued this noble king Edward the third, although for breuenesse I passe ouer diuerse other, no lesse famous and worthy for their high manhood and tried valiance to be remembred, than these afore mentioned.

Of learned men, these we find by Iohn Bale registred in the Centuries; John Baconthorp borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, so excellentlie learned, as well in diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he proceeded doctor in either facultie at Orenford and Paris, and wrote diuerse treatises, to his high and singular commendation; William Dorcham, John Worham a Carmelite frier, Nicholas Trivet borne in Northfolke, sonne to Sir Thomas Trivet knight, & one of the kings iustifiers, prouid excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and amongst other, two histories, and one booke of annales, he was by profession a blacke frier, and departed this life about the second yeare of this king Edward.

Edward the third, in the yere of Christ 1328; William Alnewike boine in Northumberland, in the towne whereof he toke name, a frier Pinoy; John Tanet boine in the Ile of Tanet, an excellent musician, and a monke in Canturburie; Hugh of saint Neot, a Carmelite frier in Hertfordshire, a notable diuine as those daies gaue; William Alton boine in Hampshire, a blacke frier and a diuine.

Furthermore, Richard Stradley boine in the marches of Wales, a monke and a diuine, writing certeine treatises of the scripture; William Herbert a Welchman and a frier Pinoy, wrote also certeine goodlie treatises of diuinitie; Richard Comington a frier of the order of the Cordeliers, a preacher, and a writer of diuinitie; William Greter a doctor of diuinitie, and a prebendarie canon in Greter, whereas it is thought he was boine; Lucas Bosden a westerne man, and by profession a Carmelite frier; Thomas Walleis a Dominike frier, a great diuine, as by such booke as he wrote it may appeare; Thomas Pontius a monke of Canturburie, John Kideball a graie frier, Henrie Coffesay o: Coffey a frier Pinoy, Ceffrie Aleuant boine in Porckshire, a frier Carmelite; John Euerden, a monke in Burie in Suffolke, an historiographer; Simon Burnesdon, a doctor of the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike o: blacke friers, as they called them here in England; Walter Burlie a doctor of diuinitie, who in his youth was brought by, not onlie in Martine college in Orford, but also in the Uniuersities and scholes abroad beyond the seas, in France and Germanie, & afterwards for his wisdom, good demeanour & learning, he was reteined with the bishop of Wines in Suabenland, a region in high Germanie.

Amongst other treatises which he compiled, being mantle, and namelie of naturall philosophie, he wrote a commentarie of the ethikes of Aristotle, and dedicated the same vnto the said bishop, a worke which hath bene highlie esteemed, not onelie in the Uniuersities of Italie, Germanie and France, but also here in our Uniuersities of England. To conclude, such was the fame of this doctor Burlie, that when the ladie Philip, daughter to the earle of Hainault should come ouer into England to be married to king Edward, this doctor Burlie was reteined by hir, and appointed to be hir almoner, and so continued in great estimation, in so much that after Edward prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward commonlie called the blacke prince, was boine, and able to learne his booke, the said Burlie among other was commanded to be one of his instructors.

By reason hereof, sir Simon Burlie, of whom I haue made some mention heretofore in this kings life, and more intend to speake, as occasion serueth in the next king, being sonne to sir John Burlie, nere kinsman to the said doctor Burlie, was admitted among other yong gentlemen, to be scholeselow with the said prince, by occasion whereof he grew in such credit and fauour with the said prince, that afterwards when his son Richard of Burdeaur, that succeeded king Edward his father, was boine, the said prince for speciall trust and confidence which he had in the said sir Simon Burlie, committed the gouernance & education of his son the said Richard vnto him, whereby he was euer after highlie in fauour with the said Richard, and no lesse advanced by him, when he came to intoy the crowne of this realme.

But now to other learned men of that age. John Barwike a frier Pinoy, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Orford; William Pottingham, Roger Glacton, boine in Huntingdonshire, an Augustin frier; John Polested boine in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Ipswich; Cippeswich as they write it;

Walter Bingham a frier also of the order of those Dominikes, which they called pied friers; Roger of Chesser a monke of that citie and an historiographer; Thomas de Hales a frier Pinoy, Robert Elphat a graie frier, Ceffrie Grandfiele an Augustine o: blacke frier, Hugh Wiclie a Carmelite frier of Porwich, William Vincourt a blacke frier of Boston, Hugh Ditton boine in Cambridgeshire a frier preacher, Adam Carthusianus a doctor of diuinitie, John Luttrell an excellent philosopher and well versed in the mathematical, Walter Cotton and Thomas Eckleson both graie friers, John Ffolham a Carmelite frier in Porwich, Benet of Northfolke, William Southhampton so called of the towne where he was boine, a blacke frier.

Moreover, John Burgh a monke wrote an historie, and certeine homilies; Adam Ridyard a master of art, Edmund Albon, Robert Counton a graie frier, William Lisse a frier Pinoy, John Kepingale boine in Lincolnshire a Carmelite o: white frier, as they called them; Christopher Pothusenius a blacke frier, Richard Aungerulle boine in Suffolke, who was bishop of Duresme, and lord chancelor of England; John Panduith, Walter Weminsford a canon of Giffborne an historiographer, John Dnie boine in Gloucestershire, in an Ile so called, whereof he toke his surname a Chartreux monke; Thomas Staueshaw a frier Pinoy in Wilsow, Robert of Leicester taking that surname of the towne where he was boine, a Franciscane o: graie frier; John of Northampton boine in that towne, and a Carmelite frier, an excellent mathematician.

Adde to the foresaid learned men, Robert Woylop boine in Porckshire, and a blacke frier in Eirkill; William Buntard a blacke frier, Richard Chycheester a monke of Westminster wrote an excellent chronicle, beginning the same at the coming in of the Saxons, about the yere of our Lord 449, and continued it till the yere 1348; Richard Rolle also Hampole an excellent diuine wrote many treatises; John Cuent a Welchman, a Franciscane frier, and prouinciall of the order; Robulph Radoptinus a frier Pinoy, Robert Wolcoth a blacke frier, boine in Northampton, excellentlie learned, and wrote manie woorks, both of diuinitie and other arguments; William Piluerlie a logician o: rather a sophister, John Tenkesburie, Thomas Wadwardin boine in Hartfield, a towne within the diocesse of Chycheester, archbishop of Canturburie succeeding John Orford, he wrote against the Pelagians; Richard Wetherset, William Weyton a graie frier, a Welchman boine, as Bale supposeth; John of saint Faith, boine in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier of Wymham.

Furthermore, John Godwicke boine also in Northfolke, an Augustine frier of Lin; William Rochwell a blacke frier, Ceffrie Waterton monke of Burie, Richard Fitz Kase, whom some take to be an Irishman, but a student in Orford, and scholar to John Baconthorpe profited highlie, & wrote manie treatises, he was first archdeacon of Richfield, and after chancelor of the Uniuersitie of Orford, and at length archbishop of Ardmachan in Ireland; Richard Bilington a doctor of diuinitie, William Grisfant a notable physician, surnamed of the countrie where he was boine Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Parceilles in Pouance, & had a son that was abbat of the regular canons of that citie, who at length was advanced to gouerne the see of Rome, & named Urbane the sixt; John Paschall boine in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Cippeswich, and by R. Edward the third preferred to the bishopricke of Landaffe; Adam Wodham a frier Pinoy; Simon Denton a blacke frier, William de Pagula; of John Wicliffe ye haue heard before.

poorouer, Gessrie Hardebie a blacke frier of Leicester, William Binham, Roger Countrey a welshman borne in Countrey a grey frier, Richard Billingham, William Dozoch a lawier; John Bilingworth an excellent philosopher, astronomer, and physician; William of Couentrie a frier Carmelite, professed and borne in the same citie; Ranke Higden a monke of Gesser and borne in those parts, an historiographer; John Galtwood *alias* Ashenton an excellent philosopher, Thomas Kacclife borne in Leicester, and an Augustine frier in Leicester towne; Bartholomew Glanville descended of noble parentage, as of the linage of those Glanvilles that were sometimes earles of Suffolke, as Bale saith; Robert Computista a monke of Burie, John Wiltton a monke of Westminster, Simon Wilttingham a frier Carmelite of Norwich, John Weir a northerne man borne a notable diuine.

Furthermore, Simon Alep, founder of Canturburie colledge in Drenford, wrote diuerse treatises, he was archbishop of Canturburie, as before ye haue heard; George Chadley, John of Timmouth vicar of that towne in the bishoprike of Durham, Peter Babion, Walter Wilborne or Wimborne, Nicholas de Lin borne in the towne of that name in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier by profession, but as excellent an astronomer as was in those daies; John Kington borne in Lincolnshire a frier minor in Stafford, Adam a monke of the Cisterciours, Roger Wiltshelpedale a mathematician, Simon de Feuertham parson of Birton in Kent, Mattheu Westminsteriensis, who wrote the booke called *Flores historiarum*; John Clin a Carmelite borne in Suffolke, lived in these daies, but departed this life in king Richard the seconds daies; Thomas de Struney an Augustine frier, Sertorius Gualensis a welshman borne,

poorouer, Simon de Lantides a gray frier, borne in Suffolke, propertieall of the gray friers in England; Thomas Stiths borne in Suffolke a blacke frier; Robert Langlands a secular prest borne in Suffolke in Portimers Cliberie, Leues Baerleon a welshman an excellent astronomer and mathematician, John Carandri, Nicholas Durham a Carmelite frier of Bewcastle, William Flatt an heremite wrote sundrie treatises, exhorting his countrymen of England to repentance, to avoid the vengeance else likelie to come; John Stafford a frier minor, borne in Stafford, whereof he toke name; Thomas Kuglhad a blacke frier, Rafe Stride an excellent logician, William de sanda Fide; or of saint Faith, so called of the towne in Suffolke, where he was borne, a Carmelite frier.

To conclude, John Hardeuille knight, that great trauelier, lived in those daies, and departed this life at Alege, the seventeenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1372. Thomas of Douer a monke of the abbeye there, Henrie Knighton wrote an historie intituled *De gestis Anglorum*, John Stokes borne in Suffolke an Augustine frier, John Hornebie a frier Carmelite of Boston, Henrie Wederike or (as other rather will) of Burie an Augustine frier, Simon Alcocke a diuine, Alfred Walton borne in the marches of Wales a monke of Durham, William Jordan an Augustine frier, John Walton a frier minor, William de Lincolne a Carmelite, borne and professed in that citie, whereof he toke his surname; Adam Sparlingham a frier of the same order, but borne in Suffolke; Simon Speham a prebend of Cichester, and a great diuine; John Wamton a Carmelite, and student in Cambridge; John Wilttingham a gray frier: and diuerse other, which for that we are not certaine in what age they lived, we here passe ouer.

Thus farre Edward the third, sonne to Edward the second and queene Isabell.



Richard the second, the second sonne to Edward prince of Wales.

Richard, the second of that name, and sonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the sonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reigne ouer the realme of England the two and twentieth daie of June, in the yeare of the world 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conquest 310, about the two and thirtieth yeare of the emperor Charles the fourth, and in the fourteenth yeare of Charles the sixt king of France, and about the seventh yeare of the reigne of Robert the second king of Scotland;

he was named Richard of Burdeam, because he was borne at Burdeam in Gascoigne, whilste his father ruled there. The day before it was understood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentieth of June (on which daie neuertheless he deceased) the citizens of London hauing certaine knowledge that he could not escape his sickness, sent certaine aldermen vnto Kingston, where the prince with his mother the princeesse then late, to declare vnto the said prince their readie good wils, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour, immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they

Thom. Wall.

The Londoners sent to R. Richard, commending themselves to his fauour before his death of R. Edward.

A. q. y.

be sought

Anno Reg. 2.
1377

Fabian.

John Philpot.

The duke of Lancaster & the Londoners submit their quarrels to the kings order.

besought him, to haue their citie recommended into his good grace, and that it should please him to visit the same with his presence, *sith they were ready in all sorts to honour and obeye him, and to spend both liues and goods in his cause, if need required.*

Moreover, they besought him, that it might please his grace to make an end of the discord betwixt the citizens, and the duke of Lancaster, which through the malice of some had bene raised, to the commoditie of none, but to the discommoditie of diuerse. When John Philpot, one of the foresaid aldermen, that had the words in all their names, had ended his oration, he was answered by the prince and his counsell, that he would indoeur himselfe in all things to satisfie their requests, and so were they sent home to bring a full answer of their message to the citie. The morrow after, there were sent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Simon Burle, & sir Richard Abderburie, knights: to bring them sorrowfull newes of the assured death of king Edward, who (as we haue said) deceased the day before; but comfortabill newes againe, of the great towardnesse and good meaning of the yong king, who promised to loue them and their citie, and to come to the same citie, as they had desired him to do. And further, that he had spoken to the duke of Lancaster in their behalfe, and that the duke had submitted himselfe to him in all things touching the cause; whereupon the kings pleasure was, that they should likewise submit themselves, and he would do his indoeur, that an agreement might be had to the honour of the citizens, and profit of the citie.

The citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the dukes matter, because the king was yong, and could not giue order therein, but by substitutes: yet at length with much adoe, they were contented to submit themselves, as the duke had done before, though not, till that the knights had undertaken upon their oath of fidelitie and knighthood, that their submission should not rebound to the temporall or bodilie harme of any of them, consenting to the kings will in this point. And so with this caution they took their iourney towards Shene, where they found the new king with his mother, the duke of Lancaster & his brethren, vncles to the king, and diuerse bishops, about the bodie of the deceased king. When it was known that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was so handled, that the duke and they were made friends. After this, when the king should ride through the citie towards the coronation, the said duke and the lord Percie riding on great horses before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vnto themselves so courtesouslie, modestlie, and pleasantlie, that where before they two were greatlie suspected of the common people, by reason of their great puissance in the realme, and huge rout of retainers, they ordered the matter so, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any manner of person, but rather by gentle and sweet demeanour they reclaimed the hearts of manie, of whom before they were greatlie had in suspicion, and thought euill of. But now, *sith we are entred into the matter of this kings coronation*, we haue thought good byesellie to touch some particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walsingham we find it) though nothing so largelie here, as the author himselfe setteth it forth, because the purpose of this worke will not so permit.

The manner & order of the kings coronation.

The king, in riding through the citie towards Westminster, on the 15 daie of Iulie being wednesday, was accompanied with such a traine of the nobilitie and others, as in such case was requisite. Sir Simon Burle bare the sword before him, and sir

John Bond leade the kings horse by the bridle on foot. The noise of trumpets and other instruments was marvellous, so that it seemed a day of Ioy and not this day that had bene long looked for, because it was hoped, that now the quiet order and good lawes of the land, which through the foolishnesse of the aged king deceased, and countenance of those that ruled about him, had bene long banished, should now be renewed and brought againe in use. The citie was adorned in all sorts most richlie. The water conduits ran with wine for the space of thre houres together. In the upper end of Cheape, was a certeine castell made with four towers, out of the which castell, by two sides of it, there ran forth wine abundantly. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of stature and age like to the king, apparelled in white vestures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approaching nere to them, leaues of gold; and as he approached also, they threw on him and his horse dozens of gold counterfeits.

When he was come before the castell, they took cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the founts of the castell, presented the same to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the castell, betwixt the four towers, stood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was so contriued, that when the king came, he bowed downe & offered to him the crowne. But to speake of all the pageants and shewes which the citizens had caused to be made, and set forth in honour of their new king, it were superfluous; euerie one in their quarters struing to surmount other, and so with great triumphing of citizens, and top of the lords and noble men, he was conueied vnto his palace at Westminster, where he rested for that night. The morrow after being thursdaie, and the 16 day of Iulie, he was fetcht to the church with procession of the bishops and monks, and comming before the high altar, where the pavement was covered with rich clothes of tapistrie, he there kneeled downe and made his prayers, whilst two bishops song the Letanie, which being finished, the king was brought to his seat, the quere singing an antienne, beginning, *Firmetur manus tua.*

That done, there was a sermon preached by a bishop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behaue himselfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient vnto him. The sermon being ended, the king receiued his oath before the archbishop and nobles: which done, the archbishop hauing the lord Henrie Percie lord marshall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oath, and demanding of them, if they would submit themselves vnto such a prince & gouernour, and obeye his commandements: and when the people with a loud voice had answered that they would obeye him, the archbishop vnto certeine prayers, blessed the king; which ended, the archbishop came vnto him, and tearing his garments from the highest part to the lowest, stripped him to his shirt. Then was brought by earles, a certeine couerture of cloth of gold, vnder the which he remained, whilst he was annointed.

The archbishop (as we haue said) hauing stripped him, first annointed his hands, then his head, breast, shoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the sacred oile, saying certeine prayers, and in the meane time did the quere sing the antienne, beginning, *Pax erunt regem Salomonem, &c.* And the archbishop added another prayer, *Deus Dei filius, &c.* Which ended, he and the other bishops song the hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, the king kneeling in a long vesture, & the archbishop with his suffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift vp by the archbishop, and clad first with the coate of saint Edward, and after with his mantell,

mantell, a stole being cast about his necke, the archbishop in the meane time saing certeine prayers appointed for the purpose. After this, the archbishop and bishops deliuered to him the sword, saing, *Accipe gladium, &c.*

When that prayer was ended, two earles girded him with the sword, which done, the archbishop gaue to him bracelets, saing, *Accipe armillas, &c.* After this, the archbishop did put upon him an hypermost vesture, called a pall, saing, *Accipe pallium, &c.* In the meane time, whilst the archbishop blessed the kings crowne, he to whose office it appertained, did put spurs on his heeles. After the crowne was blessed, the archbishop set it on his head, saing, *Coronet te Deus, &c.* Then did the archbishop deliuer to him a ring, with these words, *Accipe anulum, &c.* Immediately herewith came the lord Furniual by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, gaue to him the scepter, with these words, *Accipe sceptrum, &c.* Then did the archbishop deliuer to him in his other hand a rod, in the top whereof stood a dove, with these words, *Accipe virgam virtutis, &c.* After this the archbishop blessed the king, saing, *Benedicat deus, &c.*

These things done, the king kissed the bishops and abbats, by whom he was lead afterwards vnto his seat, the bishops beginning to sing (*Te deum*) which ended, the archbishop said to him, *Sit & retine amodo locum, &c.* When these things were finished, they began masse, the bishop of Worcester read the epistle, and the bishop of Ely the gospel. At the offertorie, the king rose from his seat, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered first his sword, and after so much gold as he would, but no lesse than a marke, by reason of the custome; for moze he might offer to God and S. Peter, but lesse he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which he and the archbishop did after communicate. This done, the earle, to whom it appertained to beare the sword before the king, redeemed the sword which the king had offered with monie, and receiuing the same, bare it afoze the king. When masse should be long, the king was brought againe to the altar, & there kneeling downe, and saing *Confiteor* to the archbishop, did communicate, and so was brought backe to his seat. The wardens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in time of the procession, as when he was annointed also at masse time, and as he returned from the church to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canopy of blew velvet, fastened vnto foure stauces at the foure corners.

In the meane time, sir John Dimmocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had been at the kings armorie and stable, where he had chosen according to his tenure, the best armour saue one, and the best steed saue one: albeit, sir Baldwine Freuill claimed the same office, but could not obtaine it; so that the said sir John Dimmocke hauing armed himselfe, and being mounted on horsebacke, came to the abbeie gates, with two riding before him, the one carrying his speare, and the other his shield, staing there till masse should be ended. But the lord Henry Percy lord marshall, appointed to make waie before the king with the duke of Lancaster lord steward, the lord Thomas of Woodstocke lord constable, and the lord marshals brother sir Thomas Percy, being all mounted on great horses, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but when the king was at dinner, and therefore it should be good for him to bename himselfe for a while, and take his ease and rest, till the appointed time were come.

The knight did as the lord marshall willed him, and so after his departure, the king hauing those

lords riding afoze him, was borne on knights shoulders vnto his palace, and so had to his chamber, where he rested a while, being somewhat fatigued with trauell, and took a small refection. After this, coming into the hall, he created foure new earles, before he sat downe to meat; to wit, his uncle the lord Thomas de Woodstocke earle of Buckingham; to whom he gaue a thousand marks a yeare out of his treasury, till he provided him of lands to the like value. The lord Guiscard de Gogolme, that had bene his tutor, was created earle of Huntington, to whom he gaue likewise a thousand marks annuall, till he were provided of lands of like value. The lord Robert de Baille was created earle of Nottingham, and the lord Henry Percy earle of Northumberland. He made also nine knights the same daie.

To shew what roiall seruice was at this feast, it passeth our understanding to describe: but to conclude, the fare was exceeding sumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all things, that if the same should be rehearsed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth thereof. In the midst of the kings palace was a marble piller raised hollow vpon steps, on the top whereof was a great gilt eagle placed, vnder whose feet in the chapter of the piller, diuers kinds of wine came gushing forth at foure severall places all the daie long, neither was anie forbidden to receiue the same, were he neuer so poore or abject. On the morrow after the coronation, there was a generall procession of the archbishop, bishop, and abbats then present, with the lords, and a great multitude of people, to praise for the king and the peace of the kingdom.

At the going forth of this procession, the bishop of Rochester preached, exhorting them, that the dissensions and discords which had long continued betwixt the people and their superiours, might be appeased and forgotten, prouing by manie arguments, that the same highlie displeased God. He admonished the lords, not to be so extreme and hard towards the people. On the other part, he exhorted the people in necessarie causes, for the aid of the king and realme, cherefullie, and without grudging, to put to their helping hands, according to their bounden duties. He further exhorted those in generall that were appointed to be about the king, that they should forsake vice, and studie to liue in cleanness of life and vertue. For if by their example the king were trained to goodness, all should be well; but if he declined through their sufferance from the right waie, the people and kingdom were like to fall in danger to perish. After the sermon and procession were ended, the lords and prelates went to their lodgings.

But now, because the Englishmen should haue their toies mingled with some sorowes, it chanced that the Frenchmen (which about the same time that the kings grandfather departed this life, were waisting on the seas) within six or seauen daies after his deceasse, burnt the towne of Rie. Whereupon, immediately after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge and Buckingham were sent with a power vnto Dover, and the earle of Salisbury vnto Southampton: but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentieth of August, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight, burnt diuerse townes in the same. And though they were repelled from the castell, by the valiant manhood of sir Hugh Tirrell capteine thereof, who laid no small number of them on the ground; yet they constrained the men of the Ile to giue them a thousand marks of siluer to saue the residue of their houses and goods, and so they departed from thence, sailing still along the coasts, and where they saw aduantage, set on land, burning sundrie townes nere to the shore, as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Wilmouth.

¶ q. iiij.

They

Froissard.
Rie burnt by
the Frenchmen
Thos. Wals.
The Frenchmen
burnt diuerse
townes in the
Isle of Wight.
Sir Hugh
Tirrell.

Froissard.
Thos. Wals.
Portsmouth,
Dartmouth,
Wilmouth,
burnt by the
French.

Hastings
burnt.

An over-
throw given
by the French
to the Eng-
lishmen.

Polydor.

The duke of
Lancaster &
the earle of
Cambridge
appointed
protectors.

In Angl. prel.

Froissard.

Berwike cas-
tell sworne by
the Scots.

Berwike cas-
tell recover-
ed by the
Englishmen.

They made countenance also to haue set on South-
hampton, if Sir John Arundell, brother to the earle of
Arundell had not bene readie there with a number
of men of armes and archers, by whom the towne
was defended, and the enemies chased to their ships.
From thence the Frenchmen departed, and sailing
towards Dover, burnt Hastings; but Winchelsea
they could not win, being valiantlie defended by the
abbat of Battell, and others. After this, they landed
one day not far from the abbete of Lewes, at a place
called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two
knights, the one named Sir Thomas Cheintre, and the
other Sir John Fallestie, hauing assembled a number
of the countrie people, incountred the Frenchmen,
but were overthrowen; so that there were slaine a-
bout an hundred Englishmen; and the prior, with the
two knights, and an esquier called John Brokas,
were taken prisoners, but yet the Frenchmen lost a
great number of their owne men at this confliat, and
so with their prisoners retired to their ships and gal-
lies, and after returned into France.

But now touching the doings about the new B.
You shall vnderstand, that by reason of his yong
peares, as yet he was not able to gouerne himselfe,
and therefore John duke of Lancaster, and Edmund
earle of Cambridge, with other piers of the realme,
were appointed to haue the administration. He was
of good disposition and towardeesse, but his age being
readie to incline which way soeuer a man should bend
it, those that were appointed to haue the gouerne-
ment of his person, did what laie in them now at the
first, to keepe him from all manner of light demeanour.
But afterwards, when euerie one began to studie
more for his owne private commoditie, than for the
aduancement of the common-wealth, they set open
the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his
good nature, by little and little grew familiar with
him, and dimming the brightnesse of true honour,
with the counterfeite shine of the contrarie, so maske-
red his vnderstanding, that in the end they brought
him to tract the steps of lewd demeanour, and so were
causers both of his and their owne destruction. This
seemeth to be touched by C. Okland, who speaking of
the death of the old king and the erection of the new,
saith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

*Indecimum puer hic nondum transegerat annum,
Cum iuuenile caput gessit diademate cinctum.
Qui postquam princeps iustus adoleuerat annis,
Dicere non facile est quantum distaret auitis
Moribus atque animo fuit hic quam dispare mente,
Disimili ingenio clare matrisque patrique.*

The Frenchmen not ignorant of such mischances
as were like to grow in England, suffered no time to
passe, but took occasions of aduantage when they
were offered. Among other enterprises I find,
that shortly after the deceasse of king Edward, the
duke of Burgognie iuan Arde, and two or three other
fortresses in those marches. The Scots this yeare al-
so wan the castell of Berwike by stealth one mo-
ning, but shortly upon knowledge had, the earles of
Northumberland and Nottingham, the lords Pe-
rill, Lucie, Craisoke, & Stafford, with other lords,
knights, and esquiers, came with their powers in all
hast thither, and entring the towne, besieged the cas-
tell, and finally assaunting them that kept it, wan it
of them by force, and slue all those Scottishmen which
they found within it, except Alexander Ramsie their
capitaine. When the Englishmen had thus recovered
the castell, they entered into Scotland, in hope to find
the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew
to be assembled.

The English host was three thousand men of
armes, & seven thousand archers, but they sent forth
Sir Thomas Musgraue with three hundred speares,

and three hundred archers, to Murray, to trie if he
might vnderstand any thing of the Scots in those
parts, with whom the earle Douglas, hauing with
him ten hundred speares, and two thousand of o-
ther called yomen with glaives and other weapons,
incountred by chance and distressed him & his com-
panie. Sir Thomas Musgraue himselfe, and Sir Ioseph
other, were taken prisoners, besides those that were
slaine, the residue escaped by flight, making the best
shift they could for the murther. The lord Perill, Sir
Thomas Trivet, Sir William Scrope, and diuers o-
ther valiant captaine of England, were sent into
Gascoigne this yeare, which first landed at Burde-
aux, on the euen of the Nativite of our ladie, where
after they had rested them a while, they went and rais-
ed the siege, which the Frenchmen had held before
Poirtaigne in Poitou a long time before.

Gouernour of this siege at the first, was Puan or
Dwen of Wales, but he was murdered one mo-
ning as he sat alone viewing the castell, and com-
bing his head, by one of his owne countriemen,
which vnder colour to seeue him, was become with
him verie familiar. This Dwen or Puan whether
ye will (for all is one) was some to a noble man of
Wales, whom B. Edward had put to death for some
offense by him committed, where this Puan got him
into France, being as then verie yong, and was
brought vp in the French court, and proved an ex-
pert man of warre, so that great lamentation was
made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Eng-
lishmen, although they misliked the manner of his
death, yet they were not greatlie sorrowfull for the
chance, sith they were rid thereby of an extreme en-
mie.

After that the Englishmen had raised the French-
men from the siege of Poirtaigne, they returned to
Burdeaux, and after recovered sundrie castels and
fortresses in the marches of Burdeolois, and about
Baionne. Also they aided the king of Navarre, &
gainst the king of Castile, and made a road into the
confines of Castile. But shortly after, a peace was
concluded betwixt those two kings, so that the lord
Charles of Navarre should marrie the daughter of
the king of Castile upon certaine conditions: and so
the Englishmen had their wages truely paid them
to their full contentation, and thereupon returned.
About Michaelmasse began a parlement that was
summoned at Westminster, which continued till the
feast of saint Andrew. In this parlement the foresaid
Sir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had
bene so earnest against dame Alice Peres in the
last parlement holden by king Edward the third, so
prosecuted the same cause now in this parlement,
that the said dame Alice Peres was banished the
realme, and all hir goods moueable and immoueable
forfeited to the king, because contrarie to that she had
promised by oth in the said last parlement, she had
presumed to come within the court, and to obtaine of
the king what soeuer was to hir liking.

There were two tenths granted by the clergie to
the king in this parlement, and two fifteens of the
temporalitie, to be paid the same yeare; and two citi-
zens of London, William Malworthe, and John
Whilpot were appointed to haue the keeping of that
monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings
necessarie bles, for the defense of the realme. Sir
Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming
one morning to Bullongne, burnt certaine ships
which laie there in the haven, to the number of six and
twentie, besides two proper barkes, being vessels of
no small account: and hauing spoiled and burnt the
most part of the bafe towne, he returned to Calis
with a great rich bootie of goods and cattell.

Also, where the castell of Sparke, in absence of the
capitaine

An over-
throw given
by the French
to the Eng-
lishmen.

The first of
Poirtaigne
raised

A parlement
Thom. vi.

Two citizens
of London
appointed to
keep the
monie
granted by
parlement

Sir Hugh
Caluerlie
burnt
certaine
ships

the castle
recovered by
sir Hugh Cal-
uerlie, the
same daie it
was lost.

capitaine sir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer in-
to England, was lost through negligence of them
that were left in charge within it; the same sir Hugh
Caluerlie made such speed in the matter, that he re-
covered it againe the same daie it was lost, by force
of assault, taking the Frenchmen prisoners that
were gotten into it, and hanging certeine Picards
souldiers in the said castell, vnder the said
sir Robert de Salle, for that whilst the Englishmen
were gone forth, to see the shooting of a match which
they had made amongst themselves, a little off from
the castell, those Picards being left within, shut the
gates against them, and receiued in the Frenchmen,
with whom they had practised in treason, keeping the
Englishmen forth, to whom the safe keeping of that
castell was committed.

138
John Wick-
liffe.

This yere was a bull sent from the pope vnto the
bishops of Orenford, to apprehend John Wick-
liffe, parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, with-
in the diocese of Lincolne. Also, there were other
bulls to the same effect, sent vnto the archbishop of
Canturburie, and to the bishop of London. Likewise
to the king were letters directed from the pope, to re-
quite his fauour against the said Wickliffe, so grie-
uoulye was the pope incensed against him, and not
without cause, for if his conclusions in doctrine toke
effect, he well perceived his papistlicall authoritie
would shortly decaie. As for the popish cleargie, to
them not onlie the sect but also the name of Wick-
liffe was so odious, that in recording his opinions
and searices, they exceed the bounds of all modestie,
aggravating such reports as they infer concerning
him or his with more than hyperbollicall lies: as ap-
pereth by that long and tedious discourse which he
wrote, that compiling certeine annales intituled *De
erroribus Anglie*, ppefirst this verse in the front of
his volume, in letters of red vermilion, as desiring
to haue his name notorioulye knowne to the world;

Hande Knight-
in armour adbat.
Lion in arma-
re de Rich.
prouen.

Autoris nomen capitales littere pandunt:
He (I say) in that copious treatise hauing spoken as
maliciously & viperously as he might both of Wick-
liffes life, which he concludeth to be letow; of his opi-
nions, which he anoneth to be hereticall; and of his
fauourers and followers, to whom (at his pleasure)
he giueth vniuerent epithets (all which to persecute
at length, as by him they are in ample sort laid
downe, would but defeat the mans malignitie, and
procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto
his declarations) he maketh by his mouth with a
tristichon of poetical imitation, to bring Wickliffe
and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and de-
famation, saleng as followeth in verse and prose;

*Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne,
Et Thetis encaustum, scriptor & omnis homo,
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.*

*Maledictus conuentus eorum, quoniam pertinax, propterea
Deus destruat eos, in sinem euellat, & emigrare faciat de
tabernaculo fidelium suorum, & radicem eorum de terra
regni; & hoc videant iusti, & latentur; ut dicere pos-
sint; Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Do-
mini, & sperauit in multitudine vanitatis sue: confun-
dantur & pereant cum doctrina eorum in aeternum, &c.*

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large,
I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of
the church, published by maister John Fox: and now
will we returne to matters of state and policie.
There went forth this yere a verie great naue of
ships to the sea, vnder the guiding of the earle of
Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Lati-
mer, the lord Fitz Walter, sir Robert Knolles, and
other valiant capitaines, meaning to haue intercep-
ted the Spanish fleet that was gone to Sluse in
Flanders, but thorough rage of tempest, and contra-
rie winds, they were driuen home, although twice

The naue
slew forth,
and is beaten
back by tem-
pest.

they attempted their fortune: but sir Hugh Calac-
lie, deputie of Calis, kept not his businesse, doing
still what displeasures he could to the Frenchmen.
Shortly after Christmasse, he spoiled the towne of
Chaples the same daie the faire was kept there, to
which a great number of merchants of Bullongne
were come to make their markets, but the sellers had
quicke utterance, for that that might easilie be cari-
ed awaie, the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused
the owners to redeme the residue with great sums
of monie, which they undertooke to paie; or else sir
Hugh threatned to haue burnt all that was left, to-
gether with the houses.

For haue heard, how at the first the duke of Lan-
caster was one of the chiefe about the yong king in
gouernment of his person and realme, who prou-
dentlie considering, that sith there must needs be an
alteration in the state, & doubting least if any thing
chanced otherwise than well, the fault and blame
might be chesefelie imputed to him, and thanks (how-
soeuer things went) he looked for none, he gaue there-
fore the slip, obtaining licence of the king to depart,
and so got him home to his castell of Killingworth,
permitting other to haue the whole swaie: for before
his departure from the court, there were with his
consent ordeined such as should be attending on the
kings person, and haue the rule and ordering of mat-
ters pertaining to the state, as William Courtnie,
then bishop of London (though shortly after remo-
ued to the archbishops see of Canturburie) Edmund
Spoxtimer earle of March, & diuerse other, of whom
the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet be-
cause the bishop of Salisbury, and the lord Latimer
were admitted amongst the residue, the commons
murmured greatlie against them.

The earle of Northumberland resigned his office
of lord marshall, in whose place succeeded sir John
Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. The
duke of Lancaster, although retired from the court,
yet desirous to haue the monie in his hands that
was granted the last parlement, at length obtained
it, vpon promise to defend the realme from inuasion
of all enemies for one yeres space: he therefore pro-
vided a great naue to go to the sea, hiring nine
ships of Basonne, to assist his enterpryse herein, the
which in making saile hitherwards, incountred with
the Spanish fleet, and toke fouretene vessels laden
with wines and other merchandize. But in the
meane time, one Percer a Scottishman, with cer-
teine saile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards,
came to Scarborough, and there toke certeine ships,
and led them awaie to the sea, as it were in reuenge
of his fathers imprisonment, named John Percer,
who before being caught by certeine ships of the
north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northum-
berland, was committed to prison within the castell
of Scarborough.

John Philpot that two shipfull citizen of London,
lamenting the negligence of them that should haue
prouided against such inconueniences, made forth a
fleet at his owne charges, stronglie furnished with
men of warre and munition necessarie: the men
of warre meeting with the same Percer, accompa-
nied with his owne ships, and fiftene other Spa-
niards that were newlie ioined with him, set vpon
them, and so valiantlie behaued themselves, that they
toke the said Percer with all them that were then in
his companie, so recovering againe the ships that
were taken from Scarborough, besides great riches
which were found aboard, as well in the fiftene Spa-
nish ships, as the other that were of the old retinue,
belonging to the same Percer. John Philpot was af-
terwards blamed of the lords, for presuming thus
far, as to set forth a naue of men of warre, without
the

Exploits
done by sir
Hugh Cal-
uerlie.

The duke of
Lancaster
mitting the
maners of the
court, getteth
himselfe home
to his castell or
Killingworth

John Philpot
Alderman of
London set-
teth forth a
fleet at his
own charges,
to recover cer-
teine Eng-
lish ships ta-
ken by the
Scots.

the aduise of the kings counsell: but he made his answer in such wise vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

Before all such prouision as the duke of Lancaster prepared for his iournie to the sea could be readie, the earles of Salisburie and Arundell sailed ouer into Normandie, where, by such composition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of France, who of new was become enemie to the French king, the towne of Cherbourg was belivered vnto the said earles, who sending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were sent ouer such as should haue in charge the keeping of that towne; and so the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of France, hauing bene here in England with the king and his counsell, had agræd with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demise vnto him the said fortreffe of Cherbourg, whereby the Englishmen might haue free entrie into Normandie, when they would, as well to aid the king of France in his necessitie, as to like anie enterpryse that should be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occasion serued. But the obtaining of possession of Cherbourg brought not so much ioy to the English nation, as the mishap that happened at the going forth of the said earles did cause lamentation and heavinesse.

For vpon the first entring into the sea, it fortuned that sir Philip, and sir Peter Courtenie, disconoured a certeine number of ships that were enemies, and by discretie entered amongst them, there suddenlie came vpon them the Spanishe fleet, so that the English ships that were in companie with the said Philip and sir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in somuch that finalie after that sir Philip had lost diuerse of his men that were there slaine, he got awaie by flight himselfe, though greuouslie wounded, but sir Peter was taken prisoner with a few other knights that were with him; and the most part of all the valiant esquiers of Summersetshire & Devonshire, being there abroad with him, were slaine and drowned, which was esteemed no small losse to the whole common-wealth.

Thus were the Englishmen occupied in this first yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie against the Frenchmen, but also against the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the same yeare, the Scots burnt Rokeburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thousand men, and sore spoiled the lands of the earle of March for the space of three daies together; because the said earle of March was the chiefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokeburgh, & so for that time the Englishmen were well reuenged of those enemies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would needs make a road into Scotland, entring by the west borders, they were encountered by the Scots and put to flight, so that manie of them being slaine, the Scots took the more courage to invade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and took an abstinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the same continued not long.

Anon after Midsummer, the duke of Lancaster with a strong power took the sea, and landing in Britaine, besieged the towne of saint Mallo de Lisle, a fortreffe of great importance. There went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwicke, Stafford, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie, the which made their approaches, and fiercelie assailed the towne, but it was so valiantlie defended, that in the

end, the duke with his armie raised from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpose. ¶ About the same time, there was a notable and hairous murder committed within saint Peters church at Westminster, by occasion of variance betwixt the lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two esquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other John Shakell on the other partie, about a prisoner which was taken at the battell of Bayers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as some write) was taken by one sir Franke de Hall at the said battell; and because he remained in his hands at the death of the said sir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his sonne the said Robert Hall esquier.

But as other write, the said earle was taken by the said Robert Hall himselfe & John Shakell jointly, and iudged to be their lawfull prisoner, by the sentence of the prince of Wales, and sir John Chandois that was master to the said esquiers. Whereupon afterwards the said earle obtained so much fauor, that by leauing his sonne and herte in gage for his ransom, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to discharge it; but he was so slow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any payment, and so his lands fell to his sonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two esquiers. Whereupon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaster, desirous to haue the yong earle in his hands (in hope through his means the better to accomplish his enterpryse which he meant to take in hand against the king of Castile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the said earle of Deane, at the hands of the said esquiers.

But they refused to deliuer him, keeping their prisoner forth of the waie, so that none wist where he was become: the esquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they escaped vnto Westminster, and there registered themselves for sanctuary men. The duke of Lancaster was herewith sore offended, and their enemies the said lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers took counsell together, with sir Alane Worhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this despite. This sir Alane Worhull was constable of the tower, and therefore it grieved him not a little, that the esquiers had broken from him, and kept themselves thus at Westminster, under protection of that privileged place. Whereupon it was concluded, that sir Rafe Ferrers, and the said Alane Worhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie persons, should go and fetch them by force from Westminster, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after saint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of August, these two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings seruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Westminster, whilest the said esquiers were there hearing of high masse, which was then in celebrating; and first laung hands vpon John Shakell, bled the matter so with him, that they drew him forth of the church, and led him straight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceiuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falchion or short sword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so frelie about him, trauesing thise round about the monks quier, that till they had beset him on eche side, they could doe him no hurt.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them cloue his head to the vertebaines, and an other thrust him through the bodie behind with a sword, and so they murdered him among them.

Cherburg
belivered to
the English-
men.

Additions to
Adam Meri-
nuth.

The English
name is out-
ratched and
overcome by
the Spanishe
fleet.

Rokeburgh
burnt by the
Scots.

Anno Reg. 2.
The duke of
Lancaster sail-
eth into Brit-
taine with a
great power.
Additions to
Adam Meri-
nuth.

John Shakell
Robert Hall
Esquiers

Polyd.

Thom. W.

Thom. W.

them. They due also oite of the monkes that would haue had them to haue saued the esquiers life. Much ado was about this matter, for the breaking thus of the sanctuarie, in somuch that the archbishop of Canturburie, and fine other bishops his suffragans, openly pronounced all them that were present at this murder accursed, and likewise all such as aided or counselled them to it, theie and namele sir Alane Borthull, and sir Rafe Ferrers, captains and leaders of them. The king, the queene, and the duke of Lancaster were yet excepted by speciall names. The bishop of London a long time after, euerie sūdaie, wednesday, and fridaye, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

The duke of Lancaster (though excepted in the same) yet in behalfe of his friends was not a little offended with the bishops doings, in so much that in a counsell holden at Windsoxe (to the which the bishop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet cease the pronouncing of the curse, albeit the king had requested him by his letters) the duke said openly, that the bishops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (saith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that disobedient prelat, in despite of those reboulds (for so he termed them) the Londoners. These wordes procured the duke much euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonlie said, that whatsoeuer had bene done at Westminister, concerning the murder there committed in the church, was done by his commandement.

3 parliament at Westm.

About the feast of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Glocester, for the displeasure (as was thought) which some of the counsell had conceived against the Londoners, or rather (as some take it) for feare of them, least if any thing were done contrarie to their minds, they should be about to hinder it, if the parlement had bene kept nere them: for manie things (as some iudged) were meant to haue bene put forth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to passe of those matters that were surmised, sauing that it was enacted, that the king should haue a marke of the merchants for euerie sacke of their wualles, for this present yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the seas, and here sold, for pence of the buyers. Also, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-strangers, that they might buye and sell in grosse, or by retails within this realme, as in the printed booke of statutes it appeareth.

The pope sends to the king for aid.

This yeare came messengers from the new elected pope Urbane, with letters to require the kings assistance and aid against such cardinals as he named schismatikes, that had elected an other pope whome they named Clement, which cardinals sent likewise their messengers with letters, to beseech the king to aid them with his fauourable assistance: but through perswasion of the archbishop of Canturburie, Urbans request was granted, and Clements reieced. About the same time, to wit, on thursdaie before the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, the Scots by stealth entered by night into the castell of Berwik, and due sir Robert Bontoun, a right valiant knight, that was constable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and servants to depart, with condition, that within three weekes next ensuing, they should either paie them those thousand marks, or else yeeld their bodies againe to prison.

Berwik castle was taken by the Scots.

The morrow after, the same Scots fetched a great botie of cattell out of the countries next adjoining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertised hereof, hasted thither with foure hundred armed men, and assaulding the castell on each side, after two houres defense, wau it, slaieng of the

defendants about eight and fortie, reseruing onelie one of the whole number alive, that he might informe the Englishmen thoroughlie of the Scottishmens purposes. At this enterprise was the earle of Northumberland eldest sonne, spreading there first his banner, and doing so valiantlie, that he deserued singular commendation; as likewise did sir Alane de Beton, and sir Thomas de Iberton, with those of the surname of the Herons, euerie of these hauing their quarters assigned to assault. Thus was the castell recovered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the same, so that they enioied not long that vicioious exploit.

Alexander Bannister was onlie saued as Fouillard saith

Berwik castle recovered by the earle of Northumberland.

And because this enterprise was taken in hand against the covenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recover the castell, sent to the earle of March in Scotland, to vnderstand if he would auow that which his countrymen had done, touching the winning of that castell, who sent him knowledge againe, that he neither vnderstood of their enterprise, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it so pleased the earle of Northumberland, he would come himselfe, and helpe to recover it to the R. of Englands vse, out of those Scottishmens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, sir Robert Ross, capitaine of Chierburg, was called home, after he had taken sir Oliuer de Clifton, and atchined manie other toozthie adventures against the kings enemies. In his place was sent sir John Herleston, to remaine upon the gard of that castell. Also, sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, that had so valiantlie borne himselfe against the Frenchmen, was likewise discharged; and comming home, was made admerall, being ioined in commission in that office with sir Thomas Percie.

Sir Robert Ross a valiant capitaine.

1379

Sir William Pontacut earle of Salisburie was sent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who shortly after his comming thither fetched a great botie of cattell out of the enemies countrie adjoining, so that Calis was furnished with no small number of the same. Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and sir Thomas Percie, going to sea, took seauen ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of warre. The archbishop of Castile in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and loosing, granted to him by pope Urbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accursed; and therefore now was the time for Englishmen to make warre in France, hauing such occasion, as greater could not be offered; speciallie, sith it was like that the excommunicated king should haue no courage to make resistance. This is I will not saie the diuinitie (for that heauenliness can there be in such damnable doctrine, to set people together by the eares) of the Romanists; so farre off are they from the studie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they set whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in streams of blood, imitating their great grandfather sathan, who hath bene a makebate and a murderer from the beginning: renouncing the footsteps of Christ with open mouth, and forswearing to follow him either in deinceanour or doctrine, and therefore;

Quis nesciens inops, ut sanctum tale probabit?

Hecine mens Christi? Talia nulla docet.

In a parlement holden at Westminister this yeare after Easter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbeie of Westminister should remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a promise against those that took sanctuarie, with purpose to defraud their creditors, that their

The sanctuarie at Westminister confirmed by parliament.

lands

A subsidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons go fra.

Anno Reg. 3.
A notable exploit done by sir John Harleston.

lands & goods shuld be answerable to the discharging of their debts. In the same parlement was granted to the king a subsidie, to be leuied of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be spared, the dukes of Lancaster and Britaine paid twentie markes, euerie earle six markes, bishops and abbats with miters as much, and euerie monke thre shillings foure pence: also, euery iustice, shiriffe, knight, esquier, parson, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

We haue heard how sir John Harleston was sent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortrese, who issuing abroad on a day, with such power as he might take forth, leauing the fortrese furnished, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid vp, as in storehouses, a great quantitie of vittels, for prouision; which church and mill the Englishmen assailed so valiantlie, that notwithstanding there were within a good number of the enemies, that did their best to defend themselves, yet at length they were taken, and sir John Harleston with his companie, returned with the vittels towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountred by one sir William de Bourdes, whome the French king had appointed to lie in gounthburg with a strong power of men of war, to countergarison Chierburg.

Hereupon ensued a fore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it seemed that the Englishmen were ouermatched in number, yet they stricke to it manfully. Their capteine sir John Harleston, fighting in the foremost presse, was felled, and laie on the ground at his enemies feet in great hazard of death. The Englishmen neuerthelesse continued their fight, till at length sir Gessie Wollie, with a wing of armed footmen with arcs, came to the rescue (for to that end he was left behind, of purpose to come to their aid if need required) with whose comming the Frenchmen were so hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken insunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquished: there were of them slaine about six score, and as manie taken prisoners, among which number was their chiefe capteine sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the residue, and there put in safe keeping. This exploit was atchued by the Englishmen, on saint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

But least any toy shoulde come to the English people in that season, without some mixture of græfe, one sir J. Clearke a right valiant knight, & fellow in armes with sir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garrison in a castell in Britaine, where was an haven, & diuers English ships lieng in the same, whereof the French gallies being aduertised, came thither, to set those ships on fire, appointing one of their gallies first to attempt the feat, and if fortune so would, to traîne the Englishmen forth, till they should fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had bene in ambush. Now as the enemies wished so it came to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing their vessels in danger to be burnt of the enemies, ran euerie man aboard to saue the ships and goods within them; and amongst the rest, sir John Clearke their capteine, meaning to take such part as his men did, got aboard also, and straight falling in pursute of the gallee that withdrew for the purpose aforesaid, the Englishmen were shortly inclosed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what shift to make to auoid the present danger.

Sir John Clearke, perceiuing how the case stood, laid about him like a giant, causing his companie still to draw backe againe, whilst he resisting the enemies, did shew such proofe of his valliance, that they

were much astonished therewith. To be short, he so manfully behaued himselfe, that the most part of his companie had time to recouer land; but when he that had thus preserved others, shuld leape forth of the ship to saue himselfe, he was stricken in the thigh with an ar, that downe he fell, and so came into the enemies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almost quite cut off from the bodie, so that he died of that and other hurts presentlie, leauing a remembrance behind him of manie worthie aduises through his valliance atchued, to his high praise and great commendation. The barke of Poike was also lost the same time, being a proper vessel; and now taken suddenlie, sank with all that were aboard in hir, both Englishmen, and the enemies also that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir auaie.

About the same time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of sir Thomas Berrie and sir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a haven not far from saint Malo, the fourth day of August, being receiued with unspeakable ioy of the Britains, as well lords as commons, so that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had caused his subiects, in fauor of France, to keepe him manie yeares forth of his dukedome as a banished prince, but at length, they being overcome with ierelomuness of his long absence, with generall consents sent for him home, so that there were but few of the British nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and those were onlie such as firmitie linked in seruice with the French king, were loth to forgoe such romes and dignities as vnder him they intoted; namelie, the constable of France, sir Wertham de Cleaquin, the lord Clisson, the lord de Rohen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

The lord de la Wall amongst other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walsingham) offering him his seruice as well as the residue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue lost all such furniture, as well of vittels, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies espieng their time, immediately as he and his companie were set on land, before the ships in which the said furniture was fraught, could enter the haven, which was somewhat straight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at such aduantage, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not caused the master of his ship, to men againe his will to returne againe to the rescue, the gallies had taken and gone auaie with the other ships; but through the manfull pzooues of sir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ships saued: for according to his wonted valliance he would not returne, till he saw all other in safetie, & then defending himselfe so well as he might, withdrew into the haven, and landed safelie with the residue.

About the same time was an heinous murder committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whom certeine English merchants vpon spite and enue, which they bare towards him, caused to be slaine one euening in the street before his owne gates. The cause that moued the merchants so to procure his death was, for that he undertooke to furnish this land, hauing the staple allotted him at Southhampton, of all such wares as came forth of Leuant, so plentifully as was to be had in any place in all the west parts of christendome. In the summer of this yeare, a greuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, so that the countrie became almost desolate. And to the increase of that miserie, the Scots thinking the time to serue their turne, invaded the borders, and most cruelly harried, robbed, and spoiled the

The lord of Britaine sought to his dukedome.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

An heinous murder committed by merchants in London.

Great hurt in the north countrie.

Great loss by the Scots in the north.

Sir John Clearke a valiant capteine.

A policie.

the same, not letting passe any part, of most cruell murdering of the people that were left alive, and not made awaie by that soze contagious sicknesse. The number of cattell was infinite which they broue out of the land with them, not sparing heards of swine which they toke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that present.

Before the Scots made this iournie into England, whilest the mortalitie was most in force, they calling to certeine of the English borderers, asked of them how it came to passe, that so great a death reigned amongst them. The Englishmen, as good, plaine, and simple meaning men, told them, that trulie they knew not the cause, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in such behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduersitie that chanced vnto them, came by the speciall grace of God, to the end that being punished for their sinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they should enter this land, vnderstanding lewolic that the Englishmen had told them concerning the disease, and the grace of God, deuised a blessing forth to be said euerie morning, of the most ancient person in euerie familie, as; *Benedicite*, said he: *Dominus*, said the residue. Then began he againe, saying; God and saint spango, saint Komane and saint Andro, shiold vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Englishmen dien vpon. Thus the senselesse men misconstruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne destruction, which if not in this world, yet for their bntish crueltie vled at that present, against the miserable creatures, whom the hand of God had spared in time of that greuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, least in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imported.

About the same time, John Schakell esquier was set at libertie, the king compounded with him for his prisoner, giuing fwe hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by yeare. When he should bring forth his prisoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie strange and wonderfull. For when he should appeare, it was knowne to be the verie growne that had serued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer utter himselfe that he was before that time, hauing serued him as an hired seruant all that while in prison, and out of prison, in danger of life, when his other maister was murdered, where, if he would haue vttered himselfe, he might haue bene entertained in such honorable state, as for a prisoner of his degree had bene requisit, so that the faithfull loue and assured constancie in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praised, and no lesse marvelled at of all men.

About the feast of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went to sea an armie of men, that should haue passed ouer into Brittain, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of sir John Arundell, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Thomas Percie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Mowbray, sir Thomas Banester, & manie other knights and esquiers, too long to rehearse, a sufficient power vndoubtedlie to haue done a great enterprize: but they were no soner on the sea, but suddenie there arose such an hideous tempest of wind and stormes, that they looked presentlie to be all cast awaie, they were scattered here and there, and diuen they wist not whither. The ship wherein sir John Arundell was aboard, chanced to be cast on the coast of Ireland, and there diuen to forsake his ship, that was readie to be broken in peeces by rage of waues, beating it there against the rocks: he was drowned before he could

win to land, in an Ile, nere to the which they had thrust in the ship.

To the like end came sir Thomas Banester, sir Nicholas Trumpington, and sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt forth of the ship: also one Husard an esquier, a most seemlie personage and a bold; and an other esquier named Dentoke, being almost out of danger, were fetched awaie by the surges of the sea, and so perished, with manie other. Robert Ruff a cunning seaman, belonging to Blacknie in Dorsetholke, & maister of the ship wherein sir John Arundell was imbarked, was the first that got to land, giuing example to others how to shift for themselves. But when he saw his cheefe capteine, the said sir John Arundell got forth to the sands, and as one thinking himselfe past all danger, to shake his wet garments about him; the said Ruff waientg the dangerous state wherein the said sir John Arundell yet stood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforling himselfe to plucke him to the shore: but whilest he toke care for an other mans safetie, and neglected his owne, he lost his life, and so they both perished together; for though a mightie billow of the raging seas, they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, dratone into the deepe, so that they could neuer recouer foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The said Ruff was much lamented, because he was not onelie knowne to be a skilfull maister, but also counselled the said sir John Arundell in no wise to go to sea, at what time he would needs set forthward, forling the said Ruff and the mariners to hoist by sailles and make awaie. They that scaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to relieue their miseries, but bare ground, so that diuerse starued through cold, wanting fier and other succour: the residue that were lustie and wise withall, ran by and downe, and sometime wessling, and otherwise chasing themselves, remained there in great miserie, from the thurdaie, till sundaie at none next insuing. At what time, when the sea was appeased and warent calme, the Irishmen that dwelled ouer against this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and relieved them the best they could, being almost dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The said sir John Arundell lost not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie sumptuous, so that it was thought to surmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new sutes of apparell of cloth of gold or tulle, as was reported, all the which, together with his horses & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thousand marks, was lost at the sea. And besides this, there were lost at the same time fwe and twentie ships, with men, horses, and other riches, which attended him in that voyage. Yet sir Thomas Percie, and sir Hugh Caluerlie, with sir William Elmham, and certeine others escaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmerrifull tempest: and before sir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the sea was quieted, he was assaulted by a Spaniard, against whom he so defended himselfe, that in the end he toke the Spaniard befall, and brought him, with all that he found aboard in him, vnto the next shore, and sold the same for an hundred pounds, and without long delaye, toke the sea, & passed ouer to Brest, of which fortresse he was capteine, iointlie with sir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting least some inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their absence, he made the more hast, not taking rest till he came thither, notwithstanding his passed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ship (as Froissard writeth) were drowned, except

The excessive and sumptuous apparell of sir John Arundell.

There were drowned above a thousand men in one place and other, as the additions to Ad. Merimouth do testifie.

Notable example of a faithfull prisoner.

The English name Caluerlie, was by a Frenchman corrupted.

Outragious
swiched
the pun-
sho.

cept himselfe & such mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, about a thousand Englishmen in that most unluckie voyage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the said sir John Arundell & his companie, for the lascivious and filthy rule which they kept before their setting forth, in places where they late, till their provision was ready; who not content with that which they did before they took ship, in ravishing mens wives, maids and daughters, they caried them aboard, that they might haue the vse of them whilst they were vpon the sea,

*(Sena libido furens, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quidue tuo non est violabile telos?)*

and yet when the tempest rose, like cruell and vnmerefull persons they threw them into the sea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noise and crying, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboard with them (whome they had abused so long) God would not cease the rage of the tempest. But it should appeare that this tempest was generall, for where the Spanish and French fleets were abroad at the same time, being assembled together to annoy the coasts of this land, their ships were likewise tossed and turmoiled, so as no small number of them were lost, in so much that the damage which they sustained, was thought far to passe that which hapned to the English naue.

1380

Sir John
Deuereux
made deputy
of Calis.

In this yeare about Whiffmasse, sir William de Spontacate earle of Salisbury, after he had remained twelue moneths space at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & sir John Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was sent thither in his place. ¶ Also, sir John Harleston was called home from Chierburg, and sir William Winteshore a noble knight was sent thither to be capitaine of that fortreffe. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Also there as the yeare before there had bene certeine bishops, earles, barons, and iustices appointed, to haue the gouernement and rule about the king; now at the request of the lordes and commons in this parlement assembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick was chosen to remaine continually with the king, as chiefe gouernour, both of his person, and to giue answer to all strangers that should come hither about any businesse whatsoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of those that were chosen thereto before: it was perceined that they had sought to enrich themselves, & had done little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or state of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings coffers.

The arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie made
lord chancel-
lor.

In this parlement also, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancellor, and Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie toke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalendes of March, to the feast of S. Michael, which then should be in the yeare 1381, there should be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octauus of Easter, the lord Walteran earle of saint Paule married the kings halfe sister, the ladie Ione de Courtine: the solemnization of this marriage was holden at Winteshore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princeesse that was mother to the byde, was greatlie against the marriage, but the byde hir selfe had such a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they should marry together, and let him free of his ransom which he should haue paid for that he had bene taken prisoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his sister by waie of endowment, the towneship and manour

The kings
halfe sister
married the
earle of saint
Paule.

of Bielest.

In the seventh of June, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Westminster, on the pavement there, betwixt one sir John Annelie knight, and one Thomas Battrington esquier: the occasion of which strange and notable triall rose hercof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that where the fortreffe of saint Sauour within the Ile of Constauntine in Normandie, belonging some time to sir John Chandois, had bene committed to the said Battrington, as capitaine thereof, so keepe it against the enemies, he had for moneths sold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was sufficientlie provided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it against them; and sith the inheritance of that fortreffe and landes belonging thereto, had appertained to the said Annelie in right of his wife, as next consue by affinitie vnto sir John Chandois, if by the false conueiance of the said Battrington, it had not bene made awaie, and alienated into the enemies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the said Battrington, wherupon was the same Battrington apprehended, and put in prison, but shortly after set at libertie againe.

Whilst the duke of Lancaster, during the time that his father king Edward late in his last sickness, did in all things what liked him, & so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he released Battrington for the time, so that sir John Annelie could not come to the effect of his sute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenses staied the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for such a foreyn controuersie that had not risen within the limits of the realme, but touched possession of things on the further side the sea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cause were first notified to the constable and marshall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Whereupon was the day and place appointed, and all things provided readie, with liss railed and made so substantiallie, as if the same should haue endured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried, was thought to exceed that of the kings coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come together in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the liss were set vp, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courser semelie trapped, entered first as appellant, staing till his aduersarie the defendant should come. And shortly after was the esquier called to defend his cause in this forme: Thomas Battrington defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which sir John Annelie knight and appellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thee. He being thus called thise by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewise; and riding on a courser trapped with traps imbroidered with his armes, at his approaching to the liss he alighted from his horse, lest according to the law of armes the constable should haue challenged the horse if he had entered within the liss. But his shifting nothing auailed him, for the horse after his maister was alighted beside him, ran by & doctone by the rails, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast, so that the earle of Warwick, because he was high constable of England, claimed the horse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the rails, and so the horse was adjudged vnto him.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horse was made after, as soon as the esquier was come within the liss) the indenture was

A combat
betweene
Annelie
knight
and
Battrington
esquier

Crail
bat in
case lant

The col-
the comb

The earle
of War-
wicke
claimed
the horse

was brought forth by the marshall and constable, which had bene made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were contained the articles exhibited by the knight against the esquier, and there the same was read before all the assemble. The esquier (whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of trouble some and grinding passions, as an offender alreadye convicted, thought (as full well he might)

Multa misero times, quia feci multa proterve

went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might have seemed the sounder. But the duke of Lancaster hearing him so staie at the matter, swore, that except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures compised, that were not made without his owne consent, he should as guiltie of the treason forthwith be had forth to execution. The duke with those words wone great commendation, and avoided no small suspicion that had bene conceived of him as parcial in the esquiers cause. The esquier hearing this, said, that he durst fight with the knight, not onlie in those points, but in all other in the world that foucer the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and fauour of his friends, than to the cause which he had taken upon him to defend. He was indeed a mightie man of stature, where the knight among those that were to the esquier, in whom he had great affiance to be bozne out through their assistance, were the lords Latimer and Bassett, with others.

Before they entered battell, they toke an oth, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, nor art magike, whereby they might obtaine the victorie of their aduersarie, nor had about them any herbe or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vse to triumph over their enemies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therefore having made their prayers deuoutlie, they began the battell, first with speares, after with swords, and lastlie with daggers. They fought long, till finallye the knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfullie ouerthrowne by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen vpon the esquier, through sweat that ran downe by his helmet his sight was hindered, so that thinking to fall vpon the esquier, he fell downe feeling himselfe, not comming nere to the esquier, who perceiving what had happened, although he was almost overcome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himselfe vpon him, so that manie thought the knight should haue bene overcome: other doubted not but that the knight would recover his feet againe, and get the victorie of his aduersarie.

The king in the meane time caused it to be proclaimed that they should staie, and that the knight should be raised vp from the ground, and so mirant to take vp the matter betwixt them. To be short, such were sent as should take vp the esquier; but comming to the knight, he besought them, that it might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obtaine the victorie, if the esquier might be laid vpon him, in manner as he was earst. Finallye, when it would not be so granted, he was contented to be raised vp, and was no longer set on his feet, but he charfullie went to the king, without any mans helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him vp, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease, to see if he might recover his strength.

The knight at his comming before the king, be-

sought him & his nobles, to grant him so much, that he might be effronies laid on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft vpon him: for the knight perceiued that the esquire through excessive heat, and the weight of his armor, did maruellouslie faint, so as his spirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiuing the knight so couragiously to demand to trie the battell forth to the uttermost, offering great summes of monie, that so it might be done, decreed that they should be restored againe to the same plight in which they laie when they were raised vp: but in the meane time the esquire fainting, and falling downe in a swoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yeld by his last breath presentlie among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water vpon him, seeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparell, which thing proued the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting vp his eyes, began to hold vp his head; and to cast a ghoslie looke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no peece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false perjured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The esquier immediately after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to wax raging wood, and so continuing still out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he was led by the ghost. This combat was fought (as before we haue heard) the seuenth of June to the great reioicing of the common people, and discouragement of traitours.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Olivier de Clisson, with a number of ships and gallies of France and Spaine, toke the sea, and comming on the coast of England, landed in diuerse places of the west cuntry, and also in the south parts, spoiling and burning sundrie towncs, taking such ships and vessels as they might laie hold vpon, and so continued to indamage the English people that inhabited nere to the sea side, all that summer following. In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodstocke earle of Buckingham, uncle to the king, with an armie of seauen or eight thousand men of armes and archers, was sent ouer to Calis, that he might inuade France, and passe through the same to come into Britaine vnto the aid of the duke there. Upon haue heard how the French king had seized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, because that the duke had ioined himselfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerse of the good towncs, and also manie of the barons and nobles of the cuntry which kept themselves as neutrals a long season; but at length, longing to see the returne of their naturall lord and duke, sent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to see to the quieting of the troubled state of his cuntry.

The duke being thus earnestlie desired to returne home, by the aduise of the king of England and his counsell, granted to their request that had so instantlie required him, both by letters and sufficient messengers: wherevpon he toke the sea, and sailing forth, arrived in Britaine, hauing with him sir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Englishmen both armed men and archers (as before we haue heard.) The king also promised to send him a new

The esquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquisher.

The esquire is cured.

The French men spoile & burne diuerse towncs in the south cuntry.

Anno Reg. 4.

Froissard.

The earle of Buckingham sent into Britaine to aid the duke against the French king.

supplie berie shortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was so contrarie, that sir John Arundell generall of those that were sent, and manie of his companie, were drowned by force of tempest, and the other driven backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his subiects, did manfullie defend his townes and countrie against the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppressed by the great puissance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the sooner. Which being signified ouer into England, moued the king and his counsell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this boiage. He landed at Calis thre daies before the feast of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Stafford and Deuonshire, the lord Spenser constable of the host, the lord Fitz Walter marshall, the lord Bassett, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Spollic, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsoze, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington; sir John and sir Nicholas Daubycourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Hewill sonne to the lord Hewill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Boe, sir Gessie Mourdie, sir William Clinton, sir Iuan Fitz Warren, and diuerse other. After they had rested them at Calis two daies, they remoued the third day out of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remained thre daies, till all their companie, cariages, and provisions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remoued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights these that follow: the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Spollic, the son of the lord Fitz Walter, sir Roger Strange, sir John Ipe, sir John Colle, sir James Tirell, sir Thomas Kamsion, sir John Hewill, and sir Thomas Ros or Roslie, as some coples haue. These persons were made knights, because they went in the vaward, which was sent to win a strong house called Follant, which the owner had fortified against them. But though he defended himselfe manfullie for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken prisoners.

After this the duke passed by saint Omers, shewing himselfe (about a mile off) with his host in order of battell aloft vpon a mountaine. Some of the Englishmen rode to the barriers, requiring that some of them within would come forth and breake stanes with them, but they could not be answered. The same day that the Englishmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as sir Rafe Hewill, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas Dangleure, sir Rafe Petipas, sir Lewes saint Albine, and sir John Paulie or rather Paulet. These Englishmen rode through the countrie, demanding iusts and daies of armes, but they could not be answered. In deed the townes of the frontiers were well replenished and stuffed with men of war, and still were the Englishmen coasted, but they kept themselves so close together, without breaking their order, that their enemies could find them at none aduantage.

They passed by Cirwine and by Bettwine, where they lodged one day. Ther made but esse tourines, and seemed to require nothing but battell. They passed by Arras, by Piramont, and so to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there thre daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they dislodged, and drelw towards Cambate, and so to S. Quintines, & after by towards Reimes. They found little riches, and small store of vittells aboad

in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all to his men of warre, who either walled or conuered all things of any value into the fortresses and walled townes. The Englishmen therefore sent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue some vittells sent to the host, for the which they would spare the countrie from walling: but they of Reimes would not consent hereunto. Wherevpon the Englishmen began to light them such candels, as their eyes within the citie asked to behold the same a far off.

Moreouer, the Englishmen approached so nere to the walles and diches of the citie, that they brought a waie twentie thousand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compasse of their diches; and further sent to them within, that if they would not send bread and wine forth to vittell the host, in that behalfe they would burne all their coigne: for doubt whereof, the citizens sent forth to the host sir charlets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their coigne saued from destruction, and the Englishmen by soft and easie iournies drelw towards the citie of Trois, in the which was the duke of Burgogonie, with the dukes of Bourbon and Bar, the earle of Cwe, the lord Coucie, sir John de Gien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a battise without the towne able to receive a thousand men of armes, but vpon the Englishmens approach to assault it, they did forsake that strength, and withdrew to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Also there were certeine new knights made, as sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Paulie or Paulet, sir John Sturgulie, sir Thomas Dostingurs, sir John Clacocoque, sir Thomas Basse, sir John Bzaun, sir Henrie Vernier, sir John Colemanle, sir William Cucrat, sir Nicholas Sturgulie, and sir Hugh Lunit.

The English host perceluing the Frenchmen to withdraw into the towne, drelw together, and stood in order of battell for the space of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remoued to Spailerois le vicount nere unto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after drelw into Cassinois, and so into Beause. They were coasted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as many or more in number as they were themselves. But the French king being a politike prince, wiselie considered what losses the realme of France had suffered afore time, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and therefore was fullie resolved, that in no wise he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience) to keepe his townes close against his enemies, and so in the end to wearie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, where as he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they soe indamaged the same for a time.

There chanced manie small skirmishes amongst those that rode forth to discouer the countrie, but no notable encounter at all. For the Englishmen in those daies were cats not to be catched without mitens (as Iacob Meir in one place saith) & againe the Frenchmen were as warie how they aduentured to come nere them, peraduenture for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3. as C. O. noteth, saying,

*Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Paleus
In campum aduictum ex vicina collegerat arma,
Non tamen Angligenas aduersum est ausus aperire
Tendere Marte ferus confingere fortiter arma.*

Snellie they fought how to inclose them by in the countrie, and to faunty them, that they might then fight with them at some great aduantage; but still the English host passed forward, holding on their boiage

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

Knights againe made.

The tourme of the English armie towards France.

The earle of Deuonshire, the lord Spenser, the lord Bassett, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Spollic, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsoze, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington, sir John and sir Nicholas Daubycourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Hewill sonne to the lord Hewill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Boe, sir Gessie Mourdie, sir William Clinton, sir Iuan Fitz Warren, and diuerse other.

Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet.

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

The French king.

In the year 1381.

An. Reg. 4.

The death of
Charles the
French king.

voyage towards Britaine by Flandres, Pont Mo-
laine, and so over the river of Sartre. In this meane
while the French king Charles the first was taken
with a sore sickness, whereof he departed this life the
same daie that the English armie passed over the ri-
ver of Sartre, which was on the six and twentieth of
September, his brethren the dukes of Anjou, Ber-
rie, Bourbon, and Burgonie were at Paris with
him at the houre of his death, where as a little before
they had bene abroad in the countrie with their
powders, to defend the cities and townes of impor-
tance against the Englishmen, and meant indeed (if
they could have espied their advantage, and gotten
licence thereto of the king) to have given their en-
emies battell. But now they were otherwise occupi-
ed: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the
countrie to coast the Englishmen as they had done
before. All the French power was assembled in the
cite of Paris, under the leading of the duke of Bar,
the lord Coucic, and others.

Too. Wall.

The French
and Spanish
gallies chased
from the coast
of England
to Kingdome
Ireland and
there ban-
quished.

In this meane while that the earle of Bucking-
ham was passing through the realme of France, the
French and Spanish gallies did much mischief on
the coast of England: but about the latter end of
June, by a fleet of Englishmen of the west countries
part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour
in an haven in Ireland called Kingfale, where being
assailed of the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were
banquished, so that to the number of foure hundred
of them were slaine, and their chiefe captains taken,
as Gonfalus de Clerke, and his brother John Martin
de Morigo, Turgo lord of Morigo; also the lord of
Kerth, Piers Martin of Clermeu, John Podit of
Clermeu, the seneschall of Margarie, the seneschall of
S. Angelo, Cornelis of S. Sebastiano, Paschale de
Wilkey, John Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebastia-
no, and diuerse other.

Diuerse
townes on the
English coast
destroyed and
burnt.The abbat of
Bartoli in re-
fusing win-
dow was put
to flight.Cranford
burnt.The English
had entred
into Britaine.

Here were taken foure of their barges with a bal-
lenger, and one and twentie English vessels recou-
red, which they had robbed and taken awaie from
their owners. There escaped yet foure of their notable
captains into the hands of our men, Martin Grantz,
John Peris Pantago, John Hulce Citario, and
one Carcias of S. Sebastiano, so that the malice
of those robbers ceased not. For they with the French
gallies still lieng on the seas, when they espied anie
advantage, would land their people, and do what mis-
chance they could, in taking prizes, and burning
townes and villages, although now and then they
came short to their vessels againe, losing sometimes
an hundred, sometimes fourescore that were over-
taken by the Englishmen that came forth against
them. But among other inuasions which they made
this summer on the coasts, we find that they burnt the
towne of Winchelsea, & put the abbat of Battell to
flight with his people, committing to succor that town
and took one of his monks that was there in armor
with the abbat. & Some write also, that they burnt
Rie, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Finally, their bold-
nesse so farre increased, that in August they entring
with their gallies into the river of Thames, came up
to Cranford, where they burnt the most part of the
towne, and on the other side of the river, as well in
Essex as Kent, they burnt and spoiled diuerse places,
and with their prisoners and booties returned without
receiving anie hurt, bringing with them to France,
both rich spoiles and good prisoners.

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where
he left. The English armie drew still towards Bri-
taine, but with so small doubt of their aduersaries,
that they laie three or foure daies sometimes still in
one place. At their approaching to the marches of Bri-
taine, they came to Witrie, a towne situate at the
first entring into that countrie, and from thence

went to Chateau Blant, and there rested, whither
came to them certaine knights sent from the duke of
Britaine, which signified to the earle of Buckingham
what the dukes meaning was. And by the death
of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie
abated towards the Frenchmen, so that he had not
much passed if the Englishmen had bene at home
againe. Moreover, his townes were not determined
to receiue the Englishmen, as enemies to the crowne
of France: so that he was in a perplexitie how to
order his businesse. At length, to shew himselfe a sted-
fast friend to the Englishmen, and one that was no
changeling, he determined by their suppost, to force
all those to allow the league which he had established
with the Englishmen, who had denied to beare ar-
mour against the crowne of France. And first, be-
cause they of Poants were the ringleaders of that
rebellious demeanour, he appointed first to besiege
their cite. They hauing knowledge thereof, sent into
France for aid.

Poants be-
sieged by the
Englishmen.

The dukes of Anjou, Berrie, Burgonie, and
Bourbon, brethren to the late king, and uncle to his
sonne the yong king, hauing the gouernance of the
realme under him, sent six hundred speares with all
speed to strengthen them of Poants, which defended
the cite in such wise from the puissance of the Eng-
lishmen, who enuironed the same with a strong
siege, that in the end, because the duke came not to
them (according to his promise) the siege was raised
the morrow after Jew peares daie, two moneths
and foure daies after the same was first laid. The
duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the
siege of Poants, in strengthening of the English
host, but he could not persuade his lords to aid him
in anie such enterpryse. And therefore now that the
earle of Buckingham had broken up his siege, he
caused him to be lodged in the cite of Mantes, & his
men abroad in the countrie, some here, and some
there, acquitting himselfe as well towards them as
he might.

The siege at
Poants brok
ken by.

But suerlie the hearts of the Britains were won-
derfullie changed, and in no wise would consent to
haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie reason-
able peace might be concluded. For manie that ha-
ted the father, bare good will and heartie loue to-
wards the sonne, whose yong peares and great to-
wardnesse allured the hearts of manie to wish him
well. Whereupon was meanes made for a peace, which
by the duke of Anjou his consent (who bare the grea-
test rule in France in that season) a final accord was
made, betwixt the yong king and the duke of Bri-
taine, so that the duke should come and do his ho-
mage vnto the French king, and sweare to be true
and faithfull vnto him: also that he should rid the
Englishmen out of his countrie, and helpe them
with ships and vessels to transport them home into
England.

A peace be-
twixt the
French king
and the duke
of Britaine.The articles
of the peace.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderstood
of this peace, was not a little displeased in his mind,
considering that the duke of Britaine had delt so
tufflie with him and his nephue the king of Eng-
land. But the duke still excused him by his subiects,
as though if he had not thus agreed, he should haue
bene in danger to haue lost his heritage of that
countrie. Finally, the earle after he had ships pro-
vided for his passage, the eleuenth of Aprill departed
out of Mantes, and came to the haven where his
ships laie, and so went aboard in like manner as other
of his men did from other hauens, and shortly after
(when the wind serued) took the sea, and returned in-
to England, soze displeased with the duke of Bri-
taine for his great vntreuth and dissimulation (as he
toke it) notwithstanding all excuses to cloake the
matter by him alledged.

The earle of
Buckingham
returned into
England.

R. y.

Whilic

The Scots
invade the
English bor-
ders and
spoil whole
counties car-
rying away
great booties.

An armie lin-
gering in the
north parts
greatlie im-
poverisheth the
countrie.

Additions to
Adam Meri-
aunt.

Treason in
letters writ-
t by sir Rafe
Ferrers to
certeine
French
lords.

Whilist the Englishmen were thus occupied in warres against the Frenchmen (as befoze ye haue heard) the Scots could not rest in quiet, but in reuenge for a ship, which the townefmen of Newcastle and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to do what mischief they could vnto the English borders: for the losse of that ship grieved them, because it was esteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at seven thousand marks. Hereupon the Scots entring by the west borders, invaded & spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, and comming into the forrest of Ingelwood, they took awaie with them such a number of beasts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and other. Besides this, they cruellie due all such as they could laie hands vpon, and burnt by all the townes, villages, and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stole vpon the towne of Wethereth, when the faire was kept there, slaying, taking, and chasing awaie the people, and after gathering together all the goods and riches there found, took it awaie with them, whereof there was such plenty as might haue satisfied the couetous desire of a most greedy armie. They returned by Carlisle, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adjoining, they durst not staie to make any attempt against that towne, but compassed their waie to escape with their booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they lost some of their companie as they passed by an ambushment of certeine archers of Westmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpose. When the earle of Northumberland would haue gone south to reuenge those injuries done to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his counsell, to forbear till the daie of truce, at what time it might be knownen what was further to be done in the matter.

About Michaelmasse the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Warwick, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honor, hauing with them a great power of souldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and comming to the borders, they laie there till they had consumed no small summes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scottish armie had invaded the same. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scottish commissioners, a truce was agreed vpon till Easter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more ado. For the space of halfe a score yeares together now last past, the Englishmen euerie yeare had one or two such treaties with the Scots about the incursions and rodes which they yearelie made into the English borders, soze indamaging the inhabitants of those north parts of the realme, notwithstanding any truce or abstinence of warre that might be concluded.

Whilist the armie (as ye haue heard) laie idle in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto the worshipfull citizen John Philpot, who calling vnto him certeine other worshipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was contained matter of high treason: and perceiuing by the scale that it belonged vnto sir Rafe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuite counsell, deliuered that letter with foure other letters closed with the same scale, first to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the scale knowne to be the said sir Rafe Ferrers his scale, manie greatlie marvelled that so ancient a knight, and one in whom so great trust was put, should go about any such treasons.

One of the letters was directed to sir Bertram de

Cleagut, an other to the lord de la Ruer the chamberlain of France, an other to the lord Clifton, and an other to the patron of the gallics, and to the captain of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the same time waiking along the coasts, did much hurt in diuerse places of the land. For with the said Philpot and others were sent in post from the king to the duke of Lancaster, that for so much as the said sir Rafe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he should arrest him and put him in safe keeping, which commandement the duke did accomplish, and committed him to be safely kept in the castell of Duresme, but shortly after in the next parliament he was set at libertie, foure barons being bound for his forth comming, till time that he might more euidentlie declare his innocencie.

About the feast of S. Martine, was a parliament holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, because in that season of the yeare they were constrained to come where there was no store of felwell to make them fiers: and besides that, lodgings were verie streit for so great a multitude. But the cause that moued the counsell to appoint this parliament there, was to the end that they might the more freely proceed to the trial of John Birbie a citizen of London, that had murdered the Countess (as befoze ye haue heard) which Birbie was condemned at this parliament, and drawne and hanged in the sight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it should haue bene done at London, the lords doubted least some tumult might haue bene raised by the citizens, who were reckoned in those daies verie rash and presumptuous in their doings.

But now to the effect of this parliament. There was a new and strange subside or taske granted to be levied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie priest secular or regular six shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggars certenlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter curse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischief rose thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Christmasse, Thomas Beantingham bishop of Ely and lord treasurer, was discharged of his office of treasurer, and sir Robert Hales lord of S. Johns was advanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

About this time did John Wickliffe chiefe set forth his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that it ought not in any wise to be worshipped in such sort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambassadores sent into Germanie, to treat with the emperour for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours sister. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinal, intituled of saint Bernard, and the duke of Arlesia, and other nobles that came from the emperour, to treat with the king & his counsell about the same marriage. This cardinal, whether he passed the bounds of his commission and authorized to him granted by the pope (as some write) or whether he was furnished with such faculties, he was very liberall in bestowing of them abroad on all such as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vied onelie to reserve for himselfe to bestow, this man granted the same liberallie, both biennials and triennials. He gaue also letters of confessionally,

¶ parliament
at Northampton.

John Birbie
executed by
murdering
a merchant
stranger.

¶ grammar
subsidie.

¶ Wickliffe
as some say.

1381
Thom. Wals.

Wickliffe's
opinion.

The card-
inal of Beant.

¶ Confessionally.

In to monie

tionall, to all those that would paie for them, admitting a well beneficed men as other, to be the popes chaplains. He made noiares for monie, and denied not a tares portatue to arie that would pay for them.

He received for tie pounds, besides other gifts, of the monks of the Cisterciur order, to grant to them a generall licence to eat flesh indifferentlie, as well abroad, as they had bene accustomed to do at home within their monasteries. To those that were excommunicate he gave absolution: those that had vowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to saint James, he would not first release them, till he had received so much monie, according to the true valuation, as they should haue spent in their toornies: and to be yee, nothing could be asked, but for monie he was ready to grant it. And when he was requested to shew by what power he did all these things, with great indignation he answered, that he would let them understand at Rome, if they would needs know the authoritie which he had. At length his males were so filled with siluer, that his seruants disdained to make them anie answer, except they brought gold saing: Bring vs gold, for we are full of your siluer. But at his departure he took all awaie with him, both gold and siluer in such abundance as was marvellous. This hath bene the practise of the Romanis from time to time, whereupon grew this common byword (saying the polling and hauing thiffs of that execrable sex, gaping gulfe, and insatiable sea)

Curia Romana non querit ouem sine lana.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the state of the realme. After the returne of the earle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduise of the counsell, that the duke of Lancaster should efformes go as ambassadoe from king Richard into Scotland, to see if he might renew the truce (which hostilie would haue bene expired) for thre yeres longer. Also whereas there was variance and open war maintained, betwixt John king of Castile, and John king of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord Will. liam de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and sir Pat. thew Courne, were sent into Portingale with five hundred armed men, and five hundred archers to aid the king of Portingale against the king of Castile, who was sonne to the bassard Henrie: for the duke of Lancaster reioiced greatlie, that he might haue such a friend as the king of Portingale, to soine with him in aid against the king of Castile; meaning (as some as opportunitie would serue) to go ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and pursue his claime to the crowne of Castile and Leon, against the usurper, in right of his wiffe queene Constance, eldest daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom Henrie the bassard as before (ye haue heard) did still persecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdom.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lancaster could compasse his purpose, for the which he went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of the king and realme, then should he hostilie after follow his brother of Cambridge with a great power, to trie what chance God would send to him, against his aduersarie the king of Castile. ¶ In the meane time other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yere of king Richard, fore to the disquieting of the same, and utter disappointing for that time of the duke of Lancasters intent. The commons of the realme fore repining, not onlie for the pole grotes that were demanded of them, by reason of the grant made in parlement (as ye haue heard) but also (as some write) for that they were fore oppressed (as they take the matter) by their land-lords, that demanded of them their ancient customes and seruices, set on by some diuelish instint & persuation of their owne

beastlie intentions, as men not content with the state whereunto they were called, rose in diuerse parts of this realme, and assembled together in companies, purposing to inforce the prince to make them free, and to release them of all seruitude, where by they stood as bondmen to their lords and superiours.

Where this rebellion of the commons first began, diuerse haue written diuerse. One autho: writeth, that (as he learned by one that was not farre from the place at that time) the first beginning should be at Dertford in Kent: for when those pole shillings, or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be collected, no small murmuring, cursing, and repining among the common people rose about the same, and the more indeed, through the lewd demerour of some vndiscreet officers, that were assigned to the gathering thereof, inso much that one of those officers being appointed to gather by that monie in Dertford aforesaid, came to the house of one John Eiler, that had both seruants in his house, and a faire yong maid to his daughter. The officer therefore demanding monie for the said Eiler and for his wife, his seruants, and daughter, the wiffe being at home, and his husband abroad at worke in the towne, made answer that his daughter was not of age, and therefore she denied to paie for him.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in common speech said to be due for all those that were undergrowne, because that yong persons as well of the man as of the womankind, comming to the age of fouretene or fiftene yeaes, haue commonlie haire growing forth about those priue parts, which for honesties sake nature hath taught vs to couer and keepe secret. The officer therefore not satisfied with the mothers excuse, said he would see whether his daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therefore began to misuse the maid, and search further than honestie would haue permitted. The mother straightwaies made an outcrie, so that his husband being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this, as at his house, came running home with his lawfull staffe in his hand, and began to question with the officer, asking who made him so bold to keepe such a rule in his house: the officer being somewhat presumptuous, and highminded, would forthwith haue shoue ypon this Eiler; but J. Eiler auoiding the officers blow, taught him such a rap on the pate, that his braines shoue out, and so presentlie he died.

Great noise rose about this matter in the streets, and the poore folks being glad, euerie man arraied himselfe to support John Eiler, & thus the commons drew together, and went to Maidelstone, and from thence to Blackheath, where their number so increased, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thousand. And the said John Eiler took ypon him to be their cheefe capteine, naming himselfe Jacke Straw. Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fobbing was the first that procured the people thus to assemble together: and that one of the kings seruants named John Leg, with thre of his fellows, practised to seele yong maids whether they were undergrowne (as ye haue heard the officer did at Dertford) which dishonest and vnseemlie kind of dealing did set the people straight in such a rage and bypore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of such iniuries.

But Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, that the first sparkes of this rebellion kindled in Essex, where the inhabitants of two townes onlie at the first, that were the authors and first stirrers of all this mischief, did send vnto euerie litle towne about, that all manner of men, as well those that were aged, as others that were in their lustiest time and youthfull

The beginning of the rebellion at Dertford in Kent.

An armie sent into Portingale to aid the king there against the king of Castile.

The commons be reason of the great subsidies and other oppressions rise in diuerse parts of the realme.

The commons at Essex began the commotion as Wal. saith.

R. 2. 4.

yeares,

The armor of
the rebels

pearces, should come to them with speed, setting all ex-
cuses apart, in their best arrate and furniture for
warre, threatening to such as came not, that their
goods should be spoiled, their houses burnt or cast
downe, and they to lose their heads when they were
taken. The terror of this threatening caused the igno-
rant people to flocke to them by heaps, leaving all
their businesse, letting plough and cart stand, for tak-
ing wife, children, and houses, so that in a short time
there were five thousand gotten together of those
commons and husbandmen, of which number manie
were weaponed onelie with staves, some with rustie
swords and billes, and other with smokie bowes;
more ruddie than old puerie, not hauing past two or
thre arrowes, and the same happilie with one feather
a peece.

Among a thousand of those kind of persons, yee
should not haue seene one well armed: and yet by
reason of their multitude, when they were once got
together, they thought the whole realme had not bene
able to resist them; and supposed that they could with
facilitie (in respect of the aduerser part) make the states
of the land stoop to them, and by their permission to
reteine or compulsion to resigne their comies of
dignitie. But the lord conceited robot considered not
the euent of this insurrection, that the worst would
be their owne; for the old saying is true, namelye;

Leditur a stimulo quiescing, fricatur ab illo.

Moreouer, to make their part the stronger, these
Essexmen sent ouer into Kent, aduertising the peo-
ple there of their enterprise, and therefore willed
them to make them readie to ioine with them for
their obtaining of libertie, and reforming of the euill
customs of the realme. Whether the Kentishmen
through persuasions of their neighbors of Essex, by
occasion of that which had chanced at Hertford (as
before yee haue heard): (as it may be) the same chan-
cing at that selfe time, they being moued as well by
the one as the other, by they got (as yee haue heard)
and gathering their power out of the next quarters
adjoining, by the like policie which had bene practised
by the Essexmen, they stirred by the most part of the
countrie to ioine with them, and forthwith stopping
the waie that led to Canturburie, and arresting all
such as passed by the same, they caused them to sweare
that they should be true to king Richard, and to the
commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that should
be called John. And this was for the enuie which they
bare to John of Gaunt the duke of Lancaster, who in
right of his wife Constance, that was daughter to
king Peter of Castile, did name himselfe king of
Castile.

The rebells mi-
nistred by the
rebels to all
passengers.

Also they caused them to sweare that they should
be readie to come to them whensoever they sent for
them, and induce all their neighbours to take part
with them. And further, that they should neuer yeld
to anie far to be leuied in the realme, except a fif-
teenth onelie. Thus it came to passe, that after it was
spred abroad what stir these Essex and Kentishmen
kept; the commons also in the counties of Sussex,
Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Dorset, and
other shires about, bukkled vp and ran together on
heapes, so that the number of those unrulie people
maruellouslie increased, in such wise as now they fea-
red no resistance, and therefore began to shew proue
of those things which they had before conceiued in
their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices,
and iurors, as they might catch, and laie hands vpon,
without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience, al-
ledging that the land could neuer enioy hir native
and true libertie, till all those sort of people were
dispatched out of the waie.

The commons
of other shires
hearing of the
stir in Kent &
Essex, rose in
like manner.

Lawiers, ius-
tices & iurors
brought to
blockham feast
by the rebels.

The next way
to extinguishe
right.

This talke liked well the eares of the common
vplandish people, and by the lesse conueieng the more,

they purposed to burne and deströie all reco:ds, cul-
dences, court-rolles, and other minuments, that the
remembrance of ancient matters being remoued
out of mind, their landlo:ds might not haue wherby
to chalenge anie right at their hands. Their number
still increased: for all such as were in debt or danger
of law for their misdeemeanors and offenses, came
out of all chaffs vnto them, so that when the Essex-
men, and other of the hither side the Thames, were
passed ouer and ioined with the Kentishmen, & those
that were assembled on that side the riuer vpon
Blackheath; they were esteemed to be an hundred
thousand, hauing diuerse capteins besides the said
Jacke Straw, as William Watr, Wat Tyler,
Jacke Shepheard, Tom Hilner, and Hob Carter.
Whilste they were lodged on Blackheath, the king
sent to them certeine knights, to vnderstand of them
the cause of their gathering thus together, to whome
answer was made, that they were come together to
speake with the king, about certeine causes and bu-
sinesse, & therefore they bad the messengers returne,
and declare to the king that there was no remedie
but he must needs come and speake with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were
some that thought it best that he should go to them,
and know what their meaning was: but Simon de
Sudburie the archbishop of Canturburie, that was
lord chancelor, and also sir Robert Hales lord of S.
Johns, and as then lord tresuroz, spake earnestlie a-
gainst that aduise, and would not by anie meanes
that the king should go to such a sort of barelegged
ribalds; but rather they wished that he should take
some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals. Af-
ter the commons vnderstood that the king would
not come to them, by reason of the contrarie aduise
giuen to him by those two persons, the lord chancel-
lor and the lord tresuroz, they were maruellouslie
moued against them, and sware that they would not
rest till they had got them, & chopped off their heads,
calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Peuerthelesse there be that write, that the king to
cut off the branches of such mischief now in the first
budding thereof to satiffie in part the desire of those
rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to
Kethereth, and there nere the shore keeping him selfe
still on the water, talked with a great number of
them that came downe to the riuer side. But for so
much as he would not come forth of his barge to
them on land, which they seemed most to desire, they
were in a great rage, and so for that they could not
haue him amongst them (as they wished) in furious
wise they ran to the citie, and at the first approach,
they spoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp
the prisons of the Sparthalsea, & the Kings bench, set
the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their
compantie.

This was on Corpus Christi daie, as the same au-
thors write, that the king should thus talke with
them: but their first entring into Southwarke, was
on Corpus Christi euen, as Thomas Walsingham
saith, passing at their pleasure to and fro the bridge
all that night: for although the lord maior, and other
of the best citizens would gladlie haue closed the
gates against them, yet they durst not do it, for feare
of the commons of the citie, who seemed to fauour
the cause of the rebels so apparantie, that they threat-
ned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would
take vpon them to shut the gates against the com-
mons. The Londoners liked better of the com-
mons, for that they protested the cause of their as-
sembling together, was not but to seeke out the tra-
itors of the realme, and when they had found them
forth, and punished them according to that they had
deserued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more
credit

In the
year 1381

Fabian
Captaine
the Essex
Kentishmen

The rebells
sent to the
king to the
Southwarke

Profford

The rebells
spoile South-
warke, and
all prisoners
at large

The commons
of London
adverser
rebells

All rebells
and returne
no business
purpose
of London
countrie

credit to their salengs, they suffered none of their companie to rob or spoile, but caused them to paie for that they took.

On the morrow being Corpus Christi day, on the which day it is reported that the king should talke with them at Kethereth (as befoze ye haue heard) after that they saw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them on land, as they wished, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of such wines as they dranke in euerie mans celler that was set open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd decises, as of the apprehending of traitors, and specialle concerning such misliking as they had of the duke of Lancaster, whom they hated aboue all other persons. And hereupon agreeing in one mind, after diuerse other of their outrageous doings, they ran the same day to the said dukes house of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and stateliness of building, with all manner of princelic furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in despite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they set on fire, and by all waies and means inuouered utterlie to destroye it.

The shamefull spoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the scale of iustice, truth, and by right dealing which they would seeme to shew, was as nice and strange on the other part, specialle in such kind of misgouerned people: for in that spoiling of the dukes house, all the iuwels, plate, and other rich and sumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man should fare the better by it of a mite, but they all into the fire, so to be consumed; and such things as the fire could not altogether destroye, as plate and iuwels, they brake and crashed in peces, thowling the same into the Thames. One of them hauing thus a faire silver peece into his bosome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was espied of his fellows, who took him, and cast both him and the peece into the fire; saing they might not suffer any such thing, sith they professed themselves to be zealous of truth and iustice, and not themselves no robbers.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the celler of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines late, dranke so much of such swete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come forth, but with stones & wood that fell downe as the house burned, they were closed in, so that out they could not get. They late there shewing & crying seven daies together, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and so finalle they perished. Now after that these wicked people had thus destroyed the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand upon. Also the house of saint Johns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seven daies together. On Friday a great number of them, esteemed to 20 thousand, went to the manor of Weiburie that belonged unto the lord of saint Johns, and setting fire on it, sought utterlie to destroye the whole buildings about it.

They were now diuided into thre parts, one under the leading of Jacke Straw, took in hand to ruiuate that house, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the thirde companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not suffer anie vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narrowlie for the lord chancellor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew

him forth together with the lord treasurer, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads. There were also beheaded at the same time by those rude people, one of the kings seruants that was a sergent at armes called John Leg, who had vsed himselfe somewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole monie, as by one writer it appeareth. Also to make vp the messe, they beheaded a Franciscane frier, whom they had taken there at the same time, for malice of the duke of Lancaster, because he was verie familiar with him. Some write that this frier was confessor, and other say that he was physician to the king; but whatsoeuer he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beate the other companie, not sparing for anie respect that might be alledged in any of their behalves.

On the same day also they beheaded manie others, as well Englishmen as Flemings, for no cause in the world, but onlie to satisfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome; for it was a sport to them, when they gat any one amongst them, that was not sworne to them, and seemed to mislike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer so little hatred to him, streightwaies to plucke of his hoo, with such a yelling noise as they took vp amongst them, and immediatlie to come thronging into the streets, and strike off his head. Neither had they any regard to sacred places; for breaking into the church of the Augustine friers, they drew forth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; and out of the parish churches in the citie, they took forth seuentene, and likewise stroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

But they continuing in their mischeuous purpose, shewed their malice specialle against strangers, so that entering into euerie street, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houses, murdered them which they found within, and spoiled their goods in most outrageous manner. Likewise they entered into churches (as befoze ye haue heard) into abbeies, monasteries, and other houses, namelie of men of law, which in semblable sort they ransacked. They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroyed the bookes, and set prisoners at libertie, and also the sanctuarie-men of saint Martins le grand. And so likewise did they at Westminister, where they brake open the eschequer, and destroyed the ancient bookes and other records there, doing what they could to suppress law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is said,

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

They that entered the tower, used themselves most presumptuouslie, and no lesse irreuerentlie against the princeesse of Wales, mother to the king: for thrusting into his chamber, they offered to kisse hir, and swast downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into such feare, that she fell into a swoone, and being taken vp and recovered, was had to the water side, and put in to a barge, & conueied to the place called the quaines wardrobe, or the tower riall, where she remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort hir. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen stood of the cruell proceedings of those rude & base people. For where there were six hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst gainsaie their doings.

Finalle, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning, and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduise of such as were then about him, vpon good deliberation of counsell, offered to them pardon, and his grace,

drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

Thom. Walm.

The raging rebels make a pastime to kill men.

No respect of place with the rebels.

The outrageous dealing of the rebels.

The king offered the rebels pardon.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house burnt by the rebels.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iustice of the rebels.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

The lord chancellor and the lord treasurer

Froissard.

peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruining of houses, from killing and murdering of men, and depart euery man to his home without more ado, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the same pardon. The Cistermen were content with this offer, as they that were desirous to see their wives and children, being wahren wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were constrained to take. The king went forth unto spile end, and there declared unto the commons that they should haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all free. And further that euery shire, towne, lordship and libertie should haue banners of his armes deliuered unto them, for a confirmation of his grant. Hereupon they seemed well appeased, and the king rode to the queenes wardrobe, otherwise called the tower rotall, to visit his mother, and so did comfort hir so well as he could, and taried with hir there all night.

The Cistermen satisfied with the kings promises, immediately departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine still and tarie for the kings charters. The laicthymen also remained, and were as busie in maner the next day being saturday, in all kind of mischievous dealings, as they had bene before, to wit, in murdering of men, overthrowing and burning of houses. The king therefore sent unto them such as declared in what sort their fellows were gone home well satisfied, & from thenceforth to liue in quiet, and the same forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the same. Hereupon their cheefe capteine Wat Tyler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so, as the conditions might be indited to his purpose.

The wicked purpose of the rebels.

He was determined to dye off the king and his counsell (because he was of greater force than they) with cauls and shifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more easilie haue compassed his resolution, which was, hauing all the power sort of the citie on his side, to haue spoiled the citie, and to set fire in foure corners of it, killing first the king and the lords that were about him: but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the pugnacious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozell to take place, but suddenly disappointed his mischievous drift. For whereas diuerse formes of charters had bene drauone according to the effect of the agreement with the Cistermen, and none of them might please this lozlie rebell, at length the king sent to him one of his knights called sir John Pletton, to request him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he stood upon to haue inserted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commission to put to death all lawiers, clereaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doe with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all those awaie that understood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people. It was reported in deed, that he should saie with great pride the day before these things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come forth of his mouth. The wretches had bitterlie forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwise they would haue bene content to liue under law, and to doe vnto others as they would be done vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,

Sic potes in terra vincere iure poli.

Arrogant and proud words of a villain.

When therefore the said sir John Pletton called vpon him to come awaie to the king, he answered as

it were with indignation: If thou (saith he) hast so much hast to retorne to the king, thou maist depart, I will come at my pleasure. When the knight there fore was come from him, he followed indeed, but somewhat slowlie. And when he was come nere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the said sir John Pletton was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant. And because the knight came to him on horsebacke, & did not alight from his horse, Wat Tyler was offended, & said in his furie, that it became him rather on foot than horsebacke to approach into his presence. The knight not able to abide such presumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant person, shaped him this answer: It is not amisse that I being on horsebacke, should come to thee sitting on horsebacke.

With which words Wat Tyler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to strike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight disdaining to be mistreated at the hands of such a ribald, told him that he lied falselic, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tyler being among his men, shewed that he would not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiving the knight in danger, had him alight from his horse, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tyler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would needs die vpon him, the maior of London William Walworth, and other knights and esquires that were about the king, told him that it should be a shame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their presence before the eyes of their prince to be murdered: wherefore they gaue counsell to succor him forthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arrest him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldnesse, forthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore afflicted him therewith: and straightwaies other that were about the king, as John Standish an esquire, and diuers more of the kings seruants drew their swords, and thrust him through in diuerse parts of his bodie, so that he fell presentlie from his horse downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

William Walworth, mayor of London, stout courageous man.

The death of Wat Tyler, capteine of the rebels.

When the commons beheld this, they cried out, Our capteine is traitorously slaine, let vs stand together and die with him: let vs shot and reuenge his death manfullie: and so bending their bowes, made them readie to shot. The king heaving both hardnesse and wisdom at that instant, more than his age required, set his spurs to his horse, and rode to them, saing; What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you shot at your king? He not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, capteine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you shall haue all things that you can desire. This did the king, to the end he might appease them, least they should haue set fire on the houses there in Smithfield, and haue attempted some further mischance, in reuenge of the displeasure which they took for the death of their cheefe leader. They moued with these the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet resolved whether they should set vpon the king and sla him, or else be quiet, and retorne home with the kings charter.

The king perceiving the rebels.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onellie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; Whi per god and vertuous citizens, come forth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be slaine, & helpe me your

The king perceiving the rebels.

An. Reg. 4.

The king
and against
the rebels.An armie
without a
captaine.The rebels
quite discom-
raged the
downe their
swords at
the coming
of the Lon-
doners in aid
of the king.Abraham Flem-
ing out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Lecester
abbey.

mayor standing in the same perill; or if ye will not helpe me for some fault committed by me against you, yet for sake not your king, but helpe and succour him in this present danger. When the worshipfull citizens and other, that in their lofall hearts loved the king, had heard these words, incontinentlie they put themselves in strong and sure armoz, to the number of a thousand men, and gathering themselves togither into the streets, tarried but for some lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came unto them sir Robert Knolles, whome all of them requested that he would be their leader, least coming out of arrate and order, they might the sooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certeine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour unto the kings presence. The king with the lords, knights and esquires, not a little reioiced at the coming of those armed men, and straightwaies compalled the commons about, as they had bene a flocke of shepe that should have bene closed with in some fold, till it pleased the shepheard to appoint forth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels.

There was to be seene a marvellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe staves, bills, arcs, swordes, bowes and arrowes, humble began to sue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the life of the king and his seruants wholie and altogither in their hands, power, and disposition. The poore wretches sought to hide themselves in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, heages, and dennes, and wheresoeuer they might get out of the way, so to save gard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladlie haue bene doing with them, and requested licence of him to strike off the heads of some one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witness in time to come, that the force of the order of knightthod was able to do somewhat against the carsters and ploughmen: but the king would not suffer them, alledging that manie of them were come thither by compulsion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to passe that those should die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there should be proclamation made in London, that the citizens should haue no dealings with them, nor suffer anie of them to come with in the citie that night, but to cause them to lie without doores.

In the report of this commotion chonographers do some what varie, as by this present extract out of Henric Knighton canon of Leicester abbey, living at the time of this tumult may appeare: which Abraham Fleming hath faithfully and trulie translated out of the annales of the said canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as follooweth. Upon a Saturday, these malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the first mouer but afterwards the principall leaders, Jacke Straw, Jacke Miller, Jacke Carter, Jacke Cretoman, and their trecherous traine] met together in Smithfield, whither also the king repaired in the morning, who although in yeares he was but young, yet in wisdom and discretion he was well growne. The ringleader of this tumultuous rowt, whose right name was Wat Tyler, which he had now changed into Jacke Straw, approached nere the king, in so much that he might in a manner touch him, being the mouth of all the residue, and hauing in his hand a dyaone dagger, which he tolled from hand to hand, boy-like plaing with it, & waitching due time therewith, if not to stab, yet suddenly to smite the king, if he denied their requests. Whereupon they that were next and about the king were greatlie affeard, least his pretended mischance should come to passe.

How he craued of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods should be common, so that as well poore as rich might frelie in any place where soener practise fishing in ponds, poles, rivers, or any waters, and might hunt bere in forrests and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerse other requests, which he would haue granted without contradiction or gaine saying, and exercise without controulment. Now when the king in the grant hereof by deliberation used some delaie, Jacke Straw drew nerer vnto him, and speaking vnto him certeine threatening words, took hold of the horses bidle whereon the king rode, upon what presumptuous enterpise I wot not. Which John Walsworth a burgeisse of London beholding, and fearing present death to hang or uer the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therewith thrust Jacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an esquier, named Rafe Standish did see, with his weapon also ran him through the sides; in so much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at last he gaue vp his unhappie ghost.

When a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while together, saying; Our guide is dead, our capteine is dead. And indeed so he was, being dragged by the hands and feet in a vile and contemptible sort into saint Bartholomewes church hard by. When did manie of the burliche multitude withdraw themselves, and vanishing awaie betooke them to their homes, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thousand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite receiued courtesie, knighted the said John Walsworth, & Rafe Standish, with foure burgeisses more of the citie, namelie John Philpot, Nicholas Wymbze, John Laund, and Nicholas Twifield, girding them about the waist with the girdle of knightthod, which was the maner of their graduating. When the king hauing ordeined and made the foresaid six knights, commanded that the residue of the cursed crew should depart and get them into the field, that meeting togither in a companie, he might fall vnto a treatie of agreement with them.

The rowt being there assembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran rulling out of the citie, sir Robert Knols being their capteine, who with these his soldiers compalled & hedged in the poore cattiuies distressed in the field like shepe that haue lost their shepheard. When the king of his accustomed clemencie, being pricked with pitie, would not that the wretches should die, but spared them being a rash and foolish multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne house; howbeit manie of them, at the kings going awaie suffered the danger of death. In this miserable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thousand. Thus faith Knighton, not as an eye-witness, but as taught by heare-saie, whereby he compiled the greatest part of his annales, as he himselfe confesseth, seeming forrie that he was so constrained, as by part of the octaichon at the foot of the first page, intituled *Lamentum compilatoris*, appeareth in maner and forme folloowing:

Sum cecus factus subita caligine tactus,

Nec opus ineptum iam corrigo forsan ineptum,

At metuo dubium pro veris saepe locutum,

Plus audita loquor quam mihi visa sequor, &c.

All the foresaid villanies notwithstanding against the king and the state, tending wholie to the subuersion of law and euill gouernement, albeit the wretches deserued no sparke of fauour, but extreme severity of iudgement to be executed upon them; yet (as ye haue heard) besides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited vnto them in remitting their offense,

offense, and acquitting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gave to them the charter, which they had requested, faire written and sealed, to avoid a greater mischief, & commanded it for a time to be deliuered them, knowing that Cister and Kent were not so pacified, but that if they were not the sooner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth:

The forme of the kings charter
of Manumission.

The like
there was
granted to
them of other
counties as
well as to
these of Hert-
fordshire in
the same forme,
the names of
the countie
changed.



Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglie & Francie, & dominus Hibernie: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis, ad quos presentes littere peruenierint, salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali manumissimus uniuersos ligeos & singulos subditos nostros & alios comitatus Hertfordie, & ipsos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondage eximus, & quietos facimus per presentes, ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subditis nostris omnimodas felonias, prodiciones, transgressiones, & extortiones, per ipsos vel aliquem eorum qualitercunque factas siue perpetratas, ac etiam villagariam & villagarias, si qua vel que in ipsos, vel aliquem ipsorum fuerit vel fuerint hijs occasionibus promulgata vel promulgata, & summam pacem nostram eis & eorum cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei testimonium, has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud London 15 die Iuny. Anno regni nostri quarto.

The townes-
men of Saint
Albions not
perquitted.

The commons having obtained this charter departed home, but ceased not from their riotous demeanour in sundrie parts of the realme, and especially at saint Albons, where after the townesmen were returned home, they kept such a coile against the abbat and monks, to haue certeine ancient charters deliuered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue such new made and deliuered to them as might serue their purpose; that because such old charters as they requested were not to be had, the abbat and monks looked euerie houre when their house should be set on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well monks as laie men that were seruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of those misgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadiie, and therefore looked for no courtisie at their hands. They had obtained the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliuer vnto them such charters as they had given information to be remaining in his hands, so that vnder colour thereof, they called for those writings in most impotunate wise, threatening sore, if they were not brought to light, vntill they had destroyed the house by setting it on fire.

But to speake of all the burlicke parts of those burlicke people, it were too long a proccesse: yet at length after they vnderstood how their grand capteine and cheefe ringleader Wat Tyler was slaine, they began somewhat to allwage their presumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his house, and yet they were not so calmed; but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the enfranchising them from bondage, whereby they that obtained such charters take the mischief to be discharged of all seruices and accustomed labors, so that

they meant not to do any further works, nor yeld such customes as before time they vsualle had bene accustomed to do and yeld vnto their landlords.

Neither did the townesmen of S. Albons, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbey of S. Albons, thus outrageously misdeemean the misfeases, but euerie where else the commons kept such like stir, so that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were such burlicke burlicke kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of all good gouernment in this land. For euen the selfe same saturday after Corpus Christi day, in Suffolke there were got together to the number of fiftie thousand men, by the setting on of John Wratw, a naughty lewd priest, that had bene first among the Cistermen at London, and was sent downe in all post hast from Wat Tyler, to stir the commons in those parts to commit the like mischafe as he had scene begun about London. These fellows therefore, after they were assembled together, fell to the destruction of the manors and houses of men of law, & such lawiers as they caught, they slue, and beheaded sir John Cauendish lord chiefe iustice of England, and set his head vpon the pillorie in the market place in S. Edmundsburie.

Also sir John of Cambridge the prior of saint Edmundsburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Gildenhale, and likewise beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man presuming to burie it, during the space of fife daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was set vpon a pole, and caried before John Wratw and other of those wicked people; the which coming to Wurie, and entring the towne in manner of a procession, when they came into the market place where the pillorie stood, as it were in token of the old friendship betwixt the lord chiefe iustice, and the said prior, they made sport with their heads, making them sometime as it were to kisse, other whiles to sound in either others eare. After they had taken their pastime inough herewith, they set both the heads againe aloft vpon the pillorie. After this, they beheaded an other monke called Dan John de Lakinghuith, whose head was likewise set by the other two vpon the pillorie. Moreover, they caused the monks to come forth and bring vnto them all such obligations, in which the townesmen stood bound vnto the monastrie for their good abearing; likewise such charters of liberties of the towne of Wurie, which king Canute the founder of the said monastrie, and his successors had granted to the same: which writings when they had brought forth, and protested that they knew of no more, the commons would scarcele beleeue them, and therefore called the townesmen forth; and bad them see if that there were all such writings as they thought stood with their advantage to haue brought to light. The townesmen feigned as though they had bene foyte to see such rule kept against the monks, where in deed they had set the commons in hand with all these things. To conclude, the commons toke this order with the monks, that if the townesmen might not obtaine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of those writings, they should declare what the same liberties were, which they were wont to enjoy, and the abbat of Wurie, Edmund Broomfield, being then in prison at Notingham whom they purposed to deliuer (so that he should celebrat diuine seruice in his monastrie on Wednesday daies next) within fourtie daies after his coming home should confirme with his scale such charter as was to be deuised and made concerning the same liberties of the said townesmen, and the couent should likewise put there vnto their common scale.

Moreover, they confirmed the monks to deliuer vnto

The hurling
time.

The com-
mons be-
gins the
hurling
of the
S. Albons
rival.

Sir John
Cauendish
lord chiefe
iustice be-
headed.

The prior
of S. Edmunds-
burie slaine.

This Ed-
mund Broom-
field was pri-
or of the
monastrie of
Wurie, and
was then in
prison at
Notingham.

unto the townsmen, a crosse and a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbey, being in value about the worth of a thousand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townsmen, upon this condition, that if Edmund Wyndesore being deliuered out of prison into the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his seale together with the count seale within the time limited, unto a writing that should containe the liberties of the towne, that then the same crosse, chalice, and other iewels should be restored unto the monasterie, or else the same to remaine for ever to the townsmen as forfeited. Such were the doings of those rebels in and about the towne of Burie: and the like disorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeshire, and in the Isle of Ele, resembling the others in slaughters of men, destruction of houses, and all other sorts of mischief.

John Little-
ser captaine
of the Norfolk
rebels.

The earle of
Suffolke es-
capeth from
the rebels.

The Norfolk
rebels com-
pelle the noblemen
to be sworne
to them.

Sir Robert
Bellemeine
by one of his
owne billiues.

The captaine
of the Norfolk
rebels com-
pelle the noblemen
to be sworne
to them.

In like maner in Norfolk there was assembled an huge number of those unruly countrey people, which under the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonly called John Littleser, that had dwelt in Norfolk, attempted and did all such ingracious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater also, putting forth their hands unto rapine and robbery. And whereas they were wholly conspired together, and bent to commit all kind of mischief, yet esteeming their owne authoritie to be small, they purposed to haue brought William de Burgh earle of Suffolke into their fellowship, that if afterwards they might haply be impeached hereafter, for such their naughty and most wicked doings, they might haue had some shadow or colour, as it were through him, whie they had delt in such unruly sort. But the earle aduertised of their intention, suddenlie rose from supper, and got him awaie by unknowne waies, still fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to S. Albons, and so from thence to the king.

The commons mistaking of their purpose for the haunting of him, laid hold upon all such knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houses, compelling them to be sworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrey, as the lord Scales, William lord Poole, Sir John Belwes, Sir Stephan Hales, and Sir Robert Sallie: which Sir Robert continued not long alive among them, for he could not dissemble as the residue, but began to reproue openly their naughty doings, for the which he had his bzaines dashed out by a countrey clowne, one that was his bondman, and so he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and strength with them in plaine battell, had bene able to haue put a thousand of those villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowesse was such. The residue taught by his example that they must either dissemble or die for it, were glad to carrie fauour, praising or dispraising all things as they saw the commons affected, and so coming into credit with their cheefest John Littleser, that named himselfe king of the commons, they were preferred to serue him at the table, in taking the assaie of his meats and drinke, and doing other seruises, with kneeling humble before him as he sat at meat, as Sir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices assigned them.

At length, when those commons began to wearie of taking paines in euill doings, they toke counsell together, and agreed to send two knights, to wit, the lord Poole, and Sir John Belwes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, unto the king, to obtaine their charter of manumission and enfranchising, and to haue the same charter

more large than those that were granted to other countreies. They deliuered great summes of monie unto those whome they sent, to bestow the same for the obtaining of pardon, and such grants as they sued for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to saue the citie from fire and sack. These knights as they were on their iourne, at Norwich not farre distant from Petermarket, not looking for any such thing, met with Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, & better skilled (as may appere) in arms than in diuinitie. This bishop had aduertised at his manor of Burle nere to Wym in the parties about Stamford, of the surre which the commons in Norfolk kept, and thereupon resolved freight waies to see what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not passing eight lances, and a small number of archers.

Swarlike
bishop.

The bishop meeting thus with the knights, examined them freight waies if there were any of the traitours there with them. The knights at the first were doubtful to betraie their associates: but at last emboldened by the bishops words, declared that two of the cheefe doers in the rebellion were there present, and the third was gone to provide for their dinner. The bishop freight waies commanded those two to be made shorter by the head, and the third he himselfe went to seeke, as one of his sheepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house, as he had well deserued (in the bishops opinion) sith he had so mischeuously gone astray, and alienated himselfe from his dutifull allegiance. These persons being executed, and their heads pigbt on the end of poles, and so set by at Petermarket, the bishop with the knights toke their waie with all speed towards Northwalsingham in Norfolk, where the commons were purposed to staie for answer from the king: and as he passed through the countrey, his number increased, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrey, hearing how their bishop had taken his speare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themselves with him.

Spenser bish-
op of Norwich
goeth as cap-
taine against
the rebels.

When therefore the bishop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie stronglie with ditches, and such other stuffe as they could make shift with, as dore, windowes, boards, & tables, and behind them were all their carriages placed, so that it seemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the bishop being chafed with the presumptuous boldnes of such a sort of disordered persons, commanded his trumpets to sound to the battell, and with his speare in the rest, he charged them with such violence, that he went over the ditch, and laied so about him, that through his manfull doings, all his companie found means to passe the ditch likewise, and so therewith followed a verie sore and terrible fight, both parts doing their best to banquish the other. But finally the commons were overcome, and diuen to seeke their safegard by flight, which was sore hindered by their carriages that stood behind them, over the which they were forced to cline and leape so well as they might. John Littleser and other cheefe captaines were taken alive. The bishop therefore caused the said Littleser to be arraigned of high treason, and condemned, and so he was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The fortifi-
cation of the re-
bels campe.

The bishop was
the first man
that charged
the rebels in
their campe.

The Norfolk
rebels
banquished.

The bishop heard his confession, and by vertue of his office absolved him: and to thew some parcell of sorrowing for the mans mischance, he went with him to the galowes. But it seemed that pittie wrought not with the bishop, to quench the zeale of iustice: for he caused not Littleser onlie to be executed, but sought for all other that were the cheefe doers in that rebellion,

rebellion, causing them to be put vnto death, and so by that meanes quieted the countrey. ¶ To recite what was done in euery part of the realme in time of those helth troubles, it is not possible: but this is to be considered, that the rage of the commons was vniuersallie such, as it might seme they had generalie conspired together, to do what mischiefe they could deuise. As among sundrie other, what wickednesse was it, to compell teachers of children in grammar scholes to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art: Againe, could they haue a more mischeuous meaning, than to burne and destroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murder and dispatch out of the towne all such as were able to commit to memorie, whether any new or old records: for it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side: for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life.

Anno Reg. 5.

The captaine
once slaine
the soldiers
saue.An armie of
fortie thou-
sand horse-
men.The Kentish-
men effron-
ted.Jack Straw
and his adhe-
rents execu-
ted.

But to retorne to tale somewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterprises, you must vnderstand, how after that Wat Tyler was slaine at London in the presence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlie decayed: and yet neuertheless, the king and his counsell being not well assured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumission and enfranchisement from all bondage, and so sent them awaie home to their countreies: and forthwith here vpon he assembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countreies abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but such as were armed and had horses, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to passe, that within thre daies he had about him fourtie thousand horsemen, as was esteemed; so that in England had not bene heard of the like armie assembled together at one time. And herewith was the king aduertised, that the Kentishmen began effronies to stir, where with the king and the whole armie were so grievously offended, that they meant straight to haue set vpon that countrey, and to haue wholie destroied that rebellious generation. But thorough intercession made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrey, the king pacified his mood, and so resolved to proceed against them by order of law and iustice, causing iudges to sit and to make inquisition of the malefactors, and especiallie of such as were authours of the mischeifes.

And about the same time did the maiors of London sit in iudgement, as well vpon the offenders that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Essex, Southsex, Norfolke, Suffolke, and other countreies, being found within the liberties of the citie; and such as were found culpable, he caused them to lose their heads, as Jacke Straw, John Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and John Sterling, that gloried of himselfe, for that he was the man that had slaine the archbishop. This fellow (as it is written by some authours) straight waies after he had done that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and coming home into Essex where he dwelt, tied a naked sword about his necke, that hanging downe before on his brest, and likewise a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and so went by and downe the lanes & streets about home, crying out, and protesting, that with those weapons he had dispatched the archbishop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he shuld receiue (as he said) the reward there of the act which he had committed: and so indeed, when he came thither, and boldly confessed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbishop, he lost his head in stead of a recompense: and diuerse other both of Essex and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon

the archbishop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being betwized by the citie consessions.

There is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue heard) in respect of the great manhood, and assured loialtie which had appeared in the maiors, and other of the aldermen, for some part of recompense of their faithfull assistance in that dangerous season, made the said maior William Walworth knight, with fise other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bzamble, John Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Laundze, and Robert Coston, also John Standish, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to slaine Wat Tyler. Moreover, the king granted, that there shoud be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield for an augmentation of the same armes, and for a remembrance of this maiors his valiant act, as doth appeare vnto this daie; for till that time, the citie bare onelie the crosse, without the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to shew it selfe, to the terroz of rebels; yet the commons of Essex effronies assembled themselves together, not far from Hatfield Beuerell, and sent to the king to know of him if his pleasure was, that they shoud enjoy their promised liberties: and further, that they might be as free as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great let, twice in the yeare. When the king heard such presumptuous requests, he was in a great chafe, & dispatched the messengers awaie, with a soze threatening answer, saleng that bondmen they were, and bondmen they shoud be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that shoud attempt any the like disorders: and forthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were sent with an armie to repressse those rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie stronglie, but with small adoe they were put to flight, & about fise hundred of them slaine; the residue saued themselves as well as they might, by succour of the woods. There were eight hundred horses also taken, which those rebels had there with them, to dray and carrie their baggage.

Those of the rebels that escaped, were not yet so tamed by that ouerthrow, but that assembling themselves together in a robot, they made towards Colchester: and coming thither, would haue perswaded the towneismen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpose to passe, they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and sir John Barleson, vnderstanding which waie they toke, followed them with a companie of armed men, and suddenlie setting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, slue of them so manie as it liked them, and the other they saued, and suffered to depart, or else committed them to prison. After this, the king came to Hauering at the bolwe, and from thence to Chelmsford, where he appointed sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement of the offenders and rebels of that countrey, where vpon an inquest being chosen, a great number were indicted, arraigned, & found gilty, so that vpon some one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged together.

In euery countrey were like inquiries made, and the chiefe offenders apprehended and put to death in euery lordship through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in some places by fortie at once; so that the whole number grew to fiftene hundred and aboue. At the first, when the kings iudices began to sit in Essex, Kent, and at London, by reason of the multitude

The more
and fise
dozen
hanged.The armes
of London
augmented
by adding
the dagger.The countie
of Essex
bell armed.The rebels
Essex and
Kent & Essex.Fabian.
The rebels
executed
in
Essex.

The king cal-
led in his let-
ters of in-
franchising
granted to the
common.

The king re-
moueth to
S. Albons.

John Ball

John Ball
his prophetic.

John Ball
his sermon to
the rebels.

tude that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death seemed too close and secret for so open offenses, they proceeded according to the accustomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according therunto they were executed.

In the meane time, the king by the aduise of his counsell, directed his letters reuocatorie into euerie countie there, to be proclaimed in euerie citie, borough, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without; by the which letters he reuoked, made void and frustrate his former letters of infranchising the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that such as had the same letters, should without delaie bring them in, and restore them to him and his counsell to be cancelled, as they would answer upon their faith and allegiance which they owght to him, and upon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatorie was at Chelmsford, the second daie of Iulie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

When the king had quieted the countie of Essex, and punished such as were the chiefe stirrers of that wicked commotion in those parts, he went to saint Albons, to see iustice done upon such as had demerited themselves most presumptuously against the kings peace in that towne, namely against the abbat and his house, who sought to defend themselves under a colour of friendship, that they trusted to find in some persons about the king. But that trust deceived them, and procured the more displeasure against them, for that they would not sue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by submitting themselves unto his will and pleasure. To be breefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and caused his iustice sir Robert Trissilian to sit in iudgement upon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

Thither was brought also to the king from Cowntie, John Ball preest, whome the citizens of Cowntie had taken, and now here at saint Albons they presented him to the kings presence, whereupon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and beheaded for such notable treasons as he was there convicted of. He receiued iudgement upon the saturdaye the first daie that the said sir Robert Trissilian sat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaye following. This man had bene a preacher the space of twentie yeares, and because his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the bishops maintained, he was first prohibited to preach in anie church or chappell; and when he ceased not for all that, but set forth his doctrine in the streets & fields where he might haue audience, at length he was committed to prison, out of the which he prophesied that he should be deliuered with the force of twentie thousand men, and euen so it came to passe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

When all the prisons were broken vp, and the prisoners set at libertie, he being therefore so deliuered, followed them, & at Blackheath when the greatest multitude was there got together (as some write) he made a sermon, taking this saying of common prouerbe for his theme, whereupon to intreat,

When Adam delu'd, and Eue span,

Who was then a gentleman?
and so continuing his sermon, went about to proue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or seruitude came in by iniust oppression of naughty men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who should be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to consider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might

(if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recover libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselves, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof such euill weeds as choke and destroye the good corne, they might destroye first the great lords of the realme, and after the indiges and lawyers, guesse-mongers, and all other whom they undertooke to be against the commons, for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselves in time to come, if dispatching out of the waye the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and set forth such kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and foolish toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the starres, affirming that he ought to be archbishop and lord chancellor, where he that then enioied that name, meaning sir Simon de Sudburie that then was alieue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthy to lose his head, wherefoeuer he might be apprehended. Many other things are reported by writers of this John Ball, as the letter, which under a kind of dark ride he wrote to the capteine of the Essex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their purses that was executed at London.

The tenor of the said seditious
preests letter.

Iohn Scherpe S. Marie preest of
Porke, and now of Colchester,
greeteth well John namelesse,
and John the Miller, and John
Carter, & biddeth them that they beware
of guile in Bourrough, & stand together in
Gods name, & biddeth Diers ploughman
go to his worke, and chastise well Hob the
robber, & take with you John Trewoman
and all his fellowes, and no mo. John the
Miller y ground small, small small, the
kings some of heauen shall paie for all.
Beware of ye be two, know your friend
from your fo, haue inough and laie ho,
and doe well and better, flee sinne and seeke
peace, and hold you therein, and so biddeth
John Trewoman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confessed himselfe to haue written, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had done and committed, to the disquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at saint Albons, the fifteenth of Iulie, being monday, in this fift yeare of king Richards reigne. On the same daie, the kings iustice sir Robert Trissilian sat upon the rebels of saint Albons, and other of the countie of Hertford, afoze whome, by such policie as he vled, there were a great number indicted, and diuerse being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cabindon, John Barboz, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number of fifteene persons in all; diuerse chiefe men of the towne were committed to prison, as Richard Walsingham, John Carleke, William Beretwill, Thomas Putoz, and others of the countie about. There were committed to prison to the number of fourescore persons, the which neuerthelesse, by the kings pardon, were released and dismissed.

The hatred which the townsmen had conceived
against

John Ball
executed at
S. Albons.

The king
callith in by
proclamation
all schel-
ters of maner
menthon, as the
abbat of saint
Albons had
granted to his
bondmen.

The commons
of Berthamsted
there comynge
to the king.

as ainst the abbat and convent of S. Albons, was
the great, and many defies they had to haue sa-
red those that were executed. And where as well the
townesmen, as other of the abbats and convents
tenants, both of Hertfordshire, and Buckingham-
shire, had gotten of the abbat and convent letters of
discharge, from doing any bound service, the king
directed his letters unto certein commissioners, as
to John Ludowiche, John Westwicombe, John
Kenting, Richard Percers, Walter Saunford, Wil-
lard Cister, Thomas Eldon, and William Ce-
cielhall, commanding them to cause proclamation
to be made in all such townes and places as were
thought necessarie, throught the whole countries of
Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euery per-
son and persons that ought and had bene accustomed
to do or payd any manner of seruices, customes, or
duties, whether they were bondmen or free, unto the
said abbat and convent of S. Albons, should do and
payd the same seruices, customes, and duties, in such
the same manner, as they had bene used to do, be-
fore the time of the late troubles, and not to challenge or
claime any libertie or priuilege which they intoid not
before the same troubles, upon their faith and allegi-
ance in which they had bound to him, and upon paine
to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in case any
were found to do contrarye therunto, the same com-
missioners had authoritie, and were commanded to
arrest and imprison them, till for their further punish-
ment, order might be taken and agreed upon in that
behalf accordinglie.

On saint Margarets daie, the king being ready
to take his iourne to Berthamsted, in the great
court of the abbey of S. Albons had all the com-
mons of the countie of Hertford before him, that had
summons there to appeare, all that were betwixt
fifteen and thirtie yeres of age, where they toke
an oth together from thence forth, to be faithfull sub-
iects unto him, and neuer to rise or make any com-
motion, to the disturbance of his peace; and rather to
die, than to consent unto any rebellious persons,
whome they should to the uttermost of their powers
do their best, to apprehend and deliuer them to the
kings prison, that they might be forth comming. Af-
ter they had returned this oth, they were licenced to
depart, and the king rode to Berthamsted, where he
remained for a time, and went to Eschamsted to re-
create himselfe with hunting, where he was infor-
med, that some which were hanged at S. Albons,
were taken from the gallowes, and removed a good
waie from the same: with such presumption he was
so stirred, that he sent forthwith his letters to the bar-
liffes of the towne of S. Albons, commanding them
upon the sight of the same, to cause the same to be
made, and to bring the said bodies backe unto the
gallowes, and to hang them in those chaines upon
the same gallowes, where to remaine, so long as one
piece might sticke to another, according to the forme
of the iudgement given. The test of this writ thus di-
rected to the barliffes of saint Albons, was at Es-
chamsted the third of August, in the first yere of this
kings reigne, and in the yere of our lord a thousand
three hundred foure score and one.

The townemen of S. Albons durst not disobey
the kings commandement, and so hanged by againe
in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors, great-
lie to their shame and reproch, when they could get
none other for any wages to come nere the sink-
ing carcases, but that they were constrained them-
selves to take in hand so vile an office. And such was
the end of the tumults at S. Albons, where as well
as in other places, the vnrailie commons had plaied
their parts. To conclude and make an end of these
vnrailie troubles, to the end it may appeare, in what

danger as well the R. as the whole state of the realme
stood, by the mischefeous attempts of the vnrailie peo-
ple, I haue thought good to declare the confession of
Jacke Straw one of their chiefe captiues (and next
in reputation amongst them unto Wat Tyler when
he came to be executed in London, according to indi-
cials sentence passed against him.

At the same time (said he) that we were assembled
upon Blackheath, and had sent to the king to come
unto vs, our purpose was to haue laine all such
knights, esquires, and gentlemen, as should haue gi-
uen their attendance thither vpon him: and as for the
king, we would haue kept him amongst vs, to the
end that the people might more boldly haue repaired
to vs, with they should haue thought, that what soeuer
we did, the same had bene done by his authoritie.
Finally, when we had gotten power inough, that we
needed not to feare any force that might be made
against vs, we would haue laine all such noble men,
as might either haue giuen counsell, or made any
resistance against vs, speciallie the knights of the
Rhodes; and lastlie we would haue killed the king
and all men of possessions, with bishops, monks, cha-
nons, and parsons of churches, onelie friers spendi-
cants we would haue spared, that might haue suffi-
ced for ministracion of the sacraments. And when
we had made a riddance of all those, we would haue
denied lawes, according to the which the subiects of
this realme should haue liued, for we would haue
created kings, as Wat Tyler in Kent, and other in
other countries. But because this our purpose was
disappointed by the archbishop of Cantuarburie, that
would not permit the king to come to vs, we sought
by all meanes to dispatch him out of the waie, as at
length we did. After, the same evening that Wat
Tyler was killed, we were determined, hauing the
greatest part of the commons of the citie bent to
ioine with vs, to haue set fire in foure corners of the
citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoile of
the chiefe riches that might haue bene found at our
pleasure. And this (said he) was our purpose, as God
may helpe me now at my last end.

Thus may you see, after that soe they were con-
spired to the destruction of the realme, and to haue
advanced and enriched themselves; not considering
or foreséeing the euill successe of their tumultuous
broile, and that it would tend but little to their profit
in the end, by a common spoile to amend their state,
and to become mightie and rich with gods euill got-
ten, which though for a time (if lucke had serued them
to haue possessed) they had enioied, yet could they not
long prosper nor bring god vnto the possessors: for
Non habet euentus sordida preda bonos.

And lest this one mans confession might seeme in-
sufficient, diuerse other of them confessed the same,
or much what the like in effect, when they saw no re-
medie but present death before their eyes. To declare
the occasion whie such mischefes happened thus in
the realme, we leaue to the iudgement of those that
may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the
manners of that age and behaviour of all states then,
with they that wrote in those daies, may hapilie in
that behalfe misse the truth, in constraining things
according to their affections. But truelie it is to be
thought, that the faults, as well in one degree as an-
other, speciallie the sinnes of the whole nation, procu-
red such vengeance to rise, whereby they might be
warned of their euill doings, and like to reforms
the same in time conuenient. But as it cometh
still to passe, when the danger is once ouer shot, re-
pentance likewise is put ouer, and is no more regar-
ded, till an other scourge cometh eftsones to put
men in remembrance of their dutie; so in like man-
ner (as seemeth) it chanced in this kings daies, as by
that

The confes-
sion of Jacke
Straw, and
the cause of
his death.

The confes-
sion of the
late re-
bels.

An. Reg. 5.

that which followeth may more plainlie appeare.

In this meane time that these troubles were at the hottest in England, the duke of Lancaster being in Scotland, so behaued himselfe in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots, dissembling the matter so, as if he had not vnderstand of any trouble in England at all, that finally before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to indure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for thre yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agreed vpon and passed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwik, but at his coming thither, the capteine sir Mathew Redman would not suffer him to enter the towne, because of a commandement giuen to him from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obtaining licence of the Scots to remaine amongst them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Herupon, the commons in England that fauored him not, took occasion to report the worst of him that might be deuised, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had ioined himselfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them against his owne native countrie.

The king indeed had sent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he should haue good regard to the safe keeping of all the towne & castels vnder his rule, & not to suffer any person to enter the same, having forgotten to except the duke of Lancaster being then in Scotland: whereupon the duke took no small displeasure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well shewed at his coming home. But before he returned forth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderstand his pleasure, in what sort he should returne, humbling himselfe in such wise, as he made offer to come with one knight, one esquier, and a groom, if it should please the king so to appoint him; or if it so were that by his presence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was ready to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if so be that through his absence the king and realme might inioy peace and quietnesse.

The king hearing such offers, wrote to him, that his pleasure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the same were not thought sufficient to gard him, he should take of euerie towne by the which he passed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his safegard, and so it was done, the king sending him commission to that effect, and thus comming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his comming, he exhibited a grievous complaint against the earle of Northumberland, for abusing him in diuerse sorts, in time of the late troubles, so as his honour was greatlie thereby touched, for which the earle was sent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamsstead, where all the lords in manner of the land were assembled in counsell.

Here, after the duke had laid diuerse things to the earles charge, for his disobedience, unfaithfulness, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbear, brake out into reprochfull words against the duke, although he was commanded by the king to cease, where the duke kept silence in humble manner, at the first word, when the king commanded him to hold his peace, so that by reason of the earles disobedience in that behalfe, he was arrested. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke vnderstanding for his appearance at the next parliament, he was suffered to depart, and so the counsell brake up. About the feast of All saints the par-

ment began, to the which the duke of Lancaster came bringing with him an exceeding number of armed men, and likewise the earle of Northumberland with no lesse companie came likewise to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendship shewed towards him of the citizens, who promised to assist him at all times, when necessitie required, so that his part seemed to be overstrong for the duke, if they should haue come to any trial of their forces at that time.

The duke laie with his people in the suburbs, and euerie daie when they went to the parliament house at Westminster, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of those that were wise and graue personages, fearing some mischief to fall forth of that vnaccustomed manner of their going armed to the parliament house, contrarie to the ancient v sage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to auoid such inconueniences, as might haue growen of their dissention, the king took the matter into his hands, and so they were made friends, to the end that some good might be done in that parliament, for reformation of things touching the state of the realme, for which cause it was especiallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne sister to the emperor Maximilian, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, whereupon the parliament was prorogued till after Christmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be solemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and forthwith with great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that she might be conueied with all honor vnto the kings presence.

Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a marvellous and right strange wonder happened; for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that forthwith the water was so troubled and shaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance cuer bene heard of: so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terrible rent in peces, and the residue so beaten one against another, that they were scattered here and there after a wonderfull manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the maiors and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminister, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was joined in marriage to the king, and crowned queene by the archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the same marriage, solemne iustes for certeine daies together, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new queenes countrymen shewed proofe of their manhood and valiance, whereby praise & commendation of knightlie prowesse was atchieued, not without damage of both the parties.

After that the solemnitie of the marriage was finished, the parliament sessions began, in the which many things were enacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongst other things it was ordered, that all manner manumissions, obligations, releases, and other bonds made by compulsion, duces, and menace, in time of this last tumult and riot against the lawes of the land, and good faith, should be utterlie void and adnihilated. And further, that if the kings faithfull liege people did perceiue any gathering of the commons in suspected wise, to the number of six or seauen, holding conuenticles together, they should not staie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but forthwith it should be lawfull for

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The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland came to the parliament with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, present to the earle of Northumberland.

The lords sit in armour in the parliament house.

The king maketh an agreement between the duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland.

The emperours sister affianced to Richard, is receiued at Douer.

The kings marriage with the emperours sister.

Force with Scotland.

The capteine of Berwik would not suffer the duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

The duke of Lancaster chargeth the earle of Northumberland with sundrie crimes.

them to apprehend such people, assembling together, and to laie them in prison, till they might answer their doings. These and manie other things were established in this parlement, of the which the most part are set forth in the printed booke of statutes, where ye may read the same more at large.

The sudden death of the earle of Suffolke.

In time of this parlement William Clifford the earle of Suffolke, being chosen by the knights of the shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the common-wealth, certeine matters concerning the same: the verie daie and houre in which he should haue serued that turne, as he went by the staires, towards the byper house, he suddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his seruants, busie about to take him by, whereas he felt no greife of sicknesse when he came into Westminster, being then and before merrie and pleasant inough, to all mens sights. Of his sudden death, manie were greatlie abashed, for that in his life time, he had shewed himselfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement shortly thereupon toke end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a subsidie certeine customes of their wools, which they bought and sold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scrope was made lord chancellor, and the lord Hugh Degraue lord treasurer.

The earle of March his good service whilist he was depute in Ireland, whiches doctine.

About the same time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this season, Wickliffe set forth diuerse articles and conclusions of his doctrine, which the new archbishop of Canturburie, William Courtenie, latelic removed from the see of London, vnto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all shifts to suppress, and to force such as were the setters forth and maintainers thereof, to recant, and bitterlie to renounce. What he brought to passe, in the booke of acts and monuments set forth by master I. Fox, ye may find at large. The tuesday next after the feast of saint John Baptistine, an other parlement began, in which at the earnest sute and request of the knights of the shires, John Wraie priest that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Mildehall, was adiudged to be drawn, and hanged, although manie believed, that his life should haue bene redeemed for some great portion of monie.

John Wraie.

A lewd fellow that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke and astronomie, caused it to be published thorough the citie of London, that vpon the Ascension euen, there would rise such a pestilent planet, that all those which came abroad forth of their chambers, before they had said siue times the Lords prayer, then commonlie called the Pater noster, and did not eate somewhat that morning, before their going forth, should be taken with sicknesse, and suddenlie die thereof. ¶ Panic soles believed him, and obserued his order: but the next day, when his presumptuous lying could be no longer faced out, he was set on horse backe, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in stead of a bydle, and so was led about the citie, with two dozen posts about his necke, and a whetstone, in token that he had well deserved it, for the notable lie which he had made.

A cataphract serued aright.

Ships of Rie win a good price.

About the same time, certeine English ships of Rie, and other places, went to the sea, and meeting pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking seuen ships, with three hundred men in them. One of those ships had bene taken from the Englishmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good mer-

chandise. This yeare the maior of London John de Nothampton, otherwile called John de Comberton, did punish such as were taken in adulterie, verie extremelie: for first he put them in the prison, called the tunne, that then stood in Cornhill, and after caused the women to haue their haire cut, as thauces in those daies were serued that were appeachers of others, and so were they led about the streets with trumpets and pipes going before them. Neither were the men spared more than the women, being put to manie open shames and reproches. But because the punishment of such offences was thought rather to apperteine vnto the spirituall iurisdiction, than to the temporall, the bishop of London, and other of the cleargie, toke it in verie euill part: but the maior, being a stout man, would not forbear, but vied his authority herein to the uttermost.

The Londoners favour of Wickliffe doctrine.

The fishermen's gains were a bled by the maior.

About the same time also, when the archbishop of Canturburie sate in iudgement vpon a proceffe that was framed against one John Aton, a maister of art, that was an earnest follower of Wickliffe doctrine, the Londoners brake open the doores, where the archbishop with his diuines sate, and caused them to giue ouer, so that they durst proceed no further in that matter. The same yeare were the fishmongers of London sore disquieted by the foresaid maior, who sought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to foreigners to come and sell all manner of fish, as fraile and more fraile than any of the companie of fishmongers: for they might not bue it at the foreigners hands to sell it againe by any meanes, and so that companie which before had bene accompted one of the chiefest in the citie, was now so brought downe, as it seemed to be one of the meanest, being compelled to confesse, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthy so to be accompted amongst other the crafts of the citie.

In this yeare, the one and twentieth of spate being wednesdaye, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after none; it was so vehement, and namelie in Kent, that the churches were shaken therewith in such wise, that some of them were overthrowen to the ground. On the saturdaye after, being the foure and twentieth day of spate, earlie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, as (as some write) a watershake, being of so vehement and violent a motion, that it made the ships in the hauens to beat one against the other, by reason whereof they were sore hurt by such knocking together, to the great wonder of the people, who being amazed at such strange tokens, stood a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and displeasure than before, for these so strange and dreadfull wonders thus shewed amongst them: howbeit when these terrores were forgotten, they followed their former dissolutenes, from the which for a time they were withdrawne through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like swine they wallowed afresh in their puddels of pollutions, as dogs licked by their filthie vomit of corruption and naughtinesse, for

A great earthquake. Churches were overthrowen by the earthquake.

A worse earthquake.

Sordida natura semper sequitur sua iura.

About this season, the lord Richard Scrope lord chancellor was depofed from that roome, and the king retaining the great seale at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and sealed therewith such grants and writings as it pleased him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cause why the lord Scrope was removed from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine respects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and possessions that belonged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceased (which he, during the time of their beies minorities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the realm)

Anno Regis.

The bishop of London made lord chancellor in the last Scrope's time.

realme) the said lord chancelor refused to seale such grants, alleging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to discharge, stood in need of such profits himselfe, and therefore (as he said) he took not them for faithful servants, nor dutifull subiects to his grace, that respecting their obone priuat commo- dities more than his or the realmes, did sue for such grants at his hand, admitting them to hold them- selves contented with such other things, as it had pleased or might please the king to bestow upon them: for suertie he would not consent, that they should enjoy such gifts as those were. They that were thus reiected, made their complaint in such sort to the king, that he taking displeasure with the said lord chancelor, deposed him from his office, to the great offence both of the nobles and commons, by whose consent he was preferred unto that dignitie.

These rebel- lions intended in Dorsetshire by one of the conspirators be- fore said out.

About which tyme this yeare, certeine naugh- tie disposed persons in Dorsetshire, not warned by the successe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murder the bishop of Dorset, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that coun- tie. And to bring their wicked purpose the better to passe, they determined to haue assembled together at St. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all those that should haue bene present at the same faire, to haue taken part with them, or else to haue lost their liues: and this being done, they would haue taken St. Vincents abbey at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortress, to haue withdraue into upon a- nie force that had bene against them. But yer they could bring their purpose to passe, one of the conspi- racie betraying the matter, they were taken, & lost their heads at Dorset, for their malicious desires.

The commis- sioners of Flan- ders returned for want of sufficient au- thoritie.

In an against the shirmon- gers within the cite of London,

About the same time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commissioners from the countrie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agrements betwixt the king and realme, and the states of their countrie: but because those that came ouer at this time, seemed not sufficient to conclude such treatie as then was in hand, they were sent backe to fetch other more sufficient, as from euerie towne in Flan- ders some such as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agrements then in hand. In this parlement, the maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon sug- gestion by them made against the shirmongers, for- biding great deceit in uttering of their fishes, obtai- ned to haue it enacted, that from thenceforth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vintners, butchers, grocers, or other that sold anie provision of vittels, should be admitted maior of the citie; and so by this shift they sought to cut off all meanes from the shir- mongers to recover againe their old former degree. And because it was knowne well enough of what au- thoritie sir John Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured those whome the lord maior the said John de Northampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not sit with them that were of the secret counsell in the citie affaires, whereas neuertheless he had trauelled more for the preservation of the citie liberties than all the rest. Due. Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Dorset, recei- ued bulls a little before this present from pope Ur- bane, to signe all such with the crosse, that would take vpon them to go ouer the seas with him, to warre a- gainst those that held with the antipape Clement, that took himselfe for pope, and to such as would re- ceive the crosse in that quarrell, such like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Urbane, as were ac- customable granted vnto such as went to fight a- gainst the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to witte free remission of finnes, and manie other graces. The bishop of Dorset that had the disposing of the bene-

fits granted by those bulls, to all such as either would go themselves in person, or else giue anie thing to- ward the furtherance of that voyage, & maintenance of them that went in the same, shewed those bulls in open parlement, & caused copies to be written forth, & sent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to passe of that he had in charge. And true- lie it should appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accomplish the popes purpose: and on the other part ye must note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were passing large, so that as the matter was handled, there were diuerse lords, knights, esquires, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offered themselves to go in that voi- age, and to follow the standards of the church with the bishop, and no small summes of monie were leuied and gathered amongst the people, for the furnishing forth of that armie, as after ye shall heare.

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge re- turned home from Portingale, whither (as ye haue heard) he was sent the last yeare, and promise made, that the duke of Lancaster should haue followed him; but by reason of the late rebellion, and also for o- ther considerations, as the warres in Flanders be- twixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre should go forth of the realme: and so the king of Portingale not a- ble of himselfe to go through with his enterprize a- gainst the king of Spaine, after some small exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of cer- teine fortresses belonging to the king of Castile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one against the other by the space of fiftene daies without bat- tle, the matter was taken vp, and a peare concluded betwixt them, soe against the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a set field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it so patientlie as he might, and re- turned home with his people, soe offended (though he said little) against the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwise in this matter than was looked for. He had affianced his sonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, sometime king of Castile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earnestlie requested of the said king, he would not leaue his sonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (together with his mother) doubting the slipperie faith of those people.

The earle of Cambridge re- turneth out of Portingale.

The earle of Cambridge his son affian- ced to the king of Portingales daughter.

In the Lent season of this first yeare of king Ri- chards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the bulls sent to the bishop of Dorset from pope Ur- bane, concerning his iourne that he should take in hand against the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Urbanists (that is, such as held with pope Urbane) took for schismatikes. Diuerse there were, that thought it not good that such summes of monie should be leuied of the kings subiects, and the same together with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnskillfull in warlike affaires. Other therz were that would needs haue him to go, that the enemies of the church (as they took them) might be subdued.

1383

Clementines. Urbanists.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper house, and likewise the knights and burges- ses of the lower house were earnestlie bent against this iourne, yet at length those that were of the contra- rie mind, preuailed; so it was decreed, that it should forward, and that the said bishop of Dorset should haue the fiftenth granted to the king in the last par- liament.

Remission of sins granted to as manie as should fight against Cle- ment the an- tipope.

lement, to paie the wages of such men of warre as should go ouer with him: for soldiers without monie passed not much of pardons, no not in those daies, except at the verie point of death, if they were not assured how to be answered of their wages, or of some other consideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The tenth that was granted afore by the bishops at Driford, was now in this same parlement appointed to remaine to the king for the keeping of the seas, whilist the bishop should be lord of the realme in following those wars.

The crossed
soldiers.

These things being thus appointed, the bishop sent forth his letters armed with his seale into euerie prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all parsons, vicars, and curats, through this realme, power and authoritie to heare the confessions of their parishioners, and to grant vnto those that would bestow any parcell of their goods, which God had lent them towards the aduancing of the iournie to be made by the crossed soldiers against pope Urbans enemies, the absolution and remission of all their sinnes by the popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull before mentioned. The people vnderstanding of so great and gracious a benefit (as they toke it) thus offered to the English nation, at home in their owne houses, were desirous to be partakers thereof, and those that were warlike men, prepared themselves to go forth in that iournie with all speed possible. The residue that were not fit to be warriors, according to that they were exhorted by their confessors, bestowed liberallie of their goods to the furtherance of those that went: and so, few there were within the whole kingdome, but that either they went, or gaue somewhat to the aduancing forth of the bishop of Norwich his boiage.

The capitaine
that went with
the bishop of
Norwich against
the antipape.

Froissard.

This bishop chose diuerse to be associat with him, as capitaine that were expert in warlike enterprises. The first and principall was sir Hugh Caluerlie an old man of warre, and one that in all places had borne himselfe both valiantlie and politikelie; next vnto him was sir William Farington, who stoutlie spake in the bishops cause, when the matter came in question in the parlement house, touching his going ouer with this croisie. Besides these, there went diuerse noble men and knights of high renowne, as the lord Henrie Beaumont, sir William Elmham, and sir Thomas Triuet, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser the bishops nephew by his brother, sir Patricie Redman capitaine of Berwicke, sir Nicholas Tarsenon or Traison, sir William Farington, and manie other of the English nation: of Calcogne there went le sire de Chastaignet, and his brother sir John de Chastaignet, Raimund de Sparfen, Guillonet de Vaur, Gariot Ghibier, John de Cachitan, and diuerse other. Sir John Beauchampe was appointed marshall of the field, but because he was at that present in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to passe ouer when the bishop did. The duke of Lancaster liked not well of the bishops iournie, for that he saw how his boiage that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for the time disappointed, and he could haue bene better contented (as appeareth by writers) to haue had the monie imployed vpon the warres against the king of Castile that was a Clementine, than to haue it bestowed vpon this boiage, which the bishop was to take in hand against the French king, and other in these neerer parts. Hereupon there were not manie of the nobilitie that offered to go with the bishop.

The statute
against sim-
mongers re-
pealed, they
are restored to
their lib-
erty.

But to saie somewhat of other things that were concluded in this last parlement, we find, that the simmongers, which through meanes of the late lord maſor John of Northampton and his complices were put from their ancient customes and liberties,

which they inioied aforetime within the citie, were now restored to the same againe, sauing that they might not keepe courts among themselves, as in times past they used, but that after the manner of other crafts and companies, all transgressions, offences, and breaches of lawes and customes by them committed, should be heard, tried, and reformed in the maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touching the gathering of monie towards the croisie, was earnestlie applied, so that there was leuied what of the disme, and by the deuotion of the people for obtaining of the pardon, so much as drew to the summe of five and twentie thousand franks.

When the bishop therefore had set things in good forwardnesse for his iournie, he drew towards the sea side, and was so desirous to passe ouer, and to inuade his aduersaries, that although the king sent to him an expresse commandement by letters to returne to the court, that he might conferre with him before he toke the seas; yet excusing himselfe, that the time would not then permit him to staie longer, he passed ouer to Calis, where he landed the 23 of April, in this first yeare of king Richards reigne. The armie to attend him in this iournie, rose to the number of two thousand horsemen, and sixtene thousand footmen (as some write) though other speake of a far lesser number. But it should seeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as some before the bishop, some with him, and some after him.

Now when he and the capitaine before named, were come ouer to Calis, they toke counsell together into what place they should make their first inuasion; and because their commission was to make warre onelic against those that held with pope Clement, the moze part were of this mind, that it should be most expedient for them to enter into France, and to make warre against the Frenchmen, whom all men knew to be chiefe maintainers of the said Clement. But the bishop of Norwich was of this opinion, that they could not doe better than to inuade the countrie of Flanders, because that a litle before, earle Leues hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part expelled all Englishmen out of his dominions and countries, so that the merchants which had their goods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, sustained great losses. Howbeit there were that replied against the bishops purpose herein, as sir Hugh Caluerlie and others; yet at length they yielded thereto, and so by his commandement they went straight to Crauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan it by assault. Whereupon Bruckburge was yielded vnto them, the lines and goods of them within saued. Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great resistance entred the towne, and wan there exceeding much by the spoile, for it was full of riches, which the Englishmen pilfered at their pleasure. The earle of Flanders lieng at Lille was aduertised how the Englishmen were thus entred his countrie, whereupon he sent ambassadoys vnto the English host, to vnderstand why they made him warre that was a right Arbanist.

The bishop of Norwich for answer, declared to them that were sent, that he toke the countrie to apperteine to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a Clementine, or at the least he was assured that the countrie thereabouts was of the inheritance of the ladie of Bar, which likewise was a Clementine: and therefore, except the people of that countrie would come and loine with him to go against such as were knowne to be enemies to pope Urbane, he would suerlie seeke to destroye them. And whereas the earls ambassadoys required safe conduct to go into Eng-

The bishop
of Norwich
with his
armie.

Polydor.

Froissard.
500 speares,
115 other.

The bishop
of Norwich
inuadeth
Flanders.

La. Meir.

Dunkirke
was taken
by the Eng-
lishmen.

The earle
of Flanders
sendeth to
the bishop
of Norwich
to know
the cause
of his inuasion
of Flanders.

Land by Calis, to vnderstand the kings pleasure in this mater, the bishop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maister with that answer.

The Englishmen after the taking and spoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Crauelin and Wuckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garrisons in them, they went to Harbiche, and toke it, for it was not closed. In the meane time, the countie-men of west Flanders rose in armour, and came to Dunkirke, meaning to resist the Englishmen: whereof when the bishop was certified, with all speed he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of more than twelue thousand were ranged without the towne, he sent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderstanding what appertained to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his appoaching to them, and slue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The Englishmen here with inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue five thousand fighting men in all, the bishop placed himselfe amongst the horsemen, and set the footmen in a battell marshalled wedgewise, broad behind and sharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the crosse was beaten. The archers were ranged on either side: the standard of the church went before, the field gules, and two heies siluer, signifieng that they were souldiours of pope Urbane. Whereouer, the bishop had his pennon there siluer and azure quarterlie, a great gold on the azure, a bend gules on the siluer: and because he was porgest of the Spensers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the appoaching of the battels together the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to shot against the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themselves, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were so galled with arrowes which the archers shot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

They were diuided into two battels, a batward, and a reterward. When the batward began to thinke, the reterward also brake order, and fled, but the Englishmen pursued them so fast, that they could not escape, but were overtaken and slaine in great numbers. Some saie, there died of them in the battell and chase five thousand, some six thousand; and others write, that there were nine thousand of them slaine: and Thomas Wallingham affirmeth twelue thousand. Panie of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for succour, but the Englishmen pursued them so egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and slue them downe in the streets. The Flemings in diuerse places gathered themselves together againe as they fled, and shewed countenance of defence, but still they were driuen out of order, and brought to confusion. The preests and religious men that were with the bishop fought most egerlie, some one of them slaying fiftene of the enimies.

There died of Englishmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horsemen amongst them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they stood in such dread of English bowes, that they durst not come to anie battell with them, but keeping themselves out of danger, let the commons of the countie in hand to trie what they against the Englishmen were able to do without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the sixteenth of Maie. The countie was put in a wonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, so that the townes and fortresses were in great doubt, and some yielded themselves to

the Englishmen, as Berghen and others, some were wane by force, as the castell of Dinchan, and the towne of S. Venant. To be short, the Englishmen became maisters of all the countie alongst the sea side, euen from Crauelin to Sluis, and got such riches by pillage and spoile, as they could not wish for greater. They preuailed so much, that they wan in maner all the close townes within the bailiffewekes of Cassell, of Popering, Spessines, and Furneis, with the townes of Helwport, Blankbierke, and diuerse other.

Also entring into the woods Peple and Rotholt, they found a great botie of sheepe and beasts, and toke a great sort of prisoners of the countie people, which were fled into those woods for feare of the enimies: but the Englishmen, plaieng the part of good bloodhounds, found them out, & sent all their booties and preie vnto Crauelin and Wuckburge. On the eight daie of June they came before the towne of Ppres, and laid siege thereto, whereat they continued the space of nine weekes. Thither came to their aid twentie thousand Gauntiners vnder the leading of Francis Alrcman, Peter Wlod, and Peter Wlinter: so that they within Ppres were streitlie besieged, but there were within it in garrison diuerse valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fenced with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plashed and wond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongst them in that countie (as Strabo witnesseth).

During the time that the siege laie before Ppres, the Englishmen swarmed abroad in the countie, for when it was once knowne that god successe the first companie that went ouer had found, there came daillie forth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir John Philpot that fauoured the bishops iourne, provided them of vessels for their passage, till the bishop vnderstanding that the more part of those that came thus ouer were barned, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie swords, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the said sir John Philpot, that he should suffer none to passe the seas, but such as were men able and likelie to do seruice: where a great number of those that were come to him, were sit for nothing but to consume vittels, much like the popish shauelings and the Romish rascalitie, of whome the like is spoken thus:

Nos numerus sumus & fuges consumere nati.

The multitude of Englishmen and Gauntiners at this siege was great, so that diuerse skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and such as were appointed by the earle to lie in garrisons about in the countie against them: but still the victorie abode on the English side. Also there was an English preest, one sir John Bozeng that went to Gaunt with five hundred English archers, by whose aid Arnold Hans one of the capteins of Gaunt ouercame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a castell nere to the hauen of Allost, and stopped that no vittels might safelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Englishmen were thus entred into his countie, and therefore earnestlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie (that had married his daughter, and should be heire of all his dominions and seignories after his decesse) to find some remedie in the matter.

The duke, whome the matter touched so nere, did so much with his nephue the French king, that at last he raised his whole puissance, and came downe into Flanders, so that the Englishmen perceiuing themselves not of power to encounter with this huge and mightie armie, were constrained after a great assault,

The Englishmen subdue diuerse townes in Flanders, and spoile the countie.

The towne of Ppres besieged.

The manner of fortifieng townes in old time.

Hope of gaine encourageth the soldiers.

La Meir.

Anno Reg. 7.

The herald of armes sent to the Flemings by the bishop of Dunelm.

Thom. Wall.

The order of the bishop of Dunelm his battell against the Flemings.

The Flemings defeated by the Englishmen.

La Meir.

Frederick.

The Wall. Preests and religious men help soldiers.

La Meir.

The siege at
Ypres broken
up.

Hereport sac-
ked and burnt
by the Eng-
lishmen and
Gauntiners.

Thom. Walf.

Couragious
& warlike bi-
shop.

saule, which they gaue the eight of August, to raise
their siege from Ypres the mondaie after, being S.
Laurence daie, and to withdraue into Bückburge,
Berghen, Dirmeu, Newport, Cassell, Dunkirke,
Grauelin, and other places which they had won. But
at Newport the totonemen set up the earles ban-
ner, and assailing those that were come into the
towne, slue diuerse of them. The Englishmen being
soze offended therewith, came running thither with
certeine Gauntiners, and made great slaughter of
them that had so murdered their fellows. The
towne was sacked, and all the goods aswell church
iewels as other were sent awaie, partlie by sea into
England, and partlie by waggons unto Berge. Af-
ter this, they set fire in more than thirtie places of the
towne, so that there remained nothing vnburnt. The
Englishmen & Gauntiners that were withdraue
into Berge, got together all the waggons in the
countrie about, placing the same upon the dikes and
rampiers, to fortifie the same against their enimies.

Some write, that after the breaking of the siege
at Ypres, the bishop of Norwich would gladlie haue
persuaded the lords and knights that were there with
him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue
offered the French king battell, before his whole
puissance had bene assembled: but sir Thomas Tri-
net and sir William Elmham with other, would in
no wise consent thereto, so that the bishop taking
with him sir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forsake
him, had the other farewell, and first making a road
into Picardie, he after withdraue into Grauelin,
whiles the other went to Bückburge. But by Frois-
lard, and other writers it appeareth, that sir Hugh
was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were reti-
red thither, in purpose to defend it against the French
king, who still followed them, and recovered diuerse
places out of their hands by force, as Pont Cassell,
the castell of Crinham, and other. Also at his com-
ming to Berghen, the said sir Hugh Caluerlie, and
other that were within it, perceiving that they were
not able to defend it against such a puissance as the
French king had there with him, being greater than
euer sir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine wold
haue thought that France had bene able to haue set
forth, departed, and left the towne to be spoiled of the
Britons, and other French souldiers, which executed
there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the En-
glishmen went to Bückburge, but sir Hugh Cal-
uerlie went to Grauelin, and so to Calis, as one soze
displeased in his mind, for that his counsell could not
be regarded in all this volage, which if it had bene
followed, would haue brought it to a better issue than
now it was, as was supposed.

The French
king with his
huge armie
diueth the
Englishmen
out of Flan-
ders.

Bückburge
yelded to the
French.

The duke of
Britaine a
friend to the
Englishmen.

The French king following the tract of god's
tune, that guided his sterne, marched forth to Bück-
burge, so that the backward of his armie came before
that town on Holie rood daie in September, vn-
der the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of
Britaine, the lord Olivier de Clisson high constable
of France, and the lord Valeran earle of S. Paule,
the which demeaned themselves in such sort, that al-
though the Englishmen within balliantlie defended
the Frenchmens assault, yet the thirde daie after the
Frenchmens comming thither, the Englishmen by
composition that they might depart with bag and
baggage, yelded up the town, which on the nineteenth
of September being saturday, as that yeare came
about, was abandoned to the French souldiers, to
riote and spoile at their pleasure, in the which feat the
Britons bare the bell awaie, doing more mischefe
vnto the poore inhabitants, than with tong can be
recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to
make the composition, that the Englishmen might
depart in safetie: for the which doing he was in great

hatred and obloquie of the souldiers, who affirmed
that he was not onelie a friend to the Englishmen,
but an enimie to his countrie, and a traitour to the
common-wealth.

The Englishmen comming to Grauelin, set it
on fire, and departed straight to Calis, leauing the
countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and so re-
turned into England, where they were not greatlie
commended for their seruice, but were put so farre in
blame, that sir Thomas Triuet, & sir William Elm-
ham were committed to prison within the tower of
London, as men suspected of euill dealing in the deli-
uerie of Bückburge and Grauelin to the French-
mens hands: for immediatlie after that they had left
Grauelin, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified
it for a countergarison to Calis. ¶ There be that
write how the French king offered to giue the bi-
shop of Norwich fiftene thousand marks to race the
towne of Grauelin, and so to leaue it vnto him, the
bishop hauing libertie with all his people and goods
to depart in safetie. The bishop required to haue li-
bertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and
deliberate answer; which was granted, and in the
meane time he sent into England to aduertise the
king in what state he stood, and how the French king
late before him with a mightie armie: and therefore
if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen,
now was the time.

In the same summer, the king with the quene
went abroad in progresse, visiting in their waie the
rich abbies of the realme, as Burie, Westford, Nor-
wich, & other, going about a great part of the realme.
And when these newes came to him from the bishop
of Norwich, he was at Daunterie in Northampton-
shire, and being the same time at supper, he put the
table from him, and rising with all hast, got him to hos-
backe, and rode in post that night, changing hostes
diuerse times, with such speed that he came to S. Al-
bons about midnight, and making no staie there lon-
ger than he had borrowed the abbats gelding, hasted
forth till he came to Westminster: so that it appea-
red he would neuer haue rested till he had passed the
sea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after
his comming to Westminster, wearied with that ha-
stie iourne, he got him to bed, and liked so well of
ease, that he thought good to send a lieutenant in his
stead to passe the seas, to deliuer the bishop from dan-
ger of his enimies.

Whereupon was the duke of Lancaster sent for, that
he might with such power as was ready to passe the
seas, go ouer with the same, and giue battell to the
French king: but he protracted time, till the respite
granted to the bishop to make answer was expired,
and so the bishop when he saw no succour come forth
of England, raced the town as the coucnant was:
but monie he would not or did not receiue, because
he thought in so doing he should offend the counsell.
At his comming backe into England, he found the
duke of Lancaster at the sea side with a great power
of men ready to haue come ouer: although some
thought that he deferred time of purpose, for that he
mildred of the bishops whole enterprise; and now be-
cause it had thus quailed, he blamed the bishop for his
euill gouernement therein: but sir Hugh Caluerlie
he retained with him a time, doing him all honour,
by reason of the old approued valancie, that had
bene euer found in him. And this was the end of the
bishop of Norwich his iourne.

The Scots in the meane while safe not still, but
made roades into England, toke and burnt the ca-
stell of Warke. Whereouer, whilest the siege laie be-
fore Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certeine vessels,
and sent them to the sea, namely five balengiers, as
well to intercept such as should passe betwene Eng-
land

Grauelin tra-
uised by the
Frenchmen
for a coun-
tergarison to
Calis.
Thom. Walf.

The king &
quene in
progresse.

A great host
came with
him.

The bishop
of Norwich
turned out
England
of Flanders.

marks col-
lured by the
Scots.

Durle
French ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

A parliament
at London.

The tempo-
ralities of the
bishops of
Durham, See
into the
kings hands
for the bishops
obedience.

Treatie of
peace between
England and
France.

A truce taken
between
England and
France.

The Wall.

Great conten-
tion about the
election of the
mayor of Lon-
don.

lands and flanders, as also to stop such as were ap-
pointed to goouer into Gascoine, that were soldiers
also of the croisse, appointed thither vnder the lea-
ding of the lord Batrigale de la Bzet, and certeine
others. When they of Portsmouth vnderstood that
these five ships were abroad, they made forth to the
sea, and meeting with their aduersaries, fought with
them a fore & cruell battell, and in the end slue all the
enimies, nine excepted, and toke all their vessels. An
other fleet of Englishmen toke eight French ships,
which had aboard 1500 tunns of good wines, that com-
forted the Englishmen greatlie.

About the feast of All saints was a parlement
holden at London, in which was granted to the king
one moiety of a fifthen by the laitie, and thortlie af-
ter a moiety of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreover, the
king toke into his hands the temporalities that be-
longed to the bishop of Norwich, because he obied
not the kings commandement when he was sent for
at the time when he toke the seas to passe into flan-
ders. The knights also that had not shewed such obe-
dience to the bishop as was requisit in that iornie,
were committed to prison; but thortlie after they
were set at libertie vpon suerties that undertooke
for them. ¶ It was also decreed in this parlement,
that the erle of Buckingham the kings vnckle should
go to the borders against Scotland, with a thousand
lances, and two thousand archers, to repressse the pre-
sumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertised
thereof, sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but they
were dispatched home againe, without obtaining
that which they came to sue for.

At the motion and instance of the duke of Bri-
taine, immediatlie vpon the returne of the English
armie out of flanders, there was a meeting of cer-
teine commissioners in the marches of Calis, at a
place called Lellegghen, for the treatie of a peace to be
concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and
France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of
Lancaster, and his brother the erle of Buckingham,
sir John Holland brother to the king, sir Thomas
Percie, and a bishop. For the French king, thither
came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the bishop
of Leon, and the chancelloz of France. There were
also the duke of Britaine, and the erle of flanders.
Also there came a bishop with other commissioners
from the king of Spaine: for the Frenchmen would
do nothing, except the king of Spaine might be also
comprised in the treatie and conclusion. They were
three weekes in communing of an agreement: but
when nothing else could be brought to passe, they con-
cluded a truce to indure till the feast of S. Michaele,
which should be in the yeare 1384.

The erle of flanders was iudged most in blame,
for that no peace could be accorded, because he would
not that the Gauntiners should be comprised therein,
but the Englishmen would not agree either to truce
or peace, except regard might be had of the Gaunt-
ners, as their friends and allies. The kings of Spaine
and Scotland were comprised in this truce as confe-
derats to the Frenchmen, which should haue signified
the same into Scotland, but did not, till great harme
followed through negligence vled in that matter; as
after ye shall perceiue. ¶ The same yeare in the
night of the feast of the Purification of our ladie,
great lightnings and thunders chanced, which put
manie in no small feare, so huge and hideous was
that tempest. Thortlie after, there rose no small ado
in the cite of London about the election of their ma-
ior: for such as fauoured the late maior John de
Northampton, other wise called John de Comber-
ton, stood against sir Nicholas Brame knight that
was chosen to succeed the said John de Northamp-
ton, insomuch that a thomaker who was one of the

same John de Northampsons partakers, presumed
through a number of voices that were readie to fa-
uour him, to take vpon him as maior: but through
the counsell of sir Robert Knolles knight, he was
suddenlie apprehended, vialone, and beheaded, as a
rebell and troubler of the kings peace.

In the Lent season, the duke of Lancaster with
his brother the erle of Buckingham went towards
the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of
knights, esquiers, and archers, and after he had re-
mained a certeine time vpon the borders, about Cas-
ster he entered Scotland, and coming within three
miles of Edenburgh, he staid there three daies, in
which meane time the Scots conueted all their goods
out of the towne over the water of Firth: so that
when the armie came thither, they found nothing but
bare walles, which graued the soldiers not a little.
The Scots would not come forth to giue any bat-
tell to the Englishmen, but got them into woods and
mounteines, or else passed over the riuer of Firth,
suffering the Englishmen to fight with the behe-
ment cold weather that then sore annoied those parts,
in so much that on Caster daie at night, through
snow that fell, and such extreme cold and boisterous
stormes as sore afflicted the armie, being incamped
within the compasse of a marshy ground for their
more suertie: there died about five hundred horses,
to let passe the losse of men that perished at the same
time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude,
after the duke and his brother the erle had remai-
ned a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine
townes, they returned into England.

About the same time, to wit, in the quindene of
Caster, a parlement of the nobles was holden at
Salisbury, during the which an Irish frier of the or-
der of the Carmelits, being a bachelor in diuinitie,
exhibited to the king a bill against the duke of Lan-
caster, charging him with heinous treasons: as that
he meant vpon a sudden to destruye the king, and
to blurpe the crowne, shewing the time, the place,
and circumstances of the whole contriued matter.
The king being young both in yeares and discretion,
when he had heard the friers information, called two
of his chapleins vnto him, one sir Nicholas Slake,
and an other, and asked their aduise what they thought
god to be done in such a weightie cause. ¶ How as
they were busie in talke about the same, the duke of
Lancaster came into the kings chamber after his
 wonted manner, not vnderstanding any thing of
the matter wherof they were in talke. The king with
a sterne countenance beheld the duke, not doing
him the honor that he was accustomed. The duke
suspecting that the king had somewhat in his head
that touched his person, withdrew. In the meane
time those two that were thus in counsell with the
king, fearing haplie the dukes power, or els vpon
god will they bare towards him, perswaded the king
that in any wise he should call him; to see and heare
what was laid to his charge.

The duke, after he had read the bill of his accusa-
tion, made such answer, and so excused himselfe in de-
claring his innocencie, that the king gaue credit to
his words, and receiued his excuse. ¶ Here with the
duke besought the king, that the frier might be kept
in safe ward, till the time came that he might purge
himselfe of that he had charged him with; and that the
lord John Holland the kings halfe brother might
haue the custodie of him, till the day appointed that
the duke should come to his full trial. The night be-
fore which day, the said lord Holland, and sir Henrie
Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord
about his necke, tied the other end about his wra-
members, & after hanging him vp from the ground,
laid a stone vpon his bellie, with the weight whereof,
and

Sir Robert
Knolles.

The duke of
Lancaster in-
uadeth Scot-
land with an
armie.

Edenburgh
left desolace.

Great death
of horses and
men in the
English host,
by reason of
extreme cold.

A parlement
at Salisbury.

An Irish frier
approacheth the
duke of Lanca-
ster of treason.

How as
they were
busie in
talke about
the same

How as
they were
busie in
talke about
the same

How as

A miserable &
cruell torture,

and peise of his bodie withall, he was strangled and tormented, so as his verie backe bone burst in sunder therewith, besides the straining of his priuite members: thus with three kind of tormentings he ended his wretched life. On the morow after, they caufed his dead corps to be drawne about the towne, to the end it might appeare he had suffered worthilie for his great fallshood & treason. Which extreame punishment and exquisite kind of execution, had it not bene meritoriouslie inflicted vpon so impudent an offender, had deserued perpetuall reco;d of vnaccustomed crueltie, with this vehement exclamation,

O fera barbaries atq; non nota prius,

Sed nec apud fauos inuenienda scythas.

He rode into
Scotland.

One mischief
elketh ano-
ther.

Anno Reg. 8.
The duke of
Lancaster sent
into France
to treat of a
peace.

John de Northampton late
maior of London
condemned to perpetuall
prison and all
his goods confiscated.

A combat.

A combat.

But now to the parlement. At length, when the King had obtained of the laitie a grant of an halfe fiftenth the same parlement was dissolved. In the summer following the borderers of England and Scotland made rodes ech into others countries, to the great disquieting of both the realmes. Among other rodes that the Englishmen made, hostlie after Caister (as Froissard saith) the earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, raising an armie of 2000 speares, and six thousand archers, entered Scotland by Rochelburgh, burnt the countrie euen to Edinburgh, and so returned without damage. In the meane time came messengers from the French king, to aduertise the Scots of the conclusion of the truce. But the Scots prouoked with this last inuasion made by the Englishmen into their countrie, would not heare of any truce, till they had in part reuenged their displeasure vpon the Englishmen: and so with certeine men of armes of France, that latelie before were come thither, not yet vnderstanding of any truce, they rode into Northumberland, doing what mischefe they might: so that for the summer season of this peare, either part sought to indamage other (as Wallingham saith) though Froissard writeth, that through the earnest trauell of the messengers that came to intimate the abstinence of war taken, the parties now that their stomachs were well eased with the interchange of indemnaging either others confines, agreed to be quiet, and so the truce was proclaimed in both realmes, and accordingly obserued.

About the beginning of August in the eighth peere of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaster went ouer againe into France, to treat of peace; but after he had remained there a long time, & spent no small store of treasure, he returned with a truce, so indure onelike till the first daie of Maie then next ensuing. While the duke of Lancaster was forth of the relme, John de Northampton, that had borne such rule in the cite of London, whilst he was maior, and also after (as partlie ye haue heard) was accused by a chaplaine (that he had in his house) of leditionous slurs, which he went about, so that being arraigned thereof, he was in the ende condemned to perpetuall prison, and the same not to be within the space of one hundred miles at the least of the cite of London. All his goods were confiscated, and so he was sent to the castell of Mitagill in Cornetwall, and the Kings officers seized vpon his goods & catels. About the feast of Saint Martine, a parlement was called at London, in which monie was demanded of the cleargie and gentry, towards the maintenance of the kings wars.

During this parlement also, a combat was fought twixt himsels betwixt an English esquier, named John Talbot, and an esquier of Auarene that accused the said Talbot of treason, though not iustlie, but moued through displeasure, conceiued of an iniurie done to him by the same Talbot, whilst he was vnder captiue of the Auarene. (as we may call him) of Chierburgh, in abusing the Auarene's wife. Where

upon when the Auarene was banquished and confessed the truth, he was aduerged by the king to be drawne vnto the place of execution and hanged, notwithstanding that the quene and diuerse other made sute for him. ¶ Henrie Knighton maketh report hereof in somewhat a differing manner: but the issue of his tale falleth out to be like to the other. On a wednesdaye (saith he) at S. Andrews tide, John Talbot, late of Crimstie fought in lists with Martlet of Auarene esquier, at Westminster, in presence of King Richard & of John the good duke of Lancaster: in so much that the said John Talbot sue his aduersarie, wherupon at the kings commandement being made knight, he was enriched with manie gifts, as well of the kings and the dukes bestowing, as also of other great men and peeres of the realme. As for Martlet, after he was slaine, he was presentlie drawne, hanged, and headed.

Furthermore before the said parlement was dissolved, newes came forth of the north parts, that the Scots had toome the castell of Berwik: for which the earle of Northumberland, that was captiue thereof, was put in high blame, for that he had not committed the keeping thereof to more circumspect persons. The duke of Lancaster, who bare no good will to the said earle, was well apaid that he had so good matter to charge his aduersarie withall, so that through his meanes the earle of Northumberland was sore accused, and had much ado to escape the danger of being reputed a traitor. Whereupon great occasion of malice and displeasure grew betwixt those two noble personages, as after it well appeared. But howsoever the matter was handled, the earle was licensed by the king to go into his countrie, and seke to recouer possession of the castell thus latelie lost. Whereupon raising an armie, & besieging the Scots that were within the castell, he so constrained them, that for the summe of 2000 marks they surrendered the fortresse into his hands, their liues and goods saved: and so the earle of Northumberland recouered the castell out of the Scottishmens hands, being taught to commit it to more warie keepers than the other before.

The king being incensed against the duke of Lancaster, meant that he should haue bene arrested and arraigned of certeine points of treason before sir Robert Trissilian chiefe iustice (as Thomas Wallingham saith) and peraduenture there might be some such report, that such was the kings meaning: but yet how this may stand, considering he was to be tried by his peeres, in case that any the like matter had bene pretended, I see not. But how soeuer it was, he being warned thereof by some of the counsell, got him to his castell of Pomfret, which he fortified, and banded himselfe so with his friends, that it appeared he would defend his cause with force of armes, rather than to come to his triall by order of law asore such a iudge: and by reason hereof, it was greatlie doubted, lest some ciuill warre would haue broken forth. But through the earnest labour of the kings mother, that (notwithstanding his indisposition of bodie to trauell, by reason of his impotencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agreement betwixt the king his sonne, and the duke, to his great comfort and contentation of mind, and no lesse iudicie of quiettude to the whole realme.

About the same time the French king had a great fleet of ships in Flanders, so that it was doubted lest he meant some inuasion into England. Whereupon there was sent to the sea the lord of S. Iohas, and sir Thomas Parle with a strong nauie, but they did no good, suffering the French fleet at seuerall times to passe by them: and not once offering to set vpon them. But the ships of Poiteu, Normandy & Berthemouth, bestirred

Berwik is
still toome by
the Scots.

Berwik is
still recouered
by the earle of
Northumberland.

1385

The duke of
Lancaster got
him to his castell of
Pomfret, and
fortified it.

The parents
of water make
herb an agree-
ment be-
tweene the
king and the
duke of Lan-
castre.

desired themselves better: for entering into the river of Saine, they drowned foure of their enemies ships, and took other foure, with a barke of the lord Cliftons, one of the fairest that was to be found either in France or England. In these vessels the Englishmen had a rich peece of wines, and other merchandizes. The king upon some occasion took great displeasure against William Courtne archbishop of Canturburie, so storming against him, as few durst speake anie thing in his excuse. The lord chancellor Michaele de la Pole seeming to fauour his cause, was likewise to haue run in high displeasure, Sir Thomas Triwet, and Sir John Deuereux intreating for him, were soe rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbishop was withdrawne, and had kept him close for a time, he was thorough mediation of some friends reconciled to the kings fauour.

About the same time the French king sent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thousand men of armes, knights, and esquires, besides crocottes and other to ioune with the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots encouraged with this new aid, sent to them out of France, leuied a power, to go together with the Frenchmen, entered into the English confines, and began to rob & spoile, and further took certeine castles and houses of defence. The king of England aduertised hereof, assembled a huge power of men of warre, and first sent before him the duke of Lancaster with part of the armie, and afterward followed himselfe, with all convenient speed that might be. At his coming in to the parts about York, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon the duke of Lancasters approach towards them, but the king thought to keepe on his tourne. Whilest he was lodged in those parts, a great mischance happened, by reason of variance that fell betwixt certeine persons of the retinue of Sir John Holland brother vnto the earle of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford some to the earle of Stafford.

The cause of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called Sir Miles, that was come to see the queene. This knight kept companie most an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of Sir John Hollands seruants, there came two archers pertaining to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were so about to misuse the stranger in words, as they took it: the strife here by grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers shot at one of Sir John Hollands seruants, and slew him. This mishap being reported to Sir John Holland, set him in such a furie (by reason of the loue which he had to his seruant) that immediatlie he rushed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through misfortune meeting with the lord Stafford, slew him, and doubting in what sort his deed might be taken, fled straight vnto Beverlie, and there took sanctuary. The erle of Stafford took this misadventure right heauilie, as reason was: yet because he would not trouble the host, nor disappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promise that he would doe upright iustice in the matter, as should be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his græfe so patientlie as he might, so that he wan himselfe much praise for his wisdom therein shewed.

The king aduancing towards with his armie, came to the borders, and entring into Scotland, passed thorough Pers and Louthian, wasting and spoiling all the townes, houses and villages in his waie. The abbeyes of Melros, Dunburgh, and Newbottell were burnt, and those monks and other people that were found in the same were slaine. At his coming

to Edinburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houses and buildings he consumed with fire, together with the church of saint Giles. At the humble sute of his vnckle the duke of Lancaster, Holie rood house was preserved from hurt, for that the same duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that house, and found much gentleness and friendship in the abbat and conuent; so that he could doe no lesse than requite them with kindnesse, at whose hands he found kindnesse; for we are bound in conscience to tender them by whome we haue bene benefited (vnlesse we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Arbor honoratur cuius nos umbra tectur.

Thus when the king had reuenged the displeasure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edinburgh sine daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable encounter. The admerall of France was earnestlie in hand with the Scottish lords to perswade them to haue given battell to the English armie, till he and diuers other knights of France were brought to the top of a mountaine, from whence they might behold all the English armie, as the same passed vnderneath them by a passage that laie by the foot of that mountaine: for after that they had viewed the puissance of the Englishmen, and (as nere as they could) numbered them, they had no such eger minds to fight with them as before, for they esteemed them to be six thousand men of armes, and threescore thousand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not past a thousand speares, and thirtie thousand of all other sorts, and the most part of those but euill armed. Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to invade England in an other quarter, whilest the Englishmen burnt by their countrie, and so they set forward towards the west borders, and passing ouer the mounteins that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, doing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Holwzaie, to the earles of Pothingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Graihecke, and to the Musgraues.

Lastlie, they came to Carlisle, and boldlie assaulted the citie: but Sir Iewes Clifford, and Sir Thomas Musgraue, Laue Holwzaie, and diuerse other two, thie captieins being within it, so defended the wailes and gates, that their enemies got small advantage: and finally hearing that the English armie was returning home wards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be inclosed by the Englishmen, as they had bene in deed, if the duke of Lancaster and his brethren (vnckles to the king) might haue bene beleued, who counsellled the king to pursue the enemies, and stop the passages through which they must needs passe in their coming backe. But the earle of Denford being most in fauour and credit with the king in those daies, as one that ruled all things at his pleasure, did aduise him to the contrarie, by putting him in belefe (as was said) that his vnckles went about to bring him in danger to be lost and surprised of his enemies, where vpon he took the next way home, and so brake by his iournie.

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scottish king hauing conceiued a iust displeasure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had sustained such damage in that season, caused him and his Frenchmen to be despoiled of the most part of their goods, and sent them so awaie out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue some comfort by vengeance. In this yeare was the battell of Algebrota in Pothingale, where king John of Pothingale

Edinburgh burnt by king Richard.

The French admerall perswaded the Scots to fight with the English host.

Cumberland sore spoiled by the Scots.

Carlisle assaulted by the Scots.

God counsell neglected.

Polydor

A noble retriage.

There were
English
in who with
their bowes
did great ser-
vice as by one
author it ap-
peareth.

The king of
Portingale
sendeth six
gallies to la
Richards
aid.

A good victo-
rie of them of
Calis against
the French
sark.

Abt. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Leicester
abbie.

The Calis-
ians & others
make a rode
into France
& win great
booties.

Fabian.

Creation of
dukes and
earles at the
parlement.

Henric of
Bollings-
brooke earle
of Derby
afterwards
king.

The lord
Portinere
erle of March

gale discomfited a great host of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Englishmen which he had there with him, under the leading of two esquires Forberie and Hartell. There were slaine blures earles & great lords of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spanish names, but write them corruptlie as strangers bise to doo, we here omit them. The king of Portingale after this victorie obtained against his enemies sent six gallies vnto the king of England to aid him against his aduersaries, the which were well received and highlie made of by the Londoners and other, so that the Portingales had no cause to repent of their coming hither.

The French king this yeare besieged and wan the towne of Dam, after he had bene at great charges about it. Whilste his nauie returned from Secluis, where the same had layen at ancho: a long time, the ships by tempest were scattered & whether by luck, so that in the least daie of the exaltation of the crosse, two of their gallies, a great ship, a barge, and seauen balengars were cast on shore about Calis, & the Calisians took six hundred Frenchmen and Romans that escaped to land. An other day 72 French ships (as they were coming from Secluis, to passe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themselves so manfully, that they took 18 of those French ships, and a great barke, in which three scope armed men were slaine before it could be taken. Within three daies after this, the Calisians met 45 other French ships, and after six houres fight obtained the victorie, taking three of the most principall vessels, whereof one being a hulke of Castile was hired by the Romans, to gard the residue. The other two that were taken were of such mold, that they could not enter into the haven at Calis, and therefore were sent to Sandwich, the one of them being a new ship, which the lord Clifton had bought at Secluis, passing for his 300000 franks. Henric Knighton saith it was prised or valued at 200000 florens, it was so tall, big, and large a vessel; and therefore of great capacite.

On saint Denies daie the soldiors of Calis and other English fortresses thereabouts, made a secret iourne into France, and got a botle of foure thousand sheepe, and three hundred head of great cattell, which they bore towards their holes; and as the lord de Rambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recovered the preie, he was unhorsed with the encounter of an English speare, and being relieved by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himselfe, not attempting to trie any further masteries, and so the Englishmen safely passed forth with their botle of cattell, and aboue a hundred good prisoners which they had taken at this rode. In this yeare about the feast of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which amongst other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and five earles. First Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings uncle was created duke of Poike, Thomas of Woodstocke his other uncle earle of Buckingham was created duke of Gloucester, Robert Wre earle of Hereford was made marques of Denelin, Henric of Bollingsbrooke sonne and heire to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was created earle of Derby: Edward Plantagenet sonne and heire to the Duke of Poike was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Pole chancelor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & sir Thomas Donbraye earle of Nottingham was made earle marshall.

Also by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Portinere earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Portinere earle of March, and of the ladie Phi-

lip eldest daughter and heire vnto Lionel duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and shortly after so proclaimed. The which earle of March anon after the end of the same parlement, sailed into Ireland to his lordship of Ulster, whereof he was owner by right of his said mother: but whilste he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Irish, a great number of them together assembled, came vpon him and slew him, together with the most part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two sonnes died without issue, and Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of Poike, and father to king Edward the fourth: also a daughter named Isabel, afterwards married to the lord Bourcher. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henric the first, as after ye shall heare.

Poquesuer, in this yeare Henric of Bollingsbrooke earle of Derby married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whose right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by his he had issue Henric that after him was king of this realme, the ladie Blanch duchesse of Bar, and the ladie Philip married to the king of Denmarke: also Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Gloucester. The Gauntiniers still maintained warre against the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his decesse against Philip duke of Burgogne, by such aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finally this yeare about the eighteenth daie of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the said duke and the towne of Gaunt: and sir John Bourchier that had laue a long season there, as capteine vnder the k. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chiefe captains of the Gauntiniers (before the concluding of this peace) were safely conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his safe conduct, and so they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pension of an hundred marks sterling, yearly to be paid to him out of the staples of the woollens in London.

This yeare king Richard holding his Christmasse at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whose countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into those west parts of christendome for aid and succour at the hands of the christian princes here. The king honorably receiued him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gaue him great summes of monie and other rich gifts, with a stipend (as some write) of a thousand pounds yearly to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths space, he took leaue of the king and departed. The chiefe point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but denie would not permit so good a purpose to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not suffer their lostie minds to yield in any one point, further than seemed good in their owne opinions.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it should seme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaster with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Constance, & a daughter which he had by his first named Batharine, and two other daughters which he had by his second wife. He

proclaim-
ed heire ap-
parant to the
croune.

The earle
of March
by the
Irish.

The issue
of the
earle of
March.

Froissart.

The king
of Armenia
cometh into
England
and against
the Turks.

Thom. Wals.

Thom. Wals.
Froissart.
la. Mar.

The duke
of Lancaster
goeth into
Spaine
with an army.

had bene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture necessarie for this tourne two or three yeres before, and therefore hauing now seauen galleies and eightene ships sent to him out of Portingale (which arrived at Wythow) he caused all such vessels as he had prouided to resort likewise thither, where making his generall assemble, when all his men of warre were come together, he bestowed them aboard, with all their horses and purueances, and causing sailes to be hoisted vp, set forward on his long wished tourne. This was in the moneth of Aprill, when the seas were calme, the aire sweet, and the winds pleasant and agreeable to his purpose. He appointed for admerall of his whole fleet sir Thomas Percie, and sir John Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordered constable of the host; and sir Thomas Morecaur hauing married his bastard daughter was one of his marshals.

There were that attended him in this tourne manie other lords and knights of honoz, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Doinings, the lord Wadison, the lord of Pomiers a Gascoigne, the lord Poune fitz Warren, Henrie lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, sir Richard Burle that was another of the marshals of the armie, sir Hugh Spenser, sir William Windsoze, sir John Daubiercourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir William Farrington, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Gauburin de Liniers, sir Thomas Worcester, sir John Soluic, sir Robert Clinton, sir Philip Terrell, sir Lewes Rochester, Huguelin Caluerlie, David Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beaucher, and diuerse other: they were in all to the number of fiftene hundred men of armes, whereof a thousand at the least were knights and squiers, besides foure thousand archers, and other men of warre, so perfectlie appointed and arraid, as could be thought meet and conuenient. Of this chosen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaster, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the said C. Okland speaketh no lesse trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honozable:

*ocum instructa pro bello classe futuro,
Militie stipatus generoso traiecit equor
Huiusmodi, cum vxore pia natisq; duabus, &c.*

Henrie Knighton reporteth of this voiage as followeth, in somewhat a differing sort from this already laid downe. On Easter daie (saith he) John the duke of Lancaster with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the queene likewise gaue another crowne of gold to the duchesse. Besides this, the king commaunded his people that they should call him king of Spaine, and do him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 chosen men; of which number noted in the marshals bill or scroll, 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

As they passed by Britaine, they landed at Brest, the capitaine whereof, at that time named sir John Roche, finding himselfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two bastides erected before the castell, declared to the duke in what state he stood. Wherevpon he caused the said bastides to be assailed, which was done by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themselves so manfullie, that the bastides were wone, broken downe, and a great preie with prisoners obtained, although not without losse of diuerse valiant personages. Thus were they within Brest castell deliuered of their unfrendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaster and his people. Who hauing done their feat toke the seas, and sailed forth till they came on the coasts of Gallis, where on S. Lawrence euen, they arrived in

the haue of Groigne, otherwise called Coron, and there they unshipped all their provisions, determining to invade the countrie on that side. ¶ Here, because it is not vnprofitable to knowe the absolute truth of things done, by the collection of writers, I haue translated the besieging of Brest, as the same is set downe by Henrie Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample sort, with a fuller certificate of circumstances than hath hitherto bene declared. At the same time (saith he) the duke of Britaine had laid siege both by sea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time subiect to the king of England, which was called Brest, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the halends of Iulie, he began to build a fort before the said towne of Brest, of a wonderfull bignesse, the walles thereof being ten foot thicke, and seauen towres about it. A thousand workemen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the said workemen (that they might not be hindered in their business by the citizens) ten thousand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in nineteene daies space, and called the Doune house, because a douchouse stood in the same place before. Furthermore he stored this fort with all necessaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engines, and he placed therein as capitaine of the warriors the lord John Galetret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other soldiors, the whole number being three hundred.

The good duke of Lancaster hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fleet or nanie towards the haue of Brest, where when he had arrived, they all fled from the siege, both by sea and land, those onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. James in Calis desired the good duke that he might giue the first assault against the fort; who taking the repulse with his retinue, he ceased and gaue ouer. In like sort did manie more giue the assault to the same for the space of two daies and more: in so much that some digging vnder the wals, and undermining the foundations of one towre, the same fell downe vpon sir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordshire, and manie more, among whom was John de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an esquire by degree of Dorsetshire. As for those that were vpon the towre, they also came tumbling downe, and were presentlie slaine.

In the meane time the lord Galetret gardian of the fort, sent word to the duke of Lancaster, that he would yeld and surrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might frelie depart with such armour, goods, chatels and victuals as they had reposed and laid vp in store for their necessarie prouision: wherevnto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agreed; vpon condition also, that before their departure, they should ruinate the said fort, and laie it euen with the ground; and should likewise allow and paie him towards his costs and charges defraied in the siege of the same, twentie thousand scutes of gold. When might you see the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, some with beires, some with cabbins, some with carts, and some with crutches to fetch awaie the dead and the wounded: in so much that there was not one, either slaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whose friends did not mone and lament. ¶ Now, the lord Galetret himselfe was so mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens shoulders, and was borne vp on either side. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of salt, to the end that the Englishmen should not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the slaine, of whom [in fight] the number amounted to aboue

Le Gaigne
Capon.

Abt. Pl. out of
Henrie Knighton
cayen of
Lancaster
abbey.

Lang. prob.

Abt. Pl. out of
Henrie Knighton
cayen of
Lancaster
abbey.

Abt. Pl. out of
Henrie Knighton
cayen of
Lancaster
abbey.

Abt. Pl. out of
Henrie Knighton
cayen of
Lancaster
abbey.

150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whose report giueth no small light to the matter under hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Croigne, he went to Compostella, and there sojourned for a season, during the which, his constable sir John Holand wone diuerse townes and fortrells which the enimies kept: diuerse yelded to the duke with better will, for that the duchesse his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritor to the realme. ¶ At Bouison a towne on the confines betwixt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaster met, where they communed and took counsell together for the more speedie proceeding in their enterprise against their aduersaries of Castile. Also there was a mariage concluded betwixt the said king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the said duke, which marriage thortlie after was wholie consummated, the said ladie being first married by procurator at Compostella, and after sent into Portingale right honourable accompanied.

Philip the duke of Lancaster's daughter married to the king of Portingale.

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaster joining their armies together made Calile.

Clariance amongst writers.

Great death in the English host in Spain: by reason of the great heat of that countrey.

The duke continued at Compostella all the winter season, till towards March, and then according to appointment taken betwixt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being together at Bouison, for their iourne to be made into Castile) the said king assembled an armie of a thousand men of armes, and ten thousand other souldiers, with the which entring the confines of Castile, he first took the towne of Feroule, and after joining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marshall taken the townes of Ruelles, Cille Lopes, Pounceuioide, Digbys, Balonne in la Paroll, Albadan, Paures, Besanles, and Quens, with others in the countrey of Gallis, they marched forth with their whole powers both together, and passing ouer the riuer of Dure, entered into the countrey de Campo.

¶ Here the English writers make mention of a battell, which the constable of Castile should giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes side, and the Spaniards chased out of the field. But Froissard (who liued in those daies, and learned that which he wrote of those that were with the duke in his iourne) maketh no remembrance of any such thing, but that contrarie the king of Castile following the aduise of such Frenchmen as were sent into Spaine to aid him, caused all the riches of the countrey to be brought into the walled townes and fortrells, which he staffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Englishmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their vitels, and to keepe them from hauing forrage abroad in the countrey, vntill such as were sent were garded with the greater troops for their suertie and defense.

Thus bestowing the most part of all such men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places most convenient for that purpose, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enimies had wearied themselves in harping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he daily looked for. By which means it came to passe, that the Englishmen not used to such hot aire as they found in those parts in that season of the yeare (for it was about Midsummer) fell daily into manie perillous diseases, whereof no small number died; and other became so faint, that they were not able to helpe themselves, that to consider the miserie in which they were, it would haue rued the hearts of their verie foes. Whereupon was the duke constrained to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this instant.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in such wise as it might be at the Englishmens choise to retorne into their countrey, either by sea or by land, though

France. Such as passed through Spaine to France, had safe conducts sealed and signed by the king of Spaine; but scarce the halfe of those that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died so fast, as well after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongst other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greatest barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Cille Arpent, there died (as Froissard saith) three great barons of England, and men of great possessions: sir Richard Burle a knight of the garter, who had bene as it were high marshall of the armie, the lord Portings, and sir Henrie Percie couline germane to the earle of Northumberland.

In the towne of Poie deceased sir Hanburin de Linters a Poitouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and so here and there (saith Froissard) there died in all twelue great lords, foure score knights, two hundred esquires, and of the meane sort of souldiers aboute fise hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaster and the duchesse his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a season, and then taking the sea, sailed to Balonne in the marshes of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. ¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a mariage to be had betwixt the duke of Berrie, uncle to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, and of the duchesse his wife the ladie Constance.

¶ When the king of Spaine understood of that treatie, he began to doubt, least if that mariage took place, it might turne to his disadvantage; and therefore to be at quietnesse with the duke of Lancaster, whose puissance he doubted, and whose wisdom he perfectly understood, by politike meanes and earnest sute, at length concluded a peace with him on this wise; That his eldest son Henrie should haue in mariage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, begot on his wife the duchesse Constance, and be intituled prince of Aulsturgus. In consideration of which mariage to be had, and all claimes to cease, which the duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; it was agreed, that the said duke should receiue yearelie the summe of ten thousand marks, to be paid to him, or to his assignes in the citie of Balonne in Gascoigne, during the terme of the liues of the said duke and duchesse; and further to haue in hand the summe of two hundred thousand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this composition betwene these persons of great estate, doth say, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancasters owne household, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spanish king did send seven and fourtie mules laden with coffers full of gold for the second payment whereupon they were agreed. As touching the first payment (saith Knighton) I asked no question of the partie, so that (besides the annuitie, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortuned that the dukes daughter should suruiue and outliue hir husband) it should seeme there were other large allotwances, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right roiall munificence. And to this report of Knighton doth Ch. Okland make a kind of allusion, who speaking of the conditions of peace betwene the duke of Lancaster, and the king of Spaine, saith:

*Causa diffidens exemplo Hispanie, agebat
De pace, acceptis & conditionibus, offere
Argenti ac auri plaustrorum protinus octo
Iustum onus, argentique decem soluenda quotannis
Millia numerum, &c.*

This

Froissard. The lord Fitz Walter.

I thinke none of these were barons but only the lord Portings.

The duked of Lancaster's turnchout Depuine into Gascoigne.

A marriage concluded between the prince of Spaine, & the duke of Lancasters daughter.

Fabian.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton cannot be better abridg.

In Angles. See R.

The aforesaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirtieth yeare of king Richards reigne, so that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places shall be touched, as to purpose serveth.

And first it is not to be forgotten, that the Frenchmen neuer shewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, since the linage of the Capetes began first to rule in France. All the ships that they could provide from the confines of Spaine, unto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongst the coast, they assembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made so great preparation for the warre, that the like had not bene heard of (meaning, as they boasted, and made their vaunts) to passe over into England, and to denoure the whole countrie, in doing sacrifice to the soules of their elvers with the blood of the English people. Whobest these words were wind, & to them accorded the pouverbe,

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in Britaine by the constable, who had caused an inclosure of a field to be made of timber, like railes or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might therein inclose their field, and so lodge more at surtie, and when they removed, it was so made with points, that they might take it by in peeces and easilie conueie it with them.

This inclosure of wall of wood was twentie foot in height, and contained in length or in compasse, when it was set by, thre thousand paces, and at the end of euerie twelue paces stood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the rest of the wall by ten foot at the least.

There were appointed to haue passed ouer in those ships twentie thousand men of armes, twentie thousand crossbowes, and twentie thousand other men of warre. To haue saue the great apparell, furniture and provision, the shipping, trustling, bearing, and carrying to and fro of things needfull for this iourne, a man might haue merueled; for, suerlie the like hath sildome bene remembered. All that was done there on that side the sea by the Frenchmen, was notified into England, so that the Frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themselves to inuade England, than the Englishmen were to make themselves readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enimies; so that euerie haven towne, especiallie alongst the west, south, and eastcoasts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

Notwithstanding the great confidence which the French king reposed in the fortification which he had imbarked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great wonders, to the discomfiture of the English: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it so fortuned, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capitaine of Calis took two ships; whereof one was laden with a peece of the said inclosure or wall of wood, and in the same ship was the maister carpenter of the inclosure, being an Englishman borne, but banished his countrie before that time for some offense. He also took another ship, wherein were engines, guns, gunpowder & other instruments of war. Not long after this, two more ships were taken likewise, whose burthen was parcels of the foresaid frame or inclosure: so that thre ships were met withall and seized vpon, each of them laden with one kind of stufte. Whereof king Richard hearing, he caused the said inclosure to be reared and set by about Winchelsea towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foresaid armie came into Flanders, and arrived at the haven of Sluis, intending to

make their progresse into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were diuened to great distresse and want of vittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, sold in England for a penie, was sold there for eightene pence; and a hens eg for a penie: so that in the end of Nouember they returned to France, mistaking their purpose as much as if they had neuer ment it.

There were readie within the realme at that season, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thousand men of armes, besides those that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaster. All this preparation lasted for the more part of the summer, euen till the beginning of winter: and still the French king that was come downe into Flanders, staied for the comming of his uncle the duke of Berrie: who at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpose, that he might by the excuse of winter, cause this iourne to be put off till another season. Wherin he shewed more wit than all the counsellors which the French king had about him: for if he had not politikelie shifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his person and losse of his people. And yet if we shall beleue toizers that liued in those daies, by reason of the bzute that was spread through the realme, of that huge preparation which the French king made to inuade this land, no small feare entered into the hearts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enimies had bene alreadie landed) bestirred them, in making what provision they might for their defense, though it seemed by their manner of doings, they stood in doubt least the whole realme had not bene able to make sufficient resistance.

In deed diuerse were the more afraid, for that they perceived how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themselves, and so being not of one mind, the wiser sort doubted least though their disagreeing in that troublesome time, some danger might grow to the state of the whole realme. Notwithstanding, no small number of others withed nothing more, than that the French king in going forward with his purpose, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he should haue found such a welcome, as would haue bene little to his ease. About the feast of saint Michaele, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march forthwith against the enimies whensoever it chanced them to land. Thus all the towne and villages twentie miles in compasse round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lying as it had bene in campe; and wanting both vittels and monie, they were diuened to spoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to small purpose a long season, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the first summons. Manie of them were constrained through necessitie, to sell their hoziles, and armour, and some to spele and to rob as they went homewards, not sparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were dismissed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords still remained at London, hearkening still for the French kings comming.

The lord Robert Clere earle of Drenford, whom the king in the last parlement had made marquisse of Dublin, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords were enuising so high preferment in a man that so little deserved, as they took it. For by reason of the kings great affection

The Londoners speciallie afraid of the French forces.

Dissenting among the noblemen.

Froissard.

Thos. Walsin. A parlement at London.

Robert Clere marquisse of Dublin created duke of Ireland.

which he bare not onlie to this noble man, but also to the lord Michael de la Pole, whom he had lately created earle of Suffolke, and after advanced him to the office of lord chancellor: as before ye haue heard, not onlie the lords, but also the commons foregrubbed at such their high preferment, in somuch that in this present parliament, the knights & burgeses in the lower house, exhibited a bill against the lord chancellor, of diuerse crimes which they laid to his charge, and so vsed the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in some respect they had their willes against him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appere.

And where the king had demanded a reliefe of monie towards the maintenance of his estate, and charges of the warres, it was answered, that he needed not any tallage of his subjects, sith he might furnish himselfe with such a summe at the hands of the said earle, that was iustlie indebted vnto him therein, as they were able well to proue. But the king was notwithstanding contented, concerning no small displeasure, aswell against them of the lower house, as against the lords in the upper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went so sore against his mind. Whereupon (as was said, whether trulie or otherwise, the lord knoweth) by a conspiracie begun betwixt the king & such as were most in fauour with him, it was deuised, that the duke of Gloucester, as principall and such other lords as fauored the knights and burgeses in their sute, against the earle of Suffolke, and were otherwise against the king in his demand of monie, should be willed to a supper in London, there to be murdered.

But the duke comming by some meanes to vnderstand of this wicked practise, had no desire to take part of that supper, where such sharpe saunce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the residue, that they likewise should not come there, but to content themselves with their owne suppers at their lodgings. It was said, that sir Nicholas Brember, who had bene maior the yeare before, had promised his assistance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough the commendable constancie of Richard Crecion that was maior this yeare, being moued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng battle to consent to the death of such innocent persons, that heinous practise was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to such counsellors of the king greatly increased, and the duke of Gloucester and such as withstood the king, daile grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Whereat at length, through the earnest sute of some of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a fifteenth, which should not be spent at the pleasure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the said lords, & so at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furnish him with a name to the seas. But before this payment might be granted, there was much adoe, & hard hold: for where the said earle of Suffolke then lord chancellor, at first had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure shillens for with lesse (said he) the king could not mainteine his estate and the warres which he had in hand: the whole bodie of the parliament made answer thereto, that without the king were present (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no answer at all: and here with they take occasion at length to say further, that except the said earle of Suffolke were removed from the office of chancellorship, they would meddle no further with any act in this parliament, were it neuer of so small importance.

The king being aduertised hereof, sent againe to

the commons, that they should send vnto Eltham (where he late) for the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minds. And then the house was in no small feare, by reason of a brute that was raised, how the king sought meanes to intrap and destroye them that followed not his purpose. Whereupon aswell the lords of the upper house as the commons of the lower assembled together, and agreed with one consent, that the duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely, should in the name of the whole parliament be sent to the king vnto Eltham: which was done, and the king was well contented that they should come. Then they came before his presence, with humble reuerence they declared their message, which consisted in these points: That the lords and commons assembled at that present in parliament, besought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

They further declared, that one old statute and laudable custome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfully summon his high court of parliament, and call the lords and commons therevnto, as to the highest court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to shine as the sunne being at the highest, whereof poore and rich may take refreshing: where also reformation ought to be had of all oppressions, wrongs, extortiones, & enormities within the realme: and there the king ought to take counsell with the wise men of his realme, for the maintenance of his estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knownen that any persons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie: there must also be deuised how such euill weeds may be destroyed. There must also be studied and foresene, that if any charge doe come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorable borne and discharged.

Further, they declared that till that present, his subjects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themselves towards him, in aiding him with their substance to the best of their powers, & that their desire was to vnderstand how those goods were spent. And further they said, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king should absent himselfe fourtie daies, not being sicke, and refuse to come to the parliament, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfully retorne home to their houses: and therefore sith he had bene absent a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatlie to their discomfort. So thus the king (as we find) made this answer: Well, we doe perceiue that our people and commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot doe better than to aske aid of our cousine the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him than to our owne subjects.

The lords answered, that it should not be good for him so to doe, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, sith it was plaine enough, that the French king was his ancient enemie and greatest aduersarie, who if he might once set foot in the realme of England, he would rather despoile and dispoessee the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they said) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitor king Edward the third, his grandfather, and prince Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguish and troubles incessantlie, to make a conquest of France, that rightfullie appertained vnto them, and now to him, in which wars he might likewise remember how manie lords, noble men, and

Richard Crecion iustlie commended.

Subsidie granted and appointed to be spent according to discretion of the nobilitie.

And afterward need require.

The causes & conditions of a parliament.

The sentence of the king from the parliament in the space of four daies.

The kings answer.

width of the
people to the
place of the
peace and
truce of his
realm.

god commons of both realmes had lost their lues, and what charges both the realmes likewise bare in maintaining those warres: and now (the more pittie) greater burthens were laid upon the necks of the English subjects for the supportation of his charges, by reason wherof, they were so low brought (said they) that they haue not to paie their rents, and so by such meanes was his power decayed; his lords brought behind hand, and all his people foreimpou-
10 rished. And as that king cannot be poze that hath rich people, so cannot he be rich that hath poze commons. And as he took hurt by such inconueniences changing through euill counsellors that were about him, so the lords and noblemen sustained no lesse hurt each one after his estate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme must needs fall in ruine, and the default should be imputed to him and to those his euill coun-
cellers.

Change of of-
fices by the
parliament.

The earle of
Suffolke gra-
uouly char-
ged by the
parliament
haile for sum-
me offences.

By these and the like perswasions the king was
induced to come to the parlement, and according to
his appointment he came indeed. Some after his
comming was John Foxtham bishop of Durham
discharged of his office of lord tresuroz, and in his
place was appointed one John Gilbert bishop of
Hereford, that was a frer of the order of preachers,
a man more eloquent than faithfull, as some repo-
ted of him. Also the earle of Suffolke was dischar-
ged of his office of lord chancelloz, and Thomas
Arundell bishop of Ely placed in his roome, by
whole consent of parlement. The same earle of Suf-
folke was charged with manie & verie great enor-
mous crimes, frauds, falshoods, and trefons, which he
had practised, to the great pteuidice of the king and
realme, and thereupon was committed to ward in
the castell of Windsoze. Notwithstanding they ad-
judged him not to death (as some wyte) nor disgra-
ded him of the honoz of knight hood, but condemned
him to paie a fine of twentie thousand marks, and
also to forfeit one thousand pounds of yewellie rents
which he had purchased.

But other wyte, that notwithstanding the king
was soze offended for the accusations brought a-
gainst the said earle of Suffolke and others, whome
he loued, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he
was constrained at length, after he had shiffted off
the matter by sundrie deuises, to appoint certeine
persons with full power and authoritie to heare, and
in iudgement to determine those matters. The duke
of Glocester therfore, and the earle of Arundell were
appointed as iudges; which whilste the king as yet
was absent, who got him forth of the waite of pur-
pose, because he would not be present at the condem-
nation of those whome he most entierlie loued and
fauoured) went earnestlie in hand with their busi-
nesse, and so at length (as Walsingham saith) the earle
of Suffolke was conuicted, & found gilty of sundrie
crimes, trespases, and naughtie parts: for which it
was thought that he deserued to lose his life & goods,
but yet he was suffered (as the same Walsingham
saith) to go abroad under suertie, certeine great men
being bound for him in great sums of monie. But
that order sooner was taken for the punishment of
him, sure it is he was displaced from his office of
chancelloz ship, as before ye haue heard.

Thirtene
lords appoin-
ted to partici-
pate in the
gouernment
of the
realme under
the king.

Furthermore, the lords, and other estates in this
parlement, considering that through couetousnesse
of the new deposed officers, the kings treasure had
bene imberyled, lewlie wasted, & prodigallie spent,
nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement
thirtene lords chosen, to haue ouersight vnder the
king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by
their commission in the statutes of the tenth yere of
the king it doth in the booke of statutes at large ap-
peare.

Of those thirtene there were thre of the new
officers named, as the bishop of Ely lord chancelloz,
the bishop of Hereford lord tresuroz, and Nicholas
abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priuie seale:
the other ten were these, William archbishop of
Canturburie, Alexander archbishop of Poike, Ed-
mund Langlie duke of Poike, Thomas duke of
Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas
bishop of Creeke, Richard earle of Arundell, Ri-
chard lord Scrope, and John lord Deberneur. But
this participation of the gouernement fell out to be
inconuenient, as by procelle of the storie shall ap-
peare, euen to those vnto whome it was allotted: so
that no small a doo happened among them and their
partakers: according to the old prouerbe, which saith;
Pro sibi quando comes veniunt os rodere plures.

Howeuer, at the kings instance and earnest sute
it was granted, that Robert de Ther late marquisse
of Dublin, and now newlie created duke of Ire-
land, should haue and receiue to his owne vse thirtie
thousand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue
for the heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that re-
mained here in England, which Charles in times
past chalenged as his rightfull inheritance the duc-
chy of Britaine, against the earle of Pontfort. This
grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condi-
tion, that being furnished with this monie, he should
passe ouer into Ireland, before the next Easter, there
to recouer such lands as the king had giuen to him.
For aswell the lords as the commons were so desir-
ous to haue him gone, that they wished the realme
rather to spare so much treasure, than to haue his pre-
sence about the king, to allure him to follie. The same
time the king of Armenia sued for a safe conduct
to come againe ouer into this land, to speake with the
king as it had bene about the mouing of some peace
betwixt the two realmes of England and France; but
sith his meaning was suspected to be to no good end,
but to benefit himselfe by receiuing of some great
gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his sute was not
granted.

The king of
Armenia su-
eth for a safe
conduct to
come into
England
which is de-
sired him.

In this meane time also, whilste the French king
with such a companie of dukes, earls and other lords,
as had not bene heard of, still continued in Flan-
ders, staing as well for a conuenient wind, as for
the comming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that
certeine English ships, as they waited the seas, met
with two of the French ships, that were sailing to-
wards Sluis, and fighting with them, took them,
and brought them both to Sandwich. There was
found aboard the same ships, a mailer gunner, that
sometime had serued the Englishmen at Calis,
when sir Hugh Caluerlie was lieutenant there: also
diuerse great guns and engines to beat downe wals
were found and taken in the same ships, with a great
quantitie of powder that was more worth than all
the rest.

Two of the
French kings
ships taken
with a great
prize in them.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before,
the Englishmen also took certeine hulks and six ca-
riks of the Genouais, laden with great riches: but
because they were merchants, they found such fauor
at the kings hands through means of Michaele de la
Pole then lord chancelloz (whome they had made
their friend) that they had their vessels and all their
goods restored, and freight wales they passed with the
same vnto Sluis, where the enemies laie, to make
sale of their wares there. Whereupon much murmur-
ing rose among the kings subjects, taking it in euill
part, that they should be suffered so to go their wales
to releue the enemies of the realme, with such goods
as were once brought into the Englishmens posses-
sion, and speciallie the lord chancelloz was verie e-
uill thought of, for shewing so much fauour vnto
those strangers.

Guns were
inuented little
more than six
yeres before
this time, to
wit, In. 1380.

Restitution
of merchants
goods taken.

The French
fleet setting
forward to-
wards Eng-
land is driven
backe by con-
trarie winds.

The kings
inordinate af-
fection to-
wards the
duke of Ire-
land and the
earle of Suff-
olke.

1387

The earle of
Arundell go-
eth to the sea
with 500 men
of armes and
a thousand ar-
chers as Froi-
lard noteth.

A great abuse
in choise of
souldiers.

The French king still remaining in Flanders, tar-
rieng for the coming of the duke of Berrie, and al-
so for a convenient wind, at length on the crier of
All saints, the wind came about very fauourable for
the Frenchmens purpose: whereupon they weighed
anchors, and lanchted from the haven of Sluis, but
they were not past twentie miles forward on their
way, when the wind suddenlie turned contrarie to
their course againe, and brought them backe with
such violence, that diuerse of them as they should en-
ter the haven, were broken and bzused, and so by this
occasion, and the counsell of the duke of Berrie togit-
her, the French king brake by his iourne for that
peare, and returned into France. ¶ We haue heard
that was done by the states assembled in parle-
ment against the earle of Suffolke, whom the most
part of the realme so greatlie hated, but yet neuer-
theless, the king had such an affection towards him,
that immediatlie after the parlement was dissolved,
he vndid all that had bene enacted against him, re-
cruing him into more familiaritie than before, and
caused him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and
Alexander Beuill archbishop of Poike, which two
lords trauelled most earnestlie to moue the king a-
gainst the other lords, and to disannull all that had
bene done in the last parlement.

There increased therefore in the king an inward
hatred, which he conceiued against the lords, these
men putting into his eare, that he was like no king
but rather resembled the shadow of one; saing, if
would come to passe that he should be able to do no-
thing of himselfe, if the lords might inioy the autho-
ritie which they had taken vpon them. The king gaue
credit to these tales, and therefore had the lords in
great gelousie, notwithstanding they were thought
to be his most true and faithfull subiects, and the o-
ther craftie, deceitfull, and vntrustie; but such an af-
fection had the king to them, that no informations, nor
accusations, though neuer so manifestlie proued,
could bring them out of his fauour, in so much as at
the feast of Christmasse next following, he caused the
earle of Suffolke to sit with him at his owne table,
in robes accustomed appointed for kings to
weare, and not for meaner estates, which was much
noted, and no little increased the enuie against him.

About the beginning of March in this tenth yeare,
Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord ad-
mirall, & Thomas Spowzaie earle of Nottingham,
the earle of Deuonshire, and the bishop of Poziwich
(as Froilard saith) went to the sea with a warlike
powder of men of armes and archers, so well trimmed
and appointed as was possible. For the lord admirall
vnderstanding that the duke of Gloucester, and ma-
nie other noblemen would see the muster of his men,
used all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the
most choicest and pikdest fellows that might be got-
ten, not following the euill example of others in
times past, which received tag and rag to fill by their
numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and re-
serued the residue to their purses. And when to the
advancement of the realms commoditie they should
haue encountered the enemies, they thifted off all oc-
cassions thereto, and onlie prolonged time, without
achieuing any enterprise auailable, to the end they
might receive the whole wages, and keepe themselves
from danger, which they should hardlie haue avoid-
ed, when they had not about them such able men as
were like to match the enemies: but the earle of A-
rundell contrarie got the ablest men he might, not
sparing his owne purse, to the end that by their ser-
uice he might achieve some worthie enterprise, to re-
deeme into the commoditie of his countrie.

After the duke of Gloucester had beheld so faire and
chosen a powder of men of warre, they were straight-

waies appointed to get them on shipboard, & so being
imbarcked, the whole nauie passed forth to the Thames
mouth, where they staied to watch for the fleet of
Flanders, that was readie to come from Rochell
with wines. At length, vpon a sondaie, being the re-
uen of the Annuntiation of our labie, the Flemish
fleet was discovered a good way off, by one that was
mounted into one of the tops of a ship of the Eng-
lish fleet. The earle of Arundell greatlie reioicing at
those newes, forthwith with his whole fleet made to
the sea. ¶ When the Flemings approached nere to our
nauie, they made saile, as if they would set vpon the
same; and our men of purpose made countenance
as if they would haue retired, as mistrusting them-
selues to be able to match their aduersaries, who co-
ucting rather a safe passage than battell, passed by:
but the Englishmen hauing once got the wind fit for
their purpose, suddenlie set vpon the Flemish ships,
and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after
a sore conflict which indured foure houres, the victorie
fell to the Englishmen.

There were taken fourescore ships, with diuerse
capteins and men of armes, namelie their chiefe ad-
mirall, named John Buicke, a perfect god seaman,
and one that had afozetime done much hurt to the
English nation. Diuerse of their ships were bouged,
and some escaped from the battell. But the earle of
Arundell pursued them so egerlie for the space of two
daies together, that at length he toke them, and
brought them backe to his nauie, so that what in the
battell and in the chase, there were taken of great
and small, to the number of an hundred vessels, all
fraught with wines, so that there was found aboard
the same nine thousand tuns, or rather (as other
saie) nineteene thousand, which together with the ves-
sels were straight sent vnto Swell haven, and to o-
ther hauens abroad in the realme, beside that which
fell to the kings share, as due to him by his preroga-
tine. Part of the Flemish fleet escaping (as before
ye haue heard) was pursued vnto the haven of Sluis
and Blankerke.

The citizens of Spiddleburgh came to the earle,
and requested him that they might buye those wines
of him, and paie for the same after the rate of an hun-
dred shillings the tunne, alledging how they were
the kings friends, and stood in need of wines: but the
earle of Arundell, thinking it more reason that those
which had borne the charges of his iourne, to wit, the
commons of the realme of England should haue the
commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their
suite. But yet to shew them some pleasure as his
friends, he gaue them twentie tuns to make mer-
rie with. As for that which fell to the earles share, he
used such bountifullnesse in bestowing it among his
friends, that he left not to himselfe so much as one
tunne. He wane therefore no small praise, that for bea-
ring his owne commoditie, which he might haue re-
aped in selling those wines to strangers, he had more
regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they
might vnderstand, that that which they had laide forth
towards the setting forward of his iourne, was not
altogether lost nor cast awaie. By this meanes (be-
sides the commendation which he drew to himselfe)
he also wane the hearts & god will of the people, whose
friendship is purchased by gifts and god debts, sith
they make profit the metro of amitie, & bound in be-
neuolence with received benefits, as the poet saith,

Nullus amicitias utilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders nere to the sea coasts, diuersed
was in great feare: for the Englishmen lanchted, and
euerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning
diuerse towne and villages, as Spude, Wilsburge,
Donckham, Donachacedam, & others. And at length,
after they had taken their pleasure in the countrie,

for

A good pe-
lice.

A great to-
rie of the
Englishme-
ne against
the Flemish
fleet.
la Meit.
Tho. Will.

la Meit.
Thom. Will.

The libe-
tie of the earle
of Arundell.

Diuersed
made into
Flanders by
the English-
men, & a great
spoile wane.

There is also
written in the
margin of the
text, that the
earle of
Arundell
was
sent
into
Spaine
with
a
great
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for the space of ten daies together, they boyled vp
sailes, and returned with all their pzeie and bottes,
which being sold, and uttered abroad in the realme,
made wine so plentifulle here in England, that it
was sold for thirtene shillings foure pence the tun,
and twentie shillings the best and choicest. The earle
of Arundell not satisfied with this happie atchieued
enterprise, but minding to do more seruice to the be-
nefit of his countrie, gathered his ships together, and
hiring new souldiers to supplie the romes of them
that were hurt, maimed, or slaine, turned his sailes
towards the castell of Brest, which seemed to be a
keie to the lesse Britaine, and being (as ye haue
heard) in the Englishmens possession, the French-
men were about to raise by and build farre greater
and stronger bastillions, than those were that the
duke of Lancaster had taken and destroyed, as he
saied forward on his iourne toward Spaine.

One of these two new bastilles the earle of Arun-
dell toome by force from them that kept it: and be-
cause it seemed necessarie to be kept for a defense to
the castell, if it were in the Englishmens hands, he
committed it to the custodie of certeine English-
men. The other being not yet finished, but begun in
sumptuous wise to be builded, he set on fire and
burned. This done, furnishing the garison with suffi-
cient bittels and munition to serue them for one
whole yeare, he returned home into England, with
great praise and commendation of the commons
for his doings. But the duke of Ireland, the earle of
Suffolke, sir Simon de Burle, and sir Richard
Starrie, that still continued about the king, seemed
rather to enuie the earle of Arundels good name,
than otherwise to commend him and others to the
king, that had bene forth in that iourne, in so much
that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwise called
earle Sparshall, that had bene euer the kings plat-
fellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the
court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receiue
great thanks at the kings hands, he had no good
countenance shewed vnto him, neither of the king,
nor of the duke of Ireland, who disdainig once to
talke with him, seemed to enuie the wortheie pro-
uise in other, which he knew defective and wanting in
himselfe.

Shortlie after, by the counsell of those lords and
knights that remained about the king, the lord Hen-
rie Percy, sonne to the earle of Northumberland,
was sent to the seas, to beate backe the attempts of
the enimies, but he was slenderlie appointed to at-
chieue any great enterprise. This was done of some
envious purpose, because he had got a name among
the common people, to be a verie hardie and val-
iant gentleman, as well among Englishmen, as
Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waileing
of that which they craftilie had imagined against
him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the businesse in-
tained him, and hauing remained abroad, during the
whole time of his appointed seruice, returned safelie
home. About the same time, a frier Carmelite, na-
med Walter Dille, that had bene confessor to the
duke of Lancaster, obtained in fauour of the same
duke, at pope Urbans hands, certeine faculties, to
be distributed to such as would prae & paie for them.
Among other of those faculties, one was, to make all
those whome he thought good, the popes chapleines,
according to forme of law, and the custome used in
the court of Rome.

Now because such as obtained this fauour, intioed
great liberties, manie were glad to bestow largelie,
to be so preferred, the frier being redie to admit those
that offered most. Among other, one Peter Pate-
shull, a frier of the Augustines order, was made by
him the popes chapleine, a man not vncarned, and

one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and there by
on forsaking his priuate profession, gaue himselfe to
a publike trade of life, which might seeme to him
more holie, commendable, and sure. Whereupon, he
tooke vpon him to preach against his owne order,
namelie in a sermon which he made in saint Gys-
phers church in London. He inuied so earnestlie a-
gainst the abuses and heinous crimes which the fri-
ers, sometimes his brethren, used to put in practice,
that it was an horroz to heare. There were present an
hundred at the least of Wicliffes opinion at his ser-
mon. Now in the meane while that he so laide forth
what he knew against his late brethren, some per-
sons there were that ran to the Augustine friers, and
declared the whole matter; whereupon a dozen of the
hardiest and lustiest fellows among them came to
the church, where this Pateshull was preaching, and
hearing what was said, they began to be soe mo-
ued, insomuch that one of them more zealous in his
religion than the other, stepped forth, and gaue said
those things which the preacher proponed.

When the Wicleuists perceiued this, they set vpon
him that so disquieted the congregation, and laie-
eng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder
their feet, and lent him manie a good buffet: and
chasing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie
bent to haue killed them, and set their house on fier,
crieng out with loud voices; Let vs destroy these
murderers, let vs burne these Sodomits, and hang
by such traitors of the king and realme. And run-
ning thus with such a furious noise and outrage, they
purposed verelie to haue set fire on the friers lod-
gings, but that through the humble prater of frier
Thomas Abozne, and one that was his fellow, be-
ing reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuini-
tie, they were staied. The conning also of one of the
thirifes of London holpe much to appease them, so
that by his perswasion, they returned home to their
houses. But Peter Pateshull, being mainteined a-
mong them, was counselled, sith he was interrupted
in his sermon, to set downe in writing all such mat-
ters as he was about to intreat of, & what he knew
further. He therefore deuised a libell, in which he ac-
cused diuerse of his brethren, of murdering sundrie of
their fellowes.

And for more proue to be giuen to his saieings, he
told the names of them that were made awaie, and
the names also of the murderers, and shewed where
those that were murdered were buried. He affirmed
further, that the said friers his brethren of late, were
Sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme,
and manie other things he declared (too bad) in that
his writing or libell which he fastned vpon the church
doze of S. Paule in London, that the more confusi-
on might thereby rebound vnto his late brethren, the
friers aforesaid. In the beginning of the same libell
he protested, that he was got forth of the diuels dun-
geon, and through the grace of God escaped from a-
mongst wicked and filthy persons; by reason where-
of, and for that he was an auoucher of the beritie, he
said, he was faine to suffer great aduersities at the
friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he
thanked pope Urbane, for that through his grant he
had obtained such libertie, that by help of his frends,
he might lawfullie withdraue himselfe from the
hands of his enimies.

There were diuerse men of good worship that
mainteined this Pateshull, and caused a transcript
of this libell to be written forth, affirming all to be
true that was therein mentioned. Amongst other
that thus fauoured this cause, were diuerse knights,
as sir William Scruill, sir Iewes Clifford, sir John
Clanbowe, sir Richard Starrie, and sir Thomas La-
timer, and the chiefe of all was one sir John Spore-
taule,

wicleuists.

A libell by frer
Pateshull
against his
brethren.

The fauori-
zers of frer
Pateshull.

tacite, who caused all the images to be taken downe and set aslee in corners, which John Aubrey, and his succellour sir Alane Burhull, or any their ancestors had set up in their chappell of Cheneleie. ¶ About the same time, the duke of Ireland sought to be divorced from his lawfull wife, a trim young ladie, daughter to the ladie Isabell, that was one of king Edward the third his daughters; and toke to wife one Anne, grone a Bohemier one of the quenes maids; by reason whereof, great occasion of slander and reproch grew, and diverse lordes, speciallie the duke of Gloucester, that was uncle to the ladie that was forsaken, toke great displeasure herewith. But sith the king allowed of all the duke of Irelands doings, the duke of Gloucester dissembled such injuries done to his niece for the time, till opportunitie might serue to revenge the same.

Dissention
between the
king & the
nobles.

1388
Anno Reg. 11.

Grafton.

Certaine
questions in
law deman-
ded of the
iustices.

A councill
holden at
Nottingham.

The duke of Ireland understood all these things, and therefore was the more circumspect for his owne safetie, and studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the duke of Gloucester out of the waie, as the man whom he most feared; least his life should be his destruction, by one means or other. Caster was now past the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland should haue transported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not set forward. But least somewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of some stir to be raised by the lordes of the realme, that wished him gone, according to the order prescribed at the last parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water side, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might devise how to dispatch the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, Derby, and Nottingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, before the duke of Ireland, Michell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Crislian lord chiefe iustice, and diuers other, which doubtfull of their owne safegards did what they could (as writers report) to moue the king forward to the destruction of these noblemen. After the king had remained in those parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe so that it seemed his voiage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

About the same time, Robert Crislian lord chiefe iustice of England came to Couentrie, and indured there two thousand persons. The king and the quene came to Grebie, and thither came by his commaundement the iustices of the realme. There were also with him at the same time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Clere duke of Ireland, Michell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Crislian, & his fellows, of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the last parlement, to the which he had given his consent in manner by constraint; and they made answer that he might. Then were the iustices commanded to come vnto Nottingham, where the king appointed to meet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a solemne councill in the castell of Nottingham, the morrow after S. Bartholomewes day.

In this councill were the aforesaid archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Crislian iustice, Robert Hamble iustice, and sundrie other, all which iustices were commanded to set their hands vnto the question underwritten, that by meanes thereof, those persons that were about the king thought they might haue good occasion to put the duke of Gloucester, and other lordes that were his complies vnto death, which in the last parlement were ordained to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all such as were consenting to the same. Diuerse of the iustices refused to subscribe, but yet

they were constrained to doe as the rest did, among the which was John Belknap, who bitterlie refused, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had persistered in the refusal, he had not escaped their hands, and yet when he had set to his seale, he burst out into these words; Now said he here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my desert, and I know, if I had not done this, I might not haue escaped your hands, so that for your pleasures and the kings I haue done it, and deserued thereby death at the hands of the lordes. Which indeed shortly followed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

An act of councill touching this
matter, in manner as followeth.

Memorandum that on the five and twentieth day of August, in the 11th year of king Richard the second, at the castell of Nottingham aforesaid, Robert Crislian lord chiefe iustice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borough, knights and associates of the said Robert Belknap, and John Lockton one of the kings sergeants at the law, being personalie required in presence of the lordes and other witnesses vnder written by our said soueraigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they should trulie answer to certene questions vnderwritten, and vpon the same by their discretions, to saie the law.

1 First, it was asked of them, whether the new statute, ordinance, and commission made in the last parlement held at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Wherevnto all of one mind answered, that they were hurtfull, and speciallie because they be against the kings will.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said statute, ordinance, and commission to be made. Wherevnto with one assent they answered, that they deserued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be punished, which moued the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission. Wherevnto they answered, that unless the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to lose their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what punishment they deserued, that compelled the king to the making of that statute, ordinance and commission. Wherevnto they gaue answer, that they ought to suffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be punished that interrupted the king so, that he might not exercise those things that appertained to his regalitie and prerogatiue. Wherevnto answer was made, that they ought to be punished

Subscribers
Polydora

Questions
law touching
of the iustices

nished as traitors.

Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cause of the calling together of the states of the parliament, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalf limited, upon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed, if the lords neuertheles would proceed upon other articles, and not meddle with those articles which the king had limited, till time the king had answered the articles proposed by them, notwithstanding the king inioined them to the contrarie: whether in this case the king might rule the parliament, and cause them to proceed upon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further? To which question it was answered, that the king should haue in this part the rule, for order of all such articles to be prosecuted, untill the end of the parliament. And if any presumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be punished as a traitor.

Item, it was asked, whether the king whensoever it pleased him might not dissolve the parliament, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not? Whereunto it was answered that he might.

Item, it was inquired, that for so much as it was in the king to remove such justices and officers as offend, and to punish them for their offenses; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the same officers and justices, upon their offenses in parlement or not? To this answer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to suffer as a traitor.

Item, it was inquired, how he is to be punished, that moved in the parlement, that the statute wherein Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be sent for; by inspection of which statute, the said new statute or ordinance and commission were conceived, and devised in the parlement?

To which question, with one accord, as in all the residue they answered, that as well he that so summoned, as the other, which by force of the same motion, brought the said statute into the parlement house, he as publike offenders and traitors to be punished.

Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgement given in the parlement against Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, were erroneous and reuocable, or not?

To which question likewise with one assent they said, that if the same iudgement were now to be given, the justices and sergeant aforesaid would not give the same: because it seemed to them, that the said iudgement is reuocable and erroneous in euery part.

In witnesse of the premisses, the justices & sergeant aforesaid to these presents haue set their seals, these being witnesses; Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Robert archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Ely, John bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, John Ripon clearke, and John Blake.

How beside these justices and sergeant, there were called at that present unto Nottingham, all other justices of the realme, and the shiriffes. Also, diuerse of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that some of them, hauing aforesaid confessed treason against the king by them imagined, and obtaining pardon for the same, were readie at his commandement, to recompense such fauour, in the accomplishment of whatsoeuer they knew might stand with his pleasure. Hereupon, they being impanelled to inquire of certaine treasons that were supposed to be committed by the lords, which in the last parlement had so caused things to passe, contrarie to the kings pleasure, indicted the same lords of manie crimes informed against them, & the Londoners indeed were caill reported of in those daies, by some writers, for their unsta- bilitie, one while holding on the kings part, and with such as were chiefe in counsell about him; and an other while on the lords side that were of a contrarie faction: according as the streame of their affections dyed them, and as they were carried alwaies perforce by the flood of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing passions, as they were assaulted by sundrie and vncertaine desires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, saying:

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

But now, as concerning the cause where the shiriffes were called hither, it was chiefe to vnderstand what power of men they might assure the king of, to serue him against the lords and barons, whom he took to be his enemies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie shortlie, they should so vse the matter, that no knight might be chosen, but such as the king and his counsell should name. But answer was made hereunto by the shiriffes, that the lords were so highly beloved of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to assemble any great forces against the lords; and as for choosing the knights of the shires, they said that the commons would vndoubtedly vse their ancient liberties, and privileges, in choosing such as they thought meetest. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the desire of the king and his counsellors, and that those which had bene called about this matter, were licensed to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland sent messengers into euery part of the realme, to retaine men of warre to assist them in the quarrell against the lords, if need were. Manie made answer, that sith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to stand, to deuiſe, and to do all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour against them. But a great number of other, that took it that they were retained for a good and necessarie purpose, promised to be readie, whensoever it should please the king to send for them.

The lords being in this meane while aduertised of these doings, were stricken with great heavinesse, for that not knowing themselves (as they took it) guiltie of anie offense, the king should thus take their destruction. Wherewith the duke of Gloucester, meaning to

Thom. Wall.

The lords indicted of diuerſe offences

why the shiriffes of all shires were sent for to the court.

Soldiers retained on all sides by the king against the lords.

The duke of
Glocester's
proclamation
upon his oth.

to mitigate the kings displeasure, received a solemn
oth before the bishop of London, and diuerse other
lords, protesting by the same oth, that he neuer ima-
gined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hin-
derance, but to his power had alwaies done what
he might to aduance the kings hono^r, prosperous
state and good liking, except onlie that he had giuen
no good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom
the king so much loued. And surtie for that the said
duke had dishonored his kinswoman, and the kings
also, he was firmelie determined to reuenge that in-
iurie vpon him; and herewith he besought the bishop
of London to declare that his words were vnto the
king.

Stout words
of the bishop
of London.

The bishop comming to the king, made report of
the duke of Glocesters protestation, confirmed with
his oth, in such wise, as the king began somewhat to
be persuaded that it was true. But when the earle of
Suffolke perceived that, fearing least the reconcilia-
tion of the king and the duke his vncle should turne
to his vndoyne, he began to speake against the duke,
till the bishop had him hold his peace; and told him,
that it nothing became him to speake at all. And when
the earle asked why so? Because said the bishop, thou
wast in the last parlement condemned for an euill
person, and one not worthy to liue, but onlie it plea-
seth the king to shew thee fauour. The king offend-
ed with the bishops presumptuous words, com-
minded him to depart: get him home to his church,
wherewith departed, and declared to the duke of
Glocester that he had heard and seene. Herevpon,
the great muliking that had bene afore time be-
twixt the king and the lords, was now more be-
heementlie increased, the duke of Ireland, the earle of
Suffolke, the archbishop of Yorke, the lord chief iu-
stice Robert Trisilian, and others, still procuring,
stirring, and confirming the kings heauie displea-
sure against the lords.

The lords
confer how
to pursue the
perils preten-
ded against
them.

The duke of Glocester considering to what con-
clusion these things tended, came secretlie to confe-
rence with the earles of Arundell, Marwike, and
Derbie, who were in like danger, if they provided
not more speedilie for their safetie, wherevpon he dis-
coursed to them the perill wherein they all stood in
common, so that when they woted what was the
most expedient meane to safe gard their liues, they
gathered their power together, determining to talke
with the king with their armour vpon their backs,
for their more suertie, as well concerning his pre-
tense to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour
which he bare to those whom they reputed to be trai-
tors, both to him, and to the whole state of the realme,
whereby the same could not auoid speedie ruine, if re-
medie were not the soner provided. The king on the
other part toke aduise, how he might apprehend these
lords, whom he toke to be plaine traitors; ech one a-
part, before they might gather their strengths about
them; and first, he sent the earle of Northumberland
and others, vnto the castell of Kedgeate, to take the
earle of Arundell, who laie there at that present. But
howsoeuer it fortuneth, the earle of Northumberland
came backe, and failed to accomplish that which he
had in commandement.

The earle of
Northumber-
land sent to
apprehend
the earle of
Arundell.

The earle of
Arundell tooke
with the
other lords.

After this, a great number were sent by night, to
haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to
the kings presence; or in case he resisted, to haue
slaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he be-
ing warned by a messenger, that came to him from
the duke of Glocester, conuied himselfe awaie, and
with such hands as he had got together, rode all that
night, so that in the morning hauing passed thirte
miles, not without great trauell, and all speed possi-
ble, he was in the morning aduanced to Haringie
parke, where he found the duke of Glocester, and the

earle of Marwike, with a great power of men about
them. At the same time the king was about to set
forward towards Canturburie, there to performe
some dole of pilgrimage, which he had undertaken
to make vnto the shrine of Thomas Becket. But a
brute was raised, and a slander belike contrived, to
bring him in further hatred of his subjects, that he
meant to scale ouer into France, vnto the French
king hauing promised to deliver vp into his hands
the towne of Calis, with the castell of Coniers, and
all the fortresses which his predecessors had possessed
in those parties, either by right from their ancestors,
or by warlike conquest.

Howbeit this his iournie to Canturburie was
suddenlie staied, vpon knowledge had of the gather-
ing together of the lords in Haringie parke, where-
with the king being sore amazed, called together such
as he trusted, to vnderstand what their opinion was
of the matter; and vnderstanding that the purposed
intention of the lords, for which they were so assem-
bled, was to this end (as they pretended to bring him
vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable or-
der of gouernement, he was straight stricken with
no small feare, demanding of them their aduise, what
was best for him to do in such troubleosome state of
things. Some were of this mind, that it should be
best to take to appease the lords with faire promises,
assuring them, that they should haue their desires. O-
ther thought it better to assemble the kings friends,
and ioining them with the Londoners, to go forth
and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among
them that were of this mind, the archbishop of Yorke
was the chiefest. But other that were thought to vnder-
stand more of the world than he did, iudged it not
wisdomes so to do, considering that if the king lost
the field, then should great harme and dishonour fol-
low; and if the victorie fell to his side, yet could he
gaine naught, but lose a great number of his sub-
jects.

Councilles
ben here
dealing
the kyng.

This was in Nouember, at that time the king, vpon
his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue
helden a parlement; but through those stirs, neither
his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went
forward: yet he caused order to be giuen, that no ci-
tizen of London should sell to the duke of Glocester,
the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any
armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or mat-
ter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a
great paine. But notwithstanding, the lords went
forward with their business; and before they approch-
ed the citie of London, they sent to the king the arch-
bishop of Canturburie, the lord John Louell, the lord
Cobham, and the lord John Deuereux, requiring to
haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him,
that were traitors and seducers both of him and the
realme, that sought nothing else, but to trouble both
poore and rich, and to sow discorde and variance betwixt
the king and his nobles. And further, they declared
that their comming was for the hono^r and wealth
both of the king and realme.

The lords
send messen-
gers to the
king.

But the king being ruled altogether by the duke
of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or three o-
ther, was fullie persuaded that the lords intended to
bring him vnder their gouernement, and therefore he
was counselled to make the French king his sure
friend in all vrgent necessities. And to be assured of
him, it was reported, that those counsellors aduised
him to render vp into the French kings hands the
towne of Calis, and all that he had else in possession,
on the further side of the sea. Howsoeuer this matter
went, truly it is, that the king sent for the mayo^r of
London, requiring to know of him how manie able
men they thought the citie could make. The mayo^r
answered, that he thought verely the citizens might
make

A list an-
swere of the
mayor of
London.

An. Reg. II.

The London-
ers refuse to
fight against
the lords.The earle of
Northumber-
land and the
lord Saliers
would to the
king in the
battle of the
lord.The lords
take an oath
together, to
pursue their
purpose
entirely.The lords
take the fa-
uour of the
Londoners.

Thom. Walf.

make in time of need, fiftie thousand men, within an
houres respit. Well said the king, then I beseech you
go and proue that will be done. But when the maior
began to attempt the matter, he was answered ge-
nerallie, that they would neuer fight against the
kings friends, and defenders of the realme (as indeed
they take the lords to be) but against the enemies of
the king and realme they would alwaies be ready to
fight, and shew what resistance they were able. This
answer the maior reported to the king.

At the same time there was about the king the
lord Kase Wasset, who said thus to the king flatlie
and plainlie: Sir, I haue bene, and cuer will be
your true liege man, and my bodie and goods shall
euer be at your graces commandement, in all iustice
and truth. But neuertheless, hereof I assure you,
that if my hap be to come into the field, I will with-
out faile aduenteure to haue my head broken for the
duke of Irelands pleasure. Likewise, the earle of
Northumberland, being at that time in the court,
spake these wordes to the king; Sir, there is no doubt
but these lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue
bene your true and faithfull subiects, and yet are, not
intending to attempt anie thing against your state,
wealth, & hono. Neuertheless, they fele themselves
soe molested and disquieted, by the wicked deuises
of certeine persons about you, that seeke to oppresse
them. And verelie without faile, all your realme is
soe greued therewith, both great and small, as well
lords as commons; and I see not the contrarie, but
they mind to aduenteure their liues with the lords
that are thus in armes, speciallie in this case, which
they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And sir,
now yee be in the chiefe place of your realme, and in
the place of your coronation, order your selfe now
therefore wiselie and like a king. Send to them to
come before your presence in some publike place,
where they may declare vnto you the intent and pur-
pose of their coming, accompanied with so great a
number of people into these parts, and I beleue it
verelie, they will shew such reasons that you will
hold them excused.

The archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord chan-
cello: bishop of Elie, and other of the bishops also
there present, affirmed the earles aduise to be good.
And the king considering wiselie the case as it stood,
began to be appeased, and accorded to followe their ad-
uise, desiring the archbishop of Canturburie, and the
bishop of Elie, to aduertise them of his pleasure, which
was, that he willed them to come to him to West-
minster, on sundaie then next following; and so they
repairing to the lords, made report to them of the
kings mind and purpose. But the duke of Gloucester,
and the other lords, were so fallie bent in their opini-
on, that they swore all whole together, that they would
neuer giue ouer their enterpryse, so long as they had
a penie to spend, in maintenance of their cause: and
if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the o-
uerliuers should persist therein, vntill the time that
they had brought their purpose to some good effect.

And because they doubted least the king might
surrender the citie of London against them, they deter-
mined first to aduertise the maior and the citie, how
their coming was onlie to reforme certeine great
enormities, which they set downe in writing, & sent
it to the maior and citizens, beseeching them of their
fauour and counsell therein. This done, they determi-
ned yet to keepe their daie on the sundaie following,
to appeare before the kings presence: but this was
not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with di-
uerse other noblemen of good credit, had undertaken
vpon their oaths for the kings behalfe, that no fraud
nor deceit, no perill nor euill pretense should be put

in practise against the lords, whereby they might come
to losse either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwise,
through the kings means; but that if he should go a-
bout anie such things, the said lord chancellor, and o-
ther the mediators should forwarne the lords therof.

When therefore the lords were ready, according
to couenant, to come vnto Westminster, they were
secretilie aduertised, that there was an ambush laid
in a place called the Welwes, and so they strated, and
came not at the appointed houre. Whereupon, when
the king demanded, how it forned that the lords
kept not promise, the bishop of Elie lord Chancellor
made him this answer; Because saith he, there is an
ambush of a thousand armed men or more laid in
such a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and
therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull
of your word. The king hearing this, was astonded,
and said with an oath, that he knew of no such thing,
and withall sent to the shiriffes of London, commanding
them to go to the Welwes, and (vpon search made)
if they found anie force of men there assembled, to
take and kill all such as they could laie hands vpon.
But sir Thomas Armet, and sir Nicholas Barmby,
knight, that had in deed assembled such a number of
men, when they vnderstood what order the king had
giuen therein, they sent their men backe to London.

The lords, after this, receiuing a safe conduct from
the king, and perceiving all to be safe and cleare,
came vnto Westminster with a strong power of
men about them. The king, when he heard they were
come, apparelled himselfe in his kinglie robes, and
with his scepter in hand came into the great hall
at Westminster. The lords as sone as they had sight
of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went
forth till they came to the nether steps, going vp to
the kings seat of state, where they made their second
obeisance; & then the king gaue them countenance
to come nicker to him, & they so did, kneeling downe
before him, & forthwith he rose from his place, and lo-
uinglie welcomming them, toke each of them by the
hand, and that done sate him downe againe. Where-
with the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to
the king, declared vnto these lords in effect as fol-
loweth. My lords (said he) our souereigne lord the
king, hearing that you were assembled in Haringie
parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would
not forthwith run vpon you with force to deströie
you, as he might easilie haue done, if he had not wi-
shed your safetie; for no man doubteth, but if his plea-
sure had bene to gather an armie, he might haue
had more people than you could haue got to haue ta-
ken part with you against him, and so hapilie much
bloud might haue bene spilt, which thing certeinlie
our souereigne lord the king vtterlie abhorreth: and
therefore vsing patience and mildnesse, he hath ra-
ther chosen to talke with you in peaceable wise, that
he may vnderstand the cause why yee haue assembled
so great a number of people together.

The lords for answer herevnto said, that they as-
sembled their forces together, for the profit both of the
king and realme, and speciallie to take awaie from
him such traitors as remained continuallie about
him; to wit, Robert de Clare duke of Ireland, Alexan-
der deuil archbishop of Dork, Michaell de la Pole
erle of Suffolke, Robert Trissilian that false iustice,
and sir Nicholas Barmby that disloyall knight of
London: for so they tearmed them all. And to proue
their accusations true, they threw downe their
gloues, protesting by their oaths to prosecute it by bat-
tell. Saie (saith the king) not so, but in the next par-
lement, which we doe appoint before hand to begin the
monow after the Purification of our ladie, both they
and you appearing, shall receiue (according to law)
all that which reason shall appoint. And now to you
my

An ambush
at Welwes.The lords
come before
the kings pre-
sence in West-
minster hall.The lord chan-
cello: speaketh
for the king to
the lords.The answer
of the lords &
their griefes.

The king re-
proueth the
lords doings.

The king ta-
keth both par-
ties into his
protection.

Grafton.

my lords I speake, by what meane or by what reason durst you so presumptuously take vpon you within this my land to rise thus against me? Did you thinke to feare me with such your presumptuous boldnesse? Have I not armed men sufficient to haue beaten you downe, compassed about like a fort of dore in a toile? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no more account of you, than of the vilest skulldions in my kitchen.

Then he had said these words, with much more, he lift vp the duke of Glocester that all this while kneeled afore him, and commanded the residue to rise also. After this, he led them courtcoulie to his chamber, where they sate and dranke together. And finally it was concluded, that they should all meet together againe at the next parlement, and ech one to receiue according to iustice: and in the meane time the king tooke aswell the duke of Glocester, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, so that neither part in the meane time should hurt the other, nor presume to make any gathering of people untill the time prefixed: and so this counsell brake vp, and the lords departed. These things yet were done in absence of the forenamed persons whom the lords accused, for they durst not appeare in presence of the lords; for if they had bene chid, they had smarted for it, as was thought, without any respect that would haue bene had of the kings presence. And now, for so much as it should be well knowne through all the citie, that these lords had nothing offended him with their coming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

A proclamation clearing the lords of treason.

Richard by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowne to all our liege people throughout our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Glocester, Richard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle of Warwicke, haue bene defamed of treason by certeine of our counsellors; we as it appertaineth, diligentlie searching the ground & cause of this defamacion, find no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof: wherfore we declare the same defamacion to be false, and untrue, and doo receiue the same duke and earles into our speciall protection. And because these accusers shall be notoriouslie knowne, their names are Alexander archbishop of Yorke, sir Robert Wreke duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and sir Nicholas Bampbye of London knight, who in like case shall remaine till the next parlement, and there shall stand to their answers. But in the meane time we likewise take them into our protection, strenghtie charging and commanding, that no manner of person charge any of the forenamed, either priuie or aperte, in word or deed, to hurt them, or cause any hurt to be done to them, but all quarrels & demands against them to be remitted, untill the next parlement prefixed.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readinesse and remembrance when the estates should be assembled, certeine of the lords were appointed to sit in the

meane time, to deuise how they might proceed orderly in redresse of such matters, as seemed to require some speedie reformation: neither did they thinke it good to depart in sunder, for feare to be intrapped through the malicious practise of their aduersaries. Which doubt of theirs seemed afterwards to stand them in stead of great wisdom. For immediatlie after, their said aduersaries came to the king, and declared how they were dailie in danger of their liues, by reason of the malice which the lords had conceiued against them onelie for the kings sake, and not for any matter of their owne. And whereas the king had promised that they should appeare at the next parlement, which was at hand, they told him plainelie that they neither durst nor would put their bodies in such manifest danger. The king considering herof, withdrew himselfe from the companie of the lords that were assigned to sit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to be talked of and ordered in the parlement; and so that counsell was deferred and laid aside: and the kings counsellors that stood in danger of their liues through the malice of the lords confederated with the duke of Glocester, got them from the court, and withdrew some into this place and some into that.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer into Calis in secret wise, by the helpe of a knight called sir William Ho, who holpe to conueie him thither. He had changed his apparell, and shauen his beard, and so disguised, counterfeited himselfe to be a poulter, and to sell certeine foule which he had gotten, by which means he was not knowne, till at length coming to the gates of the castell (whereof his brother sir Edmund de la Pole was capteine) he discovered to him (scarcelie knowing who he was, by reason he was so disguised) the whole occasion of his repairing thither, requiring him to keepe his counsell, and that he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a time, till he might heare more how things went in England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the bloudie hands of his enemies, that sought his life. His brother doubting what might be laid to his charge if he should conceale this matter from the lord William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne, strenghtwaies aduertised him thereof, who tooke order that the earle should forthwith be sent backe againe into England to the king, who receiued him with small thanks to them that brought him ouer, so that (as some write) his brother being one, was committed to prison for disclosing him. But yet because it should not seeme that he imprisoned him for that cause, he was shortly after set at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle was also permitted to go whither he would, although the king had undertaken to present him and others at the next parlement to answer their offenses, as the same might be laid to their charge.

But here it may be doubted by the vncertaintie of writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calis, before the iournie at Hatcote bridge, or after. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is certeine that since the time that the lords had forced the king to promise to exhibit him and others at the next parlement to abide their trials, he durst not openly remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the king departed from him. Whereupon the king being out of quiet for the absence of him and other his best beloued counsellors, whom he so much esteemed, and namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the said earle of Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Holmeier constable of the castell of Chester, a man of high valancie, and great power in the parties of Cheshire and Lancashire, to raise an armie of men, with the assistance of the Shire of Cheshire, to whom his com-

The earle of
Suffolke
fleth ouer
to Calis.

Grafton.

I com-
mended
to the
constable
of Chester
to take
care of
the earle
of Ireland
and
the king's
protection.

mission

An. Reg. 11.

mission of authoritie in that behalfe, under the great scale was directed, to the end that they might conueie the duke of Ireland in all safetie vnto the kings presence.

The shiriffe hauing receiued this commission, together with the foresaid Thomas Polineur raised a power, and such as refused to serue, in respect of such good will as they bare to the lords, he committed to prison, commanding the galleys to keepe them strict in irons with bread and water till his returne. ¹⁰ Where-
uer, the king sent to sir Rafe Clermon, & sir Richard Katcliffe, willing them to assist the other. And so thus they set forward with the number of five thousand men. When the lords understood that the duke of Ire-
land was marching towards London, with such a power of men, meaning to ioine with the London-
ners, and so to make as it had bene an invincible ar-
mie, they besirred themselves, and fell in hand to arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now they should not be negligent in their owne defense, ²⁰ but make haile for the dispatching of those that cras-
tie had gone about to conspire their deaths. And so these lords, to wit, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Derby, Arundell, Warwicke, and Nottingham, as-
sembled their powers out of all quarters, to encounter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got their companies together, they foresaid all the waies by which he was thought to come.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Polineur, Clermon, and Katcliffe, rode forward in statelie and glorious array, with an armie (as ye haue heard) of five thousand men, supposing that none durst come forth to withstand him. ³⁰ Fewer thelesse when he came to Katcote byrge, not past foure miles from Cheping-
don (which byrge if he could haue passed, he had bene out of the danger of all enemies) he suddenlie espied where the armie of the lords lay, not far di-
stant from him, readie in the midst of a ballie to a-
bide his coming. Some of the earle of Derbies companie had broken the byrge, & so stopped his pas-
sage. He therefore perceiuing his enemies intention, ⁴⁰ staied, and caused the kings banner to be spred, and began to set a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to shew themselves valiant; and herewith caused the trumpets to sound. But when it appeared that as some were readie to fight in his
quarrell, so there were other that quite forsooke him, and said statie they would not fight against so ma-
nie noble men, in so vniust a cause: he being thereof aduertised, began to war faint-hearted, and to prepare himselfe to escape by flight; and declaring no lesse o-
penlie vnto them, said: Before we come to ioine, I ⁵⁰ will seeke to withstand my selfe out of the waie, and
saue my selfe if I can; for me they onlie seeke, against you they haue no quarrell, so that I being thisted a-
waie, you shall easilie be preferred. Herewith one of the knights said to him; You haue brought vs out of
our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our
promise, you haue caused vs to take this iournie in
hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the
victorie with you, if our hap be such; or if fortune will
not so fauour vs, we are readie to spend our liues
with you. So said he, ye shall not so do, and forthwith
striking his horse with spurs, he fled from them for
fear which had set wings on his heeles, as one saith:

pedibus timor addidit alas.

Hereupon manie that were with him, cursing this his demeanour, prepared to yeld themselves to the lords. But Thomas Polineur determined to fight it out, sith the lords were not yet all come to-
gether to that place, but onlie the earle of Derby and certeine others. Fewer thelesse, after he had fought a
while, and perceiued it would not auail him to farie longer, as one despairing of the victorie, betooke him

likewise to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him the waie: and plunging into the riuer, which was at hand, it chanced that sir Thomas Apotimer being present amongst other at the same place, willed him to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would not, he threatened to shoot him through with arrowes in the riuer where he stood. If I come (said Polineur) will ye saue my life? I will make the no such promise (said sir Thomas Apotimer) but notwithstanding, either come vp, or thou shalt presentlie die for it. Well then (said Polineur) if there be no other remedie, suffer me to come vp, and let me trie with hand-blowes, either with you or some other, and so die like a man. But as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & straightwaies drawing forth his dagger, strooke him into the
baines, and so dispatched him. This was the end of sir Thomas Polineur, which through his bold and rash aduenture, in a most dangerous and desperat
case, he pulled vpon himselfe; and might as well haue auoided as incurred, if the same prouident care of safetie had taken him in the head that moued the duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie: wherein he seemed to remember that there is no safe attempting of any perilous enterprise without dread of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be feared, can tell in like sort when it is to be under-
taken; as the wise man verie sententiouslie saith:

Animum vereri qui scit, sit tuto agredi.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) seeking to escape by flight, came to the riuers side; but finding the byrge broken, he galoped till he found an other byrge, where he found a num-
ber of archers readie to stop his passage. When he saw that he was thus inclosed with his enemies on the one side, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture; and casting a waie his gantlets, and sword (to be the more nimble) gave his horse the spurres, and leapt into the riuer; but mis-
sing the sword, and not able to land with his horse on the further side, he forsooke him, and swimming ouer so well as he might, got to the bank, and so escaped. It was now night, and therefore his enemies ha-
uing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him not; but his horse, helmet, curasses, gantlets, and sword being found, it was thought berelie that he had bene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was that he had passed the seas, and was got into Holland, there he had no great frendlie welcome, by reason
that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that countrie, bare such good will to his cousins of Eng-
land, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart forth of his countrie, as immediatlie thereupon he did, from thence resorting to the bishoppe of Treuit, and after into other countries, till finallie he ended the course of his life, as after in place conuenient shall appeare.

But now to returne to the armies where we left them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Polineur slaine (as before ye haue heard) the armie of the lords set vpon the people that were come with the duke of Ireland (as hath bene said) forth of Ches-
shire, Lancashire, and Wales; and taking them as enemies, spoiled them of their horse, armes, bowes and arrowes. The knights and esquires had their ar-
mes and horses againe to them restored, and were re-
turned with the lords to serue them: but the com-
mons without either armes or weapon were sent home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The
duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were found in his trunks or males, which the king had
written to him, exhorting him with all speed to re-
paire vnto London, with what power he might
make,

Thomas Polineur slaine.

The duke of Ireland fled into Holland.

Letters found in the duke of Irelands trunks.

The lords first to stop the passage at the duke of Ireland.

The duke of Ireland his followers re- wait for him.

The duke of Ireland fleeth his armie.

172. An. 11. 9.

Borford.

make, and there he should find him ready to live and die with him. Such was the conclusion of this battell, which happened nere unto Borford, fast by Walslake, to the great reioysing of manie through the realme; for that the enemies the reof (as they took the matter) were thus overthowne. But yet the cleaving awaie of the duke of Ireland did somewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was uncerteine. After this the duke of Gloucester, and the other lords went to Orford, being sozie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

Tho. Wals.

A brate raised that king Richard meant to yield up Calis into the French kings hands.

At the same time, or rather before, the archbishop of Poike, and the lord chiefe iustice sir Robert Trililian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durst not be seene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bidge, were come (as ye haue heard) to Orford; we find that the same time a brate was raised (whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie) how there was a messenger taken being sent from the French king with letters, in which was contained a licence of safe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bullongne, with a certeine number limited, where they should find the French king come downe thither ready to receiue them, to the end that for a certeine summe of monie, which the French king should giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortresses in those parts, which were in the Englishmens hands, should be delivered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England should do his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gascoigne, and so to haue acknowledged himselfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got these letters, and taken counsell together how to proceed in their businesse, to bring the same to good end, remoued from Orford, and on Christmas euen they came to S. Albons, and there staid that daie and the next.

The lords come to London with a great armie.

It. Richard keepeth his Christmas in the Tower of London. The lords send to the Maio; and citizens of London to understand their meaning.

The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.

The Londoners incline to the lords.

On saint Stephens daie they took their waie to London with an armie of fortie thousand men, as some write; & comming into the fields besides Clerkenwell, mustered their men, being diuided in three severall battels verie well appointed with armes and weapoun, that it was a beautifull sight to behold them. The king kept his Christmas, not at Westminster, but in the Tower; not doubting but there to be defended that chance sooner should happen. The lords mistruiking the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the suburbs. They sent yet two knights, and two esquires, unto the Maio; and Aldermen of the citie, to understand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they feared them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no small feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was best for them to take, weighing diuers perils; as first the kings displeasure, if they opened their gates unto the lords; and if they shut them forth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were ready to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer so little provoked. Besides this, they stode most in doubt, least if the wealthiest citizens should not giue their consent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner sort, and such as wished rather to see some burke burke than to continue in peace, would sake by force to set open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauecke, and spoile whatsoeuer might be found of value in the rich mens houses.

These doubts with all the circumstances being well weighed and considered, the Maio; Nicholas Craton, and certeine of the chiefe men in the citie, went

forth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleasure, with all things necessarie as they should deuise. The Maio; caused also wine, ale, bread, and cheese, to be distributed among the armie, so as ech one had part, which courtesie turned greatlie afterwarde to the commoditie of the citie. The lords upon search made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laiens of men in ambushes within the citie to intrap them, or otherwise, but that all was sure inough and cleare without anie such cunning meaning, they entered the citie and there abode quietly. Then went the archbishop of Canturburie and others betwixt the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the first seemed little to easene the matter, saing to the archbishop; Well let them lie here with their great multitudes of people hardlie till they haue spent all they haue, and then I trust they will returne poore inough and needie, and then I doubt not but I shall talke with them; and vse the matter so as iustice maie require.

The lords being informed hereof, were maruellouslie moued, and swore that they would not depart till they had spoken with him face to face, and forthwith they sent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king should scape their hands, and then laugh them to scorn. When the king then perceiued himselfe to be inclosed on ech side, he talked effronces with the archbishop and his associates that were messengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reasonable order; whereupon they required that he should on the morrow next insuing come unto Westminister, where he should vnderstand their demands. When the king heard that, he refused to come unto Westminister, but willed that they should come to him there in the Tower. The lords sent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be suspected, for that they might there be surprised by some guilefull practise deuised to intrap them. The king hereunto made answer, that they might send some two hundred men, or so manie as they should thinke good, to make a thorough search, whether they needed to feare anie such thing; and this accordingly was done: they hauing the keyes of the gates and of all the strong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower sent unto them.

On the Fridaye, the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, and Nottingham, came to the king, where he was set in a pavillion richly arraied; and after their humble salutations done, and some talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings request with him into his chamber, where they recited unto him the conspiracie of their aduersaries, through which they had ben indicted. They also shewed forth the letters which he had sent to the duke of Ireland, to leaue an armie unto their destruction. Likewise the letters, which the French king had written to him, containing a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminishing of his honor, to the decay of his power, & losse of his fame. During the time of this communication also, the earle of Derby desired the king to behold the people that were assembled in sight before the Tower, for the preservation of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to see such a godlie armie and strength, as he declared to them no lesse, the duke of Gloucester said unto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing subiects that haue risen to destroye those false traitors, that haue misled you with their wicked and naughtie counsell.

The king being brought to his wits end, as well with those things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwise with the sight of that great multitude

The king's answer to the lords.

The king's answer to the lords.

The lords' answer to the king.

R. Craton.

Thom. Wals.

The lords' answer to the king.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Walling.
The incertain
of the kingThe king
pelled to con-
fession to the
loves request.Certaine per-
sons put out
of the court.Certaine la-
dies expelled
the court.

itude of people, seemed greatlie amazed. Whereup-
on the lords, vnder condition that the next daie he
should come to Westminster to heare more of their
minds, and to conclude further for the behoufe of the
common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue
of him, meaning so to depart: but the king desired
them to tarrie all night with him and the quene. The
duke thinking to make all sure, made excuse that he
durst not be absent from all those folkes, which they
had brought with them, for feare that some disorder
might arise, either in the armie, or in the citie: yet at
the kings instance, the earles of Nottingham and
Derbie tarried there all night. The king before his
going to bed, was quite turned concerning his de-
termination and promise made to go the next daie to
Westminster, through such whispering tales as was
put into his eares, by some that were about him, tel-
ling him that it stood neither with his safetie, nor ho-
nour, so lightlie to agree to depart from the tower,
vnto such place as the lords had thus appointed him,
to serue more for their purpose than for suertie of
his person.

When the lords therefore vnderstood that he would
not keepe promise with them, they were greatlie of-
fended, inasmuch as they sent him flat word, that if
he would not come (according to promise) they would
suertie chafe another king, that would and ought to
obey the faithfull counsell of his lords. The king with
this message being touched to the quicke, to satisfie
their minds, and to auoid further perill, remoued the
next morning vnto Westminster, where the lords
comming before his presence, after a little other
talke, they declared vnto him, that aswell in respect
of his owne honour, as the commoditie & wealth of
his kingdom, it was behouefull, that such traitors,
and most wicked & slanderous persons, as were no-
thing profitable, but hurtfull to him and his louing
subiects, should be remoued out of his court; and that
other that both could and would serue him more ho-
norable and faithfullie were placed in their romes.
The king, although fore against his mind, when he
saw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted
power to withstand their pleasures, condescended to
do what they would haue him.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that
Alexander Beuill archbishop of Yorke, John Four-
ham bishop of Durham lord tresorer, Thomas Ru-
shoke a frier of the order of the preachers, bishop of
Chichester, and confessor to the king, were worthy to
be auoided the court. But the archbishop of Yorke,
and the bishop of Chichester would abide no recko-
nings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was
not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the
court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Bur-
nell, the lord Beaumont, Albrey de Aier, Baldwin
de Beresford, Richard Aderburie, John Morth, Tho-
mas Clifford, and John Louell knights. These were
dismissed out of the court, and remoued from the
king, but not discharged, for they were constrained to
put in suerties to appeare at the next parlement.
There were also certaine ladies expelled the court, as
those that were thought to do much harme about the
king, to wit, the ladie Poynings, wife to John Morth
of Potwen, and the ladie Moulinge, with others,
which also found suerties to answer at the next par-
lement, to all such things as might be objected against
them. Moreover there were arrested and committed
to severall pprisons, sir Simon Burle, William
Climham, John Beauchampe of Holt steward of
the kings house, sir John Salisburie, sir Thomas
Trivet, sir James Warneis, sir Nicholas Dag-
worth, and sir Nicholas Wambze knights. Also Ri-
chard Clifford, John Lincoln, Richard Pittford the
kings chaplains, and Nicholas Seclake deane of the

kings chappell, whose word might do much in the
court. There was also apprehended John Blake an
apprentice of the law: all which persons were kept in
strict ward till the next parlement, in which they
were appointed to stand vnto their triall and an-
swers.

Shortlie after, to wit, the morrow after the Purifi-
cation of our ladie, the parlement began, the which
was named the parlement that wrought wonders.
The king would gladlie haue prologed the time of
this parlement, if by any meanes he might. The
lords came to the same parlement, with a sufficient
armie for their owne safeties. On the first day of this
parlement, were arrested as they sat in their places,
all the iustices (except sir William Shipworth) as
sir Roger Fulthorp, sir Robert Welknep, sir John
Carie, sir John Holt, sir William Woke, and John
Aloston the kings sergent at law, all which were
sent to the tower, and there kept in severall places.
The cause whie they were thus apprehended, was for
that, where in the last parlement, diuerse lords were
made gouernours of the realme, both by the assent
of the same parlement, and also by the aduise and
counsell of all the iustices then being, and indentures
tripartite therof made, of the which one part reman-
ned with the king, an other with the lords so chosen to
gouerne the realme, and the third part with the ius-
tices: and yet notwithstanding, the said iustices at a
counsell holden at Nottingham (as yee haue heard
before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Whereup-
on it was now determined, that they should make
answer to their doings.

Moreover, in the beginning of this parlement,
were openlie called Robert Aier duke of Ireland,
Alexander Beuill archbishop of Yorke, Michael de
la Pole earle of Suffolke, sir Robert Trisilian lord
cheefe iustice of England, to answer Thomas of
Wolfe duke of Gloucester, Richard earle of Ar-
rundell, Henrie earle of Derby, and Thomas earle
of Nottingham, vpon certeine articles of high trea-
son, which these lords did charge them with. And forso-
much as none of these appeared, it was ordeined by
the whole assent of the parlement, that they should be
banished for euer, and their lands and goods mouea-
ble and immouable to be forfeit and seized into the
kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted.
Shortlie after was the lord cheefe iustice, Robert Tri-
silian found in an apothecaries house at Westmin-
ster, lurking there, to vnderstand by spies dailie what
was done in the parlement: he was descried by one
of his owne men, and so taken and brought to the
duke of Gloucester, who caused him forthwith the same
daie to be had to the tower, and from thence drawne
to Tiburne, and there hanged.

On the morrow after, sir Nicholas Wambze, that
sometime had bene maior of London, was brought
forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had
manie friends that made sute to saue his life. This
man had done manie oppressions within the citie of
London (as was reported.) In his maiortie, he
caused great & monstrous stocks to be made to im-
prison men therein, and also a common are to strike
off the heads of them which should resist his will and
pleasure, for he was so highlie in the kings fauour,
that he might do what he would. And the report
went, that he had caused eight thousand or more to be
indicted, which before had taken part with the lords,
intending to haue put them all to death, if God had
not shortened his daies. Manie other euill fauoured
reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to
haue changed the name of London, and to haue na-
med it little Troie, of which citie baptised with that
new name, he purposed to be intituled duke. But
these were forged rumors deuised and spread abroad

The parlement
that wrought
wonders.R. Grafton.
Thom. Wallin.
R. Grafton.The iustices
arrested & sent
to the tower.why the ius-
tices were ap-
prehended.The duke of
Ireland & his
associates at-
tainted of trea-
son by this
parlement.Trisilian
cheefe iustice
descried by his
owne man &
executed at
Tiburne.

Sir Nicholas
Wrambrey
executed with
an axe of his
owne deuise.

in those daies, as many other were, partie by the
vaine imagination of the people, and partie of pur-
pose, to bring those whom the king fauoured further
out of the peoples liking. But now touching sir Ni-
cholas Wrambrey: in the end being thus called to an-
swer his transgressions, he was found guilty, and had
iudgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to
be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had
deuised: seruing him herein as Phalaris the tyrant
sometime serued Perillus, the inventor of that ex-
quisite torment of the brazen bull, wherein the offen-
dor being put (and the counterfet beast by force of fier
made glowing hot) hauing his tong first cut out,
through extremitie of paine made a bellowing al-
waies as he cried, as if it had bene the verie noise of
a naturall bull. Of which strange torment Perillus
himselfe first tasted, suffering death by an engine
of his owne deuising, which he thought should haue
purchased him a good lining, whereof the poet saith:

Ouid. li. x. de art.

per Phalaris tanto violentius membra Perilli

Torruit, infelix inuitus auctor opis.

Diuerses that
stood against
the lords ex-
ecution.

After this, sir John Salisburie, and sir James Ber-
neis, both knights and lustie young men, were by
iudgement of parlement drawne and hanged. When
solved John Beauchampe of the Holt, lord steward
of the kings house, that had serued king Edward the
third, and his sonne Lionel duke of Clarence: who
likewise by decree of this parlement was drawne
and hanged. Also John Blake plquier, who in an
infortunate houre stood against the lords in the coun-
cell at Nottingham, was now drawne and hanged,
and so was one Thomas Uffe. Last of all, or as some
hold, first of all, was sir Simon Burle beheaded, al-
though the earle of Derby did what he could to saue
his life, by reason whereof, great dissention rose be-
twixt the said earle, and the duke of Gloucester: for
the duke being a fore and a right seuerer man, might
not by any meanes be remoued from his opinion
and purpose, if he once resolved vpon any matter.
Some spite he bare (as was thought) towards the
said sir Simon Burle, both as well for the faithfull
friendship, which was growne betwixt the duke of
Ireland, and the said sir Simon, as also for that he
looked to haue had such offices and rones which sir
Simon inioined, by the kings gracious fauour and
grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenship of
the cinque ports, and constableness of the castell of
Douer, and the office of high chamberleine.

The duke of
Gloucester a
seuerer man.

Sir Simon
Burle.

But now, because of all these which were condem-
ned and executed at this parlement, in our common
chronicles there is least written; and in Froissard, and
diuerses private pamphlets I haue read most of this
sir Simon, I haue thought good to set downe some
part of his life, so large as this volume may well
beere, although a great deale more briefe than where
I found it. This sir Simon was the son of sir John
Burle knight of the garter, and brought up in his
youth vnder his kinsman doctor Walter Burle, who
(as in the latter end of king Edward the third you
haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in
the bringing by of the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to
the said king Edward. By this occasion he grew in-
to such fauour with the prince, that afterwards the
said prince committed vnto him the gouernance of
his sonne Richard of Burdeaux, whom he was of a
gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue
so great loue and liking towards him, that when he
came to the crowne and was king, he advanced him
highly to great honours and promotions, in so much
that at one time & other he was made knight of the
garter, constable of Douer, lord Warden of the
cinque ports, lord chamberleine, earle of Hunting-
ton, and also one of the priue counsell to the king.

* Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton, fol. 191.

Neither was there any thing done concerning

the affaires appertaining vnto the state without his
counsell, appointment, and direction, wherein he
so much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the duke
of Ireland, that he was sore enuied, and greatlie ha-
ted of diuers of the rest of the nobilitie, spectallie of
the kings vnckle the duke of Gloucester, who vpon ma-
lice that he bare to the man, not so much for his owne
demeanour, as for his alics, and peradventure for
desire of his rones, more than of his life, caused him
to be accused of diuers offenses against the crowne,
realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they
surmized against him) spoiled and wasted the kings
treasure, and withhelden the paie of the souldiers and
men of warre, whereupon he was arrested, called to
account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make by
the same, was found in arrears 2500000 franks.
And although for one part thereof he demanded al-
lowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out
in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings mar-
riage, and for the residue desired daies of payment, yet
he could obtaine neither. Further, he was accused
that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great
summes of monie, conuocied the same to Douer, and
from thence sent it in the night by sea into Cer-
manie.

Lastlie, the archbishop (forsooth) and the monks of
Cantuarburie charged him that he sought the means
to remoue the thine of the archbishop Thomas, o-
therwise called Thomas Becket, from Cantuarburie
vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, least the French
men being assembled in Flanders to invade Eng-
land, should land in Kent and take Cantuarburie, and
spoil it, where indeed (as they surmized against him)
he meant to send it ouer the seas vnto the king of
Boheme. Whereupon he was first committed to the
tower, and before the king or his other friends could
procure his deliuerance, he was without law or ius-
tice, before any of the residue (as some hold) brought
forth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commande-
ment of the duke of Gloucester, and other of his fac-
tion, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge,
in so much that when he understood it, he spake manie
sore words against the duke, affirming that he was a
wicked man, and worthe to be kept thorow, sith vnder
a colour of doing iustice, he went about to de-
stroye cuerie good and honest man. The king was al-
so offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers
presumptuous doings, though the said duke of Yorke
being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that
the state of the common-wealth might haue bene re-
dressed without losse of any mans life, or other cru-
ell dealing: but the duke of Gloucester, and diuers o-
ther of the nobilitie, the lesse that they passed for the
kings threatening speech, so much more were they
readie to punish all those whom they toke to be their
enemies. Indeed the said sir Simon Burle was
thought to beare himselfe more losse, by reason of
the kings fauour, than was requisite, which procured
him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be
in any condition their equals in authoritie.

It should appeare by Froissard, that he was first of
all, in the beginning of these stirs betwixt the king
and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwith-
standing all the shift that either the king, or the duke
of Ireland, or any other of his friends could make
for him, by the duke of Gloucesters commandement
he was cruelly beheaded, so greatlie to the offense of
the king, and those that were his trustie counsellors,
that thereupon the king caused the duke of Ireland
the sooner to assemble an armie against the said duke
and his complices, thereby to restraine their presump-
tuous proceedings. But whether he was thus at the
first or last executed, to please the king the better, now
at this parlement, amongst others that were con-
demned

Froissard

Thom. W.

demned in the same: his lands were given to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards disposed to diuerse men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parlement holden in the one and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the act of attainder of the said sir Simon was repealed: and at an other parlement holden in the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vnganted and vnsold, were restored to sir John Burle knight, sonne and heire of sir Roger Burle, brother to the said Simon, of whom lineallie is descended Thomas Cinsquier, noto secretarie to the queenes maiesties counsell in the north parts. And thus far touching sir Simon Burle, of whom manie reports went of his dissolall dealings towards the state, as partie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other slanderous tales that were spred abroad of him, one was that he consented to the deliuering of Doner castell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, so no doubt manie things that the persons aforesaid, which were executed, had bene charged with, at the least by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although hapilie the substance of those things, for which they died, might be true in some respect.

Sir William Elmham that was charged also for withholping of the soldiers wages, was charged himselfe therof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iustices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but such meanes was made for them vnto the queene, that she obtained pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certaine portion of monie to them assigned for their daillie sustentation: the names of which iustices so condemned to exile were these, Robert Belknap, John Holt, John Craie, Roger Fulthope, William Burgh, and John Lokton. Finally, in this parlement was an oth required and obtained of the king, that he should stand vnto and abide such rule and order as the lords should take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but also of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In these troubles was the realme of England in these daies, and the king brought into that case, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vnckles, and other to them associat.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie of ships and men of warre. There went with him in this iournie, of noble men, the earles of Nottingham & Deuonshire, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Sporeur, sir John Daubzetecourt, sir William Shelie, sir John Warwicke or Bertwicke, sir Stephan de Liberie, sir Robert Here, sir Peter Spontbertie, sir Elwes Clanbott, sir Thomas Coque or Coke, sir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerse others. There were a thousand men of armes, and thre thousand archers. The purpose for which they were sent, was to haue aided the duke of Britaine (if he would haue received them) being then efflonces run into the French kings displeasure, for the impysioning of the lord Clifton constable of France.

But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agreement with the French king, the earle of Arundell dreyed with his nauie alongst the coasts of Poitou, and Saintonge, till at length he arrived in the haven that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Sparrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, spoile, and fetch booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell issued forth to skirmish with the Englishmen, but they were easilie put to flight, and folow-

ed euen to the barriers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perrot le Bernois a capteine of Gascoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limosin, and lay in the fortreffe of Saluset, came forth the same time, and made a roade into Berrie with foure hundred spears. The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Sparrant fiftene daies, returned to his wypp, and finally came backe into England, and Perrot le Bernois likewise returned to his fortreffe. ¶ About the same time was a truce taken betwixt the parties English and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the first daie of August, and to indure till the first of Maie next ensuing.

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the westerne borders, & what with killing as also with burning they did much mischief. For euer they shewed extreme crueltie against young children and sucklings, against women bigge with child and in trauell, against weake and wearily men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gilsland, within the lordship of the lord Dacres, gathering them together into houses, and shutting them by, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was said) of two hundred and aboue.

This yeare in August, the Scots invaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne surthrew a power of Englishmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his sonnes had leauied against them. In this battell the earle Douglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was laine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother sir Ralfe, sonnes to the said earle of Northumberland, were taken prisoners, as in the Scotish chronicles ye may read more at large. After the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerse statutes were ordeined; as for the limiting of seruants wages; for punishment of bagaunt persons; for the inhibiting of certeine persons to weare weapons; for the debarring of vnlawfull games; for maintenance of shooting in the long bow; for remouing of the staple of woles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; for labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder seale of the hundred where they dwell. There was also an act made, that none should go forth of the realme, to purchase ante benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obtained of the king; and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fiftieth of the laitie. Forouer, during the time of this parlement, as sir Thomas Criuet was riding towards Barnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horse too much with the spurs, the horse fell with him so rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were so burst and perished, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioiced at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be exceeding haughty and proud; as also for that he was suspected not to haue dealt iustlie with the bishop of Norwich, in the iournie which the bishop had made into Flanders: but speciallie men had an ill opinion of him, for that he stood with the king against the lords, counselling him in the yeare last past to dispatch them out of the way. ¶ Sir John Holland, the kings brother on the mothers side, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had bene with the duke of Lancaster, was now made earle of Huntingdon.

¶ In Julie, whiles the king was at Shene, there swarmed together in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, insomuch that in manner of skirmishing they incountered ech other; and making great slaughters on both sides, were in the end swept a-

The earle of Arundell returned out of France.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie. D Scotish crueltie and more than barbarous bloodthirstie manie.

In overthrew given to the Englishmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

Fabian. Caxton. A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Criuet laine with the fall of his horse.

1389 Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

W. H.

waie

Craton.

The iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

The earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie, in and of the duke of Britaine.

Wherefore the Sporeur, as may be shewen ganerle.

Anno Reg. 12.

Wentell and
slaughter be-
twene them.

Commis-
sioners sent to
treat a truce
betwene
England,
France, and
Scotland.

Froissard.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Lancaster ab-
bie.

Scholars of
Oxford to-
gether by the
cares.

Truce of 3
years be-
twene the
kings.

The Scots
in the time of
treacie spoile
the countie of
Northumber-
land.

The Scots
having prou-
ided an armie
to invade
England are
hardly per-
suaded to ac-
cept the truce.

waie from the place where they lay dead, with brui-
ses and brawns by heaps. This was deemed an un-
luckie prognosticat of some mischiefe like to fall upon
the necke of the land.

Also in this twelfth yeare, were commissioners ap-
pointed to meet at Balingham, betwixt Calis and
Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the
realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter
Skirlow bishop of Durham, that had bene latelie
before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from
whence John Fordham had bene translated vnto
Elie, was sent as head commissioner for the king of
England, and with him were ioined sir Ihon Clan-
bow, and sir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Ri-
chard Kowhale cleerke, a doctor of law. By Frois-
lard it appeareth that the earle of Salisbury was one,
and sir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis ap-
pointed likewise as an assistant with them. The bi-
shop of Baieur, the lord Valeran earle of St. Poule,
sir William de Melin, sir Nicholas Bacque, and sir
John le Percier came thither for the French king.
And for the king of Scots there appeared the bishop
of Aberdeine, sir James and sir David Lindsey, and
sir Walter Sanckler, knights. After long treatie, and
much ado, at length a truce was concluded to begin
at Midsummer next, and to last thre years after.

In this yeare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time,
there sprang a pitifull strife in Oxford, the variance
in the yeare before being not fullie allaid, but both
sides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welsh
scholars being evermore quareulous, and hauing the
southerlie scholars taking their parts, rose against
the scholars of the north, so that to and fro manie
a deadlie mischiefe happened betwene them. In the
end, this strife did so increase, that there was a daie
of skirmish appointed and agreed upon by both sides
to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Tho-
mas of Woodstoke duke of Gloucester all this sturre
was appeased, and manie of the Welsh scholars bar-
nished from the vniuersitie. On the thursdaie be-
fore Easter (being maiwdaie thursdaie) the lord
Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the west marches
entred Scotland for tie leagues, and spoiling Ffolwike,
made wast at his pleasure, and brought awaie with
him manie Scots prisoners and captiues. About this
time a truce of thre years was taken betwene king
Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine,
Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on
the first daie of August in the nether parts of the
realme both by sea and land; and on the fiftenth of
August in the further parts, because knowledge
could not be giuen thereof without some long time.

Whilest the commissioners were occupied in the
marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this
truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did
much mischiefe, leading awaie manie prisoners,
men and women, besides other great booties and
preies which they got abroad in the countie. The lord
Thomas Holwdaie earle of Nottingham was sent
with five hundred spears to reuenge those attempts
of the enemies: but for that his power was small in
comparison to theirs, he preuailed little or nothing a-
gainst them. Sir John Clanbow, and sir Richard
Kowale cleerke, took the French kings oth; and the
earle of saint Daule that had married the ladie Paule
Courtne with other noblemen, came into Eng-
land, and receiued the kings oth here for the confir-
ming of this last mentioned truce. The Scots might
not without much ado be persuaded to accept this
truce, being readie the same time with an armie to
enter into England, but yet through the diligence of
such Frenchmen as went thither for that purpose, at
length they agreed.

This yeare the king by counsell of some that were

about him, called the nobles and great men of the
realme together, and as they were set in the counsell
chamber staiong till he came: at length he entring
into the same chamber, and taking his place to sit a-
mong them, demanded of them, of what age he was
now? Whereunto answer was made, that he was full
twentie years old. Then (said he) I am of years suffi-
cient to gouerne mine owne house and familie, and
also my kingdome: for it seemeth against reason that
the state of the meanest person within my kingdome
should be better than mine. Cuerte heire that is once
come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his
father be not liuing, to order his businesse himselfe:
then that thing which is permitted to enerie other
person of meane degree by law, why is the same de-
nied vnto me? These words vttered he with the cou-
rage of a pince, not without the instigation and set-
ting on of such as were about him, whose drift was by
discountenancing others to procure preferment to
themselues, abusing the kings tender years and
greene wit, with ill counsell for their aduantage:
there as it had bene more meete to haue giuen him
those precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of
the institution of a pince; and among others this:

*Non tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit
Occurrat, mentemq. domet respectus honesti.*

Claudian.

When the barons had hard the words of the king,
being therewith assonied, they made answer, that
there should be no right abridged from him, but that
he might take vpon him the gouernment as of rea-
son was due. Well said he, yee know that I haue
bene a long time ruled by tutors, so as it hath not
bene lawfull to me to do arie thing, were it of
neuer so small importance, without their consents.
Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further
with matters pertaining to my gouernment, and after
the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will
call to my counsell such as pleaseth me, and I will
deale in mine owne businesse my selfe. And therefore
I will first that the chancelor resigne to me his scale.
When the archbishop of Yorke (who in the yeare last
past had bene remoued from Elie vnto Yorke, and
Alexander Nevill displaced) had deliuered vnto him
the scale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his
bosome, and suddenie rising, departed forth of the
chamber, and after a little while returning, sat downe
again, and deliuered the scale to the bishop of Win-
chester, William Wickham, and so made him chan-
celor, although soe against the same bishops will.
He made also manie other new officers, remouing
the old, and used in all things his owne discretion and
authoritie. The duke of Gloucester, the earle of War-
wike, and other honorable and worthy men, were di-
charged and put from the counsell, and others placed
in their romes, such as pleased the king to appoint.
At the same time he made five new iustices.

Of this assuming the regiment to himselfe, as di-
uerse diuerlie report: so Henric Knighton a man li-
uing in those daies, and committing to writing the
occurents of that tumultuous time, saith as follow-
eth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a counsell
at Westmister, and in the tract of the Inuenton of
the crosse, comming personallie to the counsell house
he remoued all the great officers (contrarie to expec-
tation and thinking) from their offices, and at his
pleasure placed in their romes whome he list. He re-
moued the archbishop of Yorke lord chancelor, and
put in his place the bishop of Winchester: he remo-
ued the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and put an-
other in his place: he remoued the cleerke of the
privie scale, and all other: so likewise did he the ius-
tices of either bench. But least the affaires of the
realme should in the meane while be hindered, he
commanded the iustices of law to follow and pro-
ceede

The kings
question is
who looke
others into
counsell, be-
ter.

The king
kingdome
the gouern-
ment of all
things dispo-
sers: let
each others in
their romes.

Wicham bi-
shop of Win-
chester made
chancelor.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Lancaster ab-
bie.

cute things requisite as they were wont, till such time as he was better advised touching the proud-
ding of other justices. The earle of Arundell likewise,
unto whom the government of the parlement was
committed, and the admiraltie of the sea, was remo-
ued; and the earle of Huntington put in his roome.
In like sort dealt the king with the residue of his offi-
cers, saing that he ought not to be inferior in degree
of lesse account than an other ordinarie heire that
fouler within the realme of England; sith the law
and custome of the realme of England auereth, that
enerie heire being in the guardianship of anie lord,
when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of
age, ought presentlie to enjoy the inheritance left
him by his father, and is lawfullie to possesse his pa-
trimonie, and frelie to dispose and order his owne
goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come
to passe, that I thus manie yeares have liued vnder
your counsell and gouernement; and now first to
God, secondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that
you haue gouerned and supported me, mine inheri-
tance, and my realme of England, as well within
as without, & speciallie against our enemies round
about vs, all renoume of honour and praise to vs
and our kingdome alwaies safelie reserved. But
now God hath so dealt for vs, that we are of full age,
so that we are two and twentie yeares old at this
present: and we require that we may frelie and at
libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne
both our selues and our inheritance; and we will
haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers
and seruitors of our owne appointing at our plea-
sure; secondlie, as shall seme to vs more auailable,
by Gods grace, to elect, chuse, and pferre vnto offi-
ces such as we do well like of, and at our pleasure to
remoue such as be presentlie resiant, and in their
romes to substitute and set others wheresoeuer and
whomsoever we list. The king hauing thus spoken,
there was not one that went about to breake him
of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prou-
ided them such a king, as was likelie to proue discreet
and wise.

Anno Reg. 13.
wichekilp
merrill.

In this season, the followers of Wickliffes do-
ctrine maruellouslie increased, speciallie in the dio-
cese of Sarum, where they had manie that toke vpon
them as ministers, both to preach the word, and to
dispense the sacraments. This they did in secret: but
they were discouered by one that had bene of their
fellowship, who declared to the bishop of Salisburie
at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumstan-
ces thereof, as he knew. There were of them that
preached in those daies earnestlie against pilgrima-
ges, calling such images as the people had in most
veneration, as that at Walsingham, and the rood of
the north dore at Pauls in London, rotten stocks,
and woome eaten blocks, through which the unskill-
full people being mocked and deuced, were com-
pelled most manifestlie to commit idolatrie. The bi-
shops (saith Thomas Walsingham) hearing, behol-
ding, and knowing these things with much more, to
be true, did little or nothing to redresse the same, haue
onlie the bishop of Norwich who stirred coles, swea-
ring and swearing, that if anie of that sect presumed to
preach anye peruerse doctrine within his diocese, he
would cause them either to hop headlesse, or to frye a
sagot for it: he was therefore not a little praised and
extolled by the monks and other religious men (as
shold appeare) for that his zeale.

The duke of
Lancaster re-
turneth into
England fourth
of Calaigne.

In November, the duke of Lancaster came forth
of Gascoigne into England, after he had remained
first in Spaine, and after in Gascoigne, thre yeares
together. Of his successe in Spaine is spoken before,
& likewise of the agreement betwixt the king of Ca-
stile, & the said duke, which was not in all points con-

firmed, till a little before his returne now into Eng-
land. About the same time the king had called a coun-
cell of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke
of Lancaster made the more hast to come, because he
knew that the king would shew no good countenance
to some of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted
least malicious offenses might arise betwixt them,
which to appease he meant the best he could, and his
trauell came to good effect: for he did so much, that as
well the king as the lords departed from the counsell
as friends, the lords taking their leaues of him in lo-
uing maner, and he courteously bidding them fare-
well: and so each of them resorted vnto their homes
well pleased for that present. ¶ The king held his
Christmasse this yere at Woodstocke, and the duke of
Lancaster laie at his castell of Hertford.

At the same time the lord John de Haskings earle
of Denbroke, as he was practising to learne to iust,
through mishap was stricken about the ptiue parts,
by a knight called sir John S. John, that ran against
him, so as his inner parts being perished, death pre-
sentlie followed. The losse of this earle was greatlie
bemoined by men of all degrees, for he was libe-
rall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, about all
the other young lords in the land of his time. Of this
earles ancelloz this is reported for a thing strange
and maruelous, that from the daies of Aimer de Cla-
lence earle of Denbroke, that was one amongst o-
ther that sat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lan-
caster, there was not anie earle of Denbroke succe-
ding the same Aimer de Clalence, vnto the daies of
this young earle by misfortune thus slaine, that euer
saw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might
reioise in the sight of anie of their sonnes, being
still called hence, before the time came for them so
to do.

¶ Now here, because this John Haskings, being the
last of that surname and armes of the whole blood,
which of that line intoted anie title of honoz, I thinke
it not vnfit for this place (since other occasion will
not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Haskings son-
what higher than this man: though not from the
hell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I
haue now done, least otherwise by ingrate oblivion
it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I
will not begin from the first honourable Haskings,
whose blood by manie descents continued, is thought
by most ancient monuments, which I haue sene
and read, to haue bene a baron before the con-
quest in this land, and to haue borne the same coe in
the field, which this now slaine earle of Denbroke
did: whereof hereafter in my descriptions and lines
of the earles of Denbroke I will make more ample
discourse in a new booke (if God giue god successe
therein) onelie at this time making some small repe-
tition from that Henrie Haskings, from whom the
Haskings in respect of the marriage of Alida daugh-
ter to Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to Wil-
liam king of Scots) did descend: who (amongst o-
thers) in the reigne of Edward the first, made title to
the kingdome of Scotland. The originall of which
name in this treatise I will neither flatteringly de-
send, nor obstinatie reiect, to haue growne from Ha-
skings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long
before the conquest, about the yere of our redempti-
on 890) came with Hollo into England, and for a cer-
teine space infested this nation, departing aside to
France. And now to the purpose.

Henrie lord Haskings (who bare for his armes gold
a manche gules) married Alida (or Ada) the fourth
daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, the being
one of the heires to John Scot earle of Chester, & of
Huntington (which died without issue) son of the said
Dauid, and brother to the said Ada. So this Henrie
and

A counsell hol-
den at Reading
where the duke
of Lancaster
reconcileth
the king and
the lords.

1390
The earle of
Denbroke as
he was lear-
ning to iust
is wounded
to death.

Francis Thin,
out of diuerse
ancient mo-
numents be-
longing to the
Haskings and
others.

and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentieth of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir 5. others lands, which should haue descended to hir as p. cell of the earldome of Chester, for that the king would not haue the said earldome divided amongst disaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this dad following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie Hastings and Ada his wife, for the exchange of lands for hir part of the earldome.

Omnibus, ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, Henrico de Hastings, & Ade uxori eius, pro rationabili parte sua, quæ prædictam Adam contingent, de hereditate Iohannis quondam comitis Cestræ fratris ipsius Ade in Cestræshire, faciēdo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam prædictæ partis ipsam Adam contingentis de prædicto com. Cestræshire. Et ad maiorem securitatem concessimus eidem Henrico & Ade manerium nostrum de Bremesgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigornie, manerium nostrum de Bolisoure cum castris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium nostrum de Mountesfeld cum Soka cū pertinentibus in comitatu Nottingham, manerium de Worsfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wigginton cum pertinent. in com. Stafford, & maneriu de Woluerhamton cū pert. in eodem com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eisdem Henrico & Ade & heredibus ipsius Ade, quo usq. prædicta pars ipsam Adam contingens & de prædicta hereditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in prædictis terris vel alias eis assignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teste rege apud Dinton 11. Iunij, anno regni nostri 22.

Strattondale.

The which manours the said Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the said Ada, in peaccable and quiet possission. After hir death the said Henrie goeth into Gascoigne, where he remained stewart and untill the comming of Henrie the third, at what time the said Henrie surrendered his office, but the king importunate with him still to retereine the same, he flatlie denied it, and would no longer remaine there, suddentlie returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king graueously incensed, in reuenge and for satisfaction of the same, made the same lands to be extended by Thomas Basleu and others, who by the kings procelle extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king seized the manour of Bemesgraue, Wolefour, Strattondale in Dorset, & left in his hands the manours of Linton, Oswardbecke, Cundoner, Wlourfeld, and Wigginton, whereof the said Henrie died seized. Two yeares before which grant of the lunds before said to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the third, the said Henrie Hastings made his petition to serue in the pantrie (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince, the record whereof in the ancient witten booke of the earls of Huntingdon, is in these wordes following.

The record by which Henrie Hastings executed the office of the pantrier.

Vicesimo Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Prouincie a-

puad Westm. facta sunt contentiones magna de seruitijs ministrabilibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum ministeria, sed respectuatur iuribus singulis saluis, ut tumultus requiesceret usq. ad quinquena Pascha sequētis, &c. Et Henricus de Hastings, cuius officium seruicendi de mappis a veteri vendicauit officium illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurstanus vendicauit officium illud, asserens suum esse debere a veteri, tamen rex repulsat, & admisit Henricum de Hastings, ea die assignans eisdem diem de contentione finiēda ad prædictum terminum. Extractas vero post prandium mapas tanquam suas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his sonne & heire Henrie Hastings, from whome Buchanan doth saie that Henrie Hastings now earle of Penbroke is descended, whereof I will not now here dispute.

Henrie Hastings knight, sonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himselfe greued that the inheritance, which should haue descended vnto him from his mother, was so withhelden from him for the offense of his father, contrarie to law and iustice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, pursued a bill against the king, thereby to haue remedie and restitution, for the supposed false returne of the extent which was made against his father, and vpon the same bill, this Henrie Hastings obtained a new writ to make a fresh extent directed to maister Thomas of Minnindham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Pache, & Thomas de Baie, to vnderstand if the remnant of the lands to him descended, beside that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of such lands as he should haue by descent from and of the earle and earldome of Chester, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward prosecuted of the Hastings from parliament to parliament, untill the thirtie fourth yeare of Edward the first, as moze plainelie shall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollinghed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the first, made title to the crowne of Scotland) married Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburgauenie, in the right of Cua, one of the daughters and heires of William Belusa or Belewula, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had issue John Hastings his sonne and heire, Edmund which married Iabell, & had great possessions in Wales: Ada first married to Robert de Champagne: Loza married to sir Thomas the sonne of sir John de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Notingham.

John Hastings knight, sonne of the last Henrie, was bozne at Alleghre, in the p. tre of our Lord 1262, and in the fir & fortieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the second yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being the kings ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of quene Elianor wife to Edward the first, but could not execute the same by reason of his nonage, and also for that he was in ward to the said king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there arose in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirtie third yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, great contention betwene Antonie Beake bishop of Durham, this John Hastings, John Balfoll, and Robert Buse, for the manors of Penrith, Castlesoure, Salghill regis, Lange Mothbie, Carlston, and of Werkeine Ainehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinsman of the said Robert Buse, John Balfoll, and John Hastings, whose heire they were) died seized in his demesne of sex. In which

which lutes after manie delaies made, and manie
summons against the said bishop, the pie went with-
out daie, because the bishop must go to Rome. But
after his returne the lute being requied and continu-
ed, it went once more without daie, because the king
seized the same into his hands, and held it all the time
of his reigne. These things thus done, and Edward
the first departed, this John Hastings as yet not ha-
stie to renew his lute of the land, but rather to cre-
cute his right of the pantrie, did in the first yeare of
Edward the second, demand the erecuting of that of-
fice, at the coronation of the said Edward the second
and Isabell his wife at Westminter, which he ob-
teined, and laid the clothes and naphins in the great
hall by him and other his knights, one the tables
whereat the king, the queene, and other great states
shoud dine, which (according as I haue seme noted)
was in this sort.

The order and number of clothes laied
at the kings table, and how John Hastings
had them for his fee.



*Ad altam sedem ipsius regis tres map-
pas, & super alias mensas in eadem
aula 28 mappas, unde quilibet pecia
continebat 4, & in parua aula coram
regina, & alibi in illa parua aula 14,
quarum quilibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerunt
ad comestum, mappas per se & suos custodiebat, &
post comestum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat
seruientes ad seruendum, & istas cum suis loquelis
habebat sine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas
deinebat per totum festum coronationis, licet pe-
tite erat deliberatione, primo a senescallo regis,
postea ab ipso rege, per quod idem rex precepit do-
mino Willielmo Marim, & alijs senescallis suis,
quod plenam & celerem iusticiam ei facerent, &
deliberationem de mappis predictis si fuerit faci-
endum. Qui inde postea nihil facere voluerunt,
aut non curauerunt toto festo coronationis prae-
dicta, nec postea in congregationibus. Per quod po-
stea dominus Johannes de Hastings fecit petitiones
suas domino regi, & concilio suo, quod secundum su-
um mapparum predictarum ei deliberaretur, pro-
ut ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quod fecit
seruitium suum debito modo, prout antecessor su-
us fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando ha-
buit feudum suum, tempore quando desponsauit Eli-
onaram filium comitis Prouincie, tanquam parti-
cius ad manerium suum de Asbeley in comitatu
North, prout patet in Memorandum ipsius regis
in camera suo de scaccario diuersis locis in istis
verbis.*

* William de Hastings tient demye fee de chivaler in
Asbeley du roy a faire le seruice per seriant deestree pen-
tre le roye, which is found in the fourth leaf of Che-
ster beginning, Le counte Roger le Bigot, in the title of
clchetes of seriantie in the countie of Northfolke.
Touching which it is thus further found in the same
place. * Henrie de Hastings tient en Asbeley du roye per
sergiante de la panetrie, fo. 5. yefme. * Henrie de Hastings
tient un seriant de la panetrie le roye en Asbeley, & vunte
per an. 6. sh. 6d. 9. * William de Hastings tient un fee de
chivaler en Asbeley seriant deestree despenfer en le de-
stree le roye fo. 4. * Henrie de Hastings tient un terr en la
ville de Asbeley per le seruice deestree le despenfer.

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part
of his land in the kings hands, by the censure made
in the time of Henrie the 3, the said John Hastings
lord of Aburgauennie did pursue from parlement

to parlement, untill the parlement holden at Porke
after Michaelmas, where supplication was made to
the king, by him and others, that he might remaine
with the king in Gascoigne, as his steward or mar-
shall: which if he would performe, all his forsaide pe-
titions and all other petitions which were reasonable,
shoud be granted unto him. By occasion whereof he
granted unto the kings and the nobles request: so
that the king would find him pledges due therefore,
and that he might obtaine iustice in his inheritances,
and those his lawfull lutes, which had bene hitherto
denied unto him, which thing the king faithfullie pro-
mised in euerie respect to be performed towards him:
whereupon he sailed into Gascoigne, in the yeare of
Christ 1302, being the 31 of Edward the first, the
wednesdaie after the feast of S. Lucie. But for this
saire shew, it seemeth he sped neuer the better: for
which cause not being restored in the 34 yeare of Ed-
ward the first, he pursued his lute after, and had
from the king at Porke this definitive sentence, deli-
uered by the mouth of Walter Langhton, then the
kings treasurer (as I find by such notes as I haue
sene) that he shoud seeke the records of the chancery,
and bring them to the next parlement, which the
said John did. At what time he brought forth the for-
mer grant of Henrie the third, of the said lands gi-
uen in recompense of his part of the earldome of
Chester. After which yet it was agreed by the king
and his counsell for diuerse considerations (and most
lie (as I suppose) because he had refused to serue in
Gascoigne, and onelic went as it were enforced not
withstanding all that the said John could alledge,
that he shoud take nothing for his petition, but fur-
ther to be in the kings mercie for his false claime:
the whole processe thereof I haue seme in an ancient
written monument of French. All which (as I ga-
thered was done in the life of Edward the first (not
withstanding that I haue a little vnderlie before
treated of the erecuting of his office of the pantrie
at the coronation of Edward the second, sonne to
Edward the first) as may be confirmed by Piers
Langtoft in these verses:

Et pour peril escheuer toutz apres promist

Re Iehan de Hastin cheualier e lit

Emerie de la Bret barone ne pas petit

Alant in Gascoigne touz sans contredit

Pour la terme attendue del trevis auant dit.

This John married two wiues both called Isabell,
whereof the first was Isabell de Valence, one of the
daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of
Penbroke & lord of Aburgauennie, but how the said
Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgauennie,
since William Canteloe before named was once
lord thereof, and much about that time, I can not yet
certeinlie learne. But yet I following good authori-
tie haue set downe this Valence to be lord of Abur-
gauennie, & that he gaue the same to one John Ha-
stings, which must needs be this man, marrieng his
daughter. The other wife of this John Hastings, was
Isabell the daughter of Hugh Spenser earle of
Winchester. By his first wife he had six children; to
wit, John Hastings his heire, William Hastings
that married Elianor the daughter of sir William
Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Hastings
that was a clerke, and Elizabeth Hastings married to
Roger Grete lord of Ruthine sonne of sir John
Grete, of whom is descended Henrie earle of Kent
now liuing. Ione married to Edmund Mortimer, by
whom he had no issue, being after married to Wil-
liam de Huntingfield, by whom she had Roger de
Huntingfield: and Margaret Hastings married to
William the sonne of William Martin lord of
Remeries. By Isabell Spenser his second wife, he
had three children, to wit, Hugh Hastings lord of
Foliot,

*Registrum comi-
tum de Hunting-
ton.*

Folliot, of whom shall be more intreated, when we come to the last John Hastings earle of Penbroke slaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Hastings, and Pelagia de Huntington. His first wife Isabell Malence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the first, and was buried at the frier minors in Couentrie. His second wife euertling his husband, was after married to sir Rafe Ponthermer, for which mariage the said Rafe was fined by Edward the second at a thousand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancerie of 13 of Edward the second: she died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minors of Salisburie. This John Hastings departed this life 1313, the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

John Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was borne in the fifteenth yeare of Edward the first, in the yeare of Christ 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the first yeare of Edward the second, he was found to be of the age of sir 7 twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make by the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the second at the parliament holden at London in the Carmelite friers, being about the yeare from the birth of Christ 1314, renewing the sute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke bishop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the said bishop in sute, and which were after seized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found upon search, that sir John Ballioll (who was partie to the said sute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reason of certaine lands that he gaue to sir Antonie de Beke the bishop of Durham: for which cause it seemed king Edward the first seized the same lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the manner of a bribe given to the said bishop, to support the sute of the said John Ballioll for the obtaining of the crowne of Scotland. And for that cause this John Hastings was counselled by such as willed him well, that he should surceasse his sute, and so he did. This John Hastings married Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leirburne the sonne of William lord Leirburne, and had by hir Laurence de Hastings: after which this John Hastings died in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Julian liued manie years after, and surrendered hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was also afterward earle of Penbroke, he was borne about the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second, being also about the yeare of our redemption 1320: which is proued by this, that the said Laurence was five yeares old at the death of his father, which (as before is said) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eighteenth of Edward the second, at that time he was seized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouernement of tutors, appointed him by the said Edward the second. This Laurence Hastings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiuitie of him selfe, the largenesse of his possessions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He married Anne or Agnes the third daughter of sir Roger Mortimer the first earle of March, by whom he had issue John Hastings.

John Hastings earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie and Westford in Ireland, the sonne of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369,

infecte diuerse persons of the manor of Lidgate in Suffolke, of which towne was John Lidgate the monke of Berie and famous port of England furnished. After which in the fortie first yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen besieged Rochell, he was sent with an armie of men to the rescue of the same. But being set vpon by the Spanish naute in the hauen of Rochell, they slue and toke manie of the English, burnt their naute, and caried the earle with sundrie other prisoners into Spaine: where this earle a long time remained prisoner. Which misfortune was iustlie supposed to haue fallen vpon him, because he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a persuader of the king that he should (for his warres) more grieuousslie exact manie subsidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had bene long prisoner in Spaine (by the space almost of thre yeares) he was ransomed for a greate summe of monie, by Bertram Clerkine, and died (as I conceiue by some sufficient proofe) betwene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: so that he neuer fullie paid his ransom. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of sir Walter Hamme and of Margaret Segraue made dutchesse of Northfolke in the time of Richard the second: but when he married these wiues, I can not certeinlie find. And in the earle of Bernts booke (which treateth of the contention of the Hastings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Hastings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie serueth) of the said Margaret; the reason whereof I suppose to be, for that this John Hastings had no issue by hir: and that boke onelic serued to conueie a lineall descent from the Hastings to intitle the Greies. This John Hastings had by his second wife (Anne) a sonne called John Hastings, which after succeeded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I saie ante more of the Hastings, I thinke it not amisse to giue some warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the countesse of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had anie wife so named with in the compasse of years wherein Polydor appointeth this time) descended of a noble house of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a house in Cambridge, to this daie called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Edomare or Aimer de Malence earle of Penbroke, who was slaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie seauen yeares before the death of this John Hastings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in verie dede the daughter of Gise earle of S. Paule, the kinswoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one daie (& that the daie of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir husband being that day slaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentieth yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that house in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the same to be called the hall of Marie Malence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called *Aula Valentie Marie*.

Now to returne (where I left) to the last wife of this John Hastings called Anne, she (after the death of hir husband) did at the coronation of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1382, being about the fift yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, sue by petition to creeute by hir deputie the office of the pantler,

panter by reason of the manor of Ashley, which she had for hir iointure, wherunto she was admitted, & by hir deputie sir Thomas Blunt knight did performe the same: as this record doth testifie, in which is set both hir petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this forme.

The record whereby dame Anne Hastings clameth the office of the pantrie.

Item Anna que fuit uxor Iohannis Hastings nuper comes Penbrochia porrexit in curia quandam petitionem suam in hac verba. A treshonore seigneur le duc de Lancast. & seneschall d' Angleterre supplie Anne que fuit le femme Iohn de Hastings nadgares countie de Penbroke, qui come le mannor de Ashley in le com. de Northfolke soit tenens de nostre seigneur le roy par le seruice de faire le office de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor soel tient en dower del dowement son dit baron. Ore plest luy accepter del faire son office person deputie, a ceste coronement nostre seigneur le roye, pernant les fees du dit office ceastascanoir les nappes quant il font sustreylz. Et quia post ostensionem verisimilium euidentiarum & rationum ipsius Anna, ac proclamationem in curia predicta debite factam, in hac parte nullus huiusmodi clamor ipsius Anne contraxit: consideratum fuit quod ipsa ad officium predictum per sufficientem deputatum suum faciendum admitteretur, & sic officium illud per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputauit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, & peracto pradio mappas de mensis subtractis pro feodo suo recepit.

Thus this much touching this John Hastings earle of Penbroke and dame Anne Hannie his wife.

John Hastings (the sonne of John Hastings last recited) was earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgamennie & Wilsford, who being verie young at the time of his fathers death, was ward first to Edward the third, and then to Richard the second, but neuer saw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor ever possessed the lands wherunto he was boare: for not long after that he had married Phillip the second daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Wilster and lord of Wigmore) he was (about the nineteenth yeare of his age, the fiftenth yeare of king Richard the second, and the yeare of our redemption 1391, being a youthfull and lustie young gentleman (but tender and slender) in the Christmasse time, when the is held that feast at Woodstoke in Wrothshire) willing to learne to iust, wherupon in the parke then incounting with a knight called John saint John (a valiant and stout person) he was slaine when they ran togither, as the said knight did cast his speare from him, and so the said earle receiuing this manner of death, no man knew whether it happened by mishap or of purpose. To which John Hastings now slaine, Margaret Seegraue duchesse of Northfolke his grandmother (by his mother the daughter of sir Walter Hannie) was executed and disposed of all his substance. After his death, his widow the ladie Phillip was married to Richard earle of Arundell, & after that to John lord saint John, being the same man (as I suppose) which was hir first husband this John Hastings. But here before the death of this John I must not forget, that though he were within age at the coronation of Richard the second, as not being past nine or ten yeares old; he suted to execute

at the said coronation, the offices which his ancestors had afore performed. But because his mother had the mannor of Ashley in dower (as is before expressed) he did not sue to serue in the pantrie, but leauing that, demandeth the carieng of the second sword and the golden spurs before the king. The records of both which I haue here set downe.

The petition for the second sword

10 which the earle of Arundell also claimed to beare, was in this sort.

Iohannes de Hastings nuper comes Penbrochia protulit quandam petitionem in hac verba. A treshonore seigneur le duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' Angleterre, Iohn fitz & heyre Iohn de Hastings counte de Penbroke, que come il tient le Chastell de la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le comote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chastell Martin, & le mannor de Traygaire per seruice de porter le second espee deuant le roy a son coronement: qui pleast a luy, accepter a son dit office a faire ore a ceste coronement. Et super hoc Richardus comes Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandam aliam petitionem in hac verba. A roy de Chastell & de Lion duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' Angleterre, supplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de luy receuer a faire son office, a porter, le second espee deuant le roy ore a son coronement, que luy appartient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde dictorum totum rationibus, pro eo quod dictus Iohannes comes Penbrochia (qui infra etate in custodia regis existit) ostendit curie meliores & verisimiliores rationes pro se, quam predictus comes Arundell pro ipso monstrauit. Dominus rex declarata coram eo materia predicta, precepit Edmundo comiti mariscallo, quod ipse gladium predictum ista vice in nomine iure predicti comitis Penbrochia deferret, salvo iure alterius cuiuscumque. Qui quidem mariscallus gladium illum ex hac causa die coronationis gestabat calcariibus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the golden spurs, is registred in this order.

Iohannes filius & heres Iohannis de Hastings nuper comitis Penbrochie exhibuit in curia quandam petitionem in hac verba. A treshonore seigneur le roy de Chastell, &c. Et seneschall d' Angleterre, supplie Iohne fitz & heyre Iohne Hastings nadgares counte de Penbroke, de estre receue a son office de porter les grandes esperon, d'oors deuant le roy nostre seigneur ore a son coronement, en mannor come William le marischall son ancesster les porta il coronement de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa predicta, pro eo quod Iohannes est infra etatem & in custodia domini regis, quanquam sufficientes ostendit curie recorda & euidentias, quod ipse seruitium predictum de iure facere deberet; consideratum extitit, quod esset ad voluntatem regis, quis dictum seruitium ista vice in iure ipsius Iohannis faceret. Et super hoc rex assignabat Edmundum comitem mariscallum, ad deferendum dicto die coronationis predicta calcaria in iure ipsius heredis, Saluo iure alterius cuiuscumque, & sic idem comes mariscallus illa calcaria predicta in dicto die coronationis coram ipso domino rege defererebat.

In this John Hastings ended all the honorable titles of the Hastings, because this man dieng without issue, his inheritances were dispersed to diuerse persons; for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Hastings and Weilsford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgaunnie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this same John Hastings without difference, great contentions grew betwene sir Edward Hastings knight (descended of Isabell Spenser) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, sonne of Reinold Greie, sonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Isabell Valence, for both the said lord Greie and sir Edward Hastings were descended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter shalbe shewed) from one man John Hastings, husband to both said Isabells. For the explanation wherof, and lineall descent to conuete the said sir Edward Hastings from the said John Hastings, first lord of Aburgaunnie of that surname; I must here repeat a litle of that which I haue alreadye written: which is, that the said John Hastings first lord of Aburgaunnie, having two wives, both Isabells, by his first wife Isabell Valence had Elizabeth married to Roger Greie, and by his second wife Isabell Spenser, he had issue sir Hugh Hastings knight, from whome we are to deduce the said sir Edward Hastings in this sort. Hugh Hastings knight lord of Ffoliot (in the right of his wife) being sonne of the second wombe of Isabell Spenser, and John Hastings sonne of Henrie Hastings married Margerie the daughter and heire of sir Richard Ffoliot, by whom he came to be lord of Ffoliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Hastings with a difference of a second brother of a second venter. This marriage was procured and made by Isabell his mother, who purchased the said ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Christ 1347, in the one and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elsing, in Elsing in Northfolke which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the thre and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Fomelwell. This Hugh had issue by his wife Hugh Hastings his heire, and a daughter married to sir Robert de la Mare.

Hugh Hastings knight, the sonne of Hugh and Margerie Ffoliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Cueringham, by whom he had Hugh Hastings his sonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewellhell or Swines, and was buried in the friers of Doncaster, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Hastings, earles of Penbroke his kinsmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Hastings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Ffoliot. Hugh Hastings knight the sonne of Hugh and Margeret Cueringham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenser earle of Glocester, by whom he had issue Hugh Hastings and Edward Hastings, which contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh toke his pilgrimage to Ierusalem & died in Spaine, after whose death dame Anne Spenser his wife was married to Thomas lord Pooleie. Hugh Hastings eldest son of Hugh Hastings and dame Anne Spenser, married the daughter of sir Will. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the second, to Isabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395, who

dieng without issue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

Edward Hastings knight brother of the last Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honours, and armes without difference of the last John Hastings earle of Penbroke. This sute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at least untill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithstanding manie false pedegrees counterfeited by this Hastings, and his uncle Henrie bishop of Norwich, one of the house of the Spensers) yet it was adiudged against the said sir Edward Hastings in the marshalls court, that the lands, honours, and armes without difference, as the last John Hastings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Valence earle of Penbroke, should be onelie borne by the said lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and next heire to the said last John Hastings earle of Penbroke: and that the said Edward Hastings should utterly be barred to beare the armes of Hastings, but quartered with the armes of Ffoliot, as onelie descending of the halfe blood to the said last earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrees what so euer (except this) are false, and of purpose contrived, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (descended of the said Reinold Greie of Ruthine) containing all the processe, examinations, witnesses, pedegrees & iudgements thereof, more plainelie maie appeare. In which contention there was shewed a matter by the deposition of sir William How knight not untrouthie to be remembred (though it touch not the Hastings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the said sir William said on his oath in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of thre points was the different appropiat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the next heire; but the same king made his sons to beare the entire armes with labels of thre points, with certeine differences in the said labels, to be knownen the one from the other, except his sonne the duke of Glocester, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Hastings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaster, for the opinion which had bene conceived of him, by reason of miracles and other respects, was canonized for a saint. The mondaie next after the feast of saint Hilarie, a parlement was begun at Westminster, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme should not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reason that through the abuse thereof, manie great oppressions, imbalances, unlawful maintenances, and wrongs were practised, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iustice. The lords would not consent altogether to laie downe their badges; but yet they agreed that none should weare any such cognizance except their servants of household, and such as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. ¶ In the same parlement, certeine persons that had gone about some new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and so were dyatone and hanged. ¶ There was also an act made against such as should passe the seas, to purchase provisions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted so to do, he should be reputed and taken as a rebell. Also there was an act poulded against those that committed any wilfull murder, that none should presume

The earle of Lancaster is canonized for a saint.

A bill agreed touching of badges.

No returne to weare badges.

An act against such as should purchase provisions.

An. Reg. 12. 14.

The duke of
Lancaster
made duke of
Aquitaine.

Great plague.

Great dearth.
A. H. out of
the king's
Lancaster
above.
A. H. out of
the king's
Lancaster
above.A. H. out of
the king's
Lancaster
above.

Anno Reg. 14.

The English
archers good
france.

to sue for their pardon. A duke or an archbishop that so sure, should forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewise an earle or a bishop, an hundred marks, &c.

Spencer, in this parlement it was granted, that the king should have of everie sacke of wool fortie shillings, of the which ten shillings should be applied presently to the kings uses, and thirtie shillings reserved of the fourtie shillings, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Also there was a subside granted of six pence in the pound, foure pence to the use last mentioned, and twopence to be employed at the kings pleasure. In the same parlement, John duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine, receiving at the kings hand the rod and cap, as investitures of that dignitie. Also the duke of Poike his sonne and heire was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a soze and terrible wind rose, with the violence whereof, much hurt was done, houses overthrowne, cattell destroyed, and trees overturned. After this ensued great mortalitie by pestilence, so that much pouthe died everie where, in cities and townes, in passing great numbers. Hereafter followed a great dearth of coyne, so that a bushell of wheat in some places was sold at thirtie pence, which was thought to be at a great price. ¶ About the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, John duke of Lancaster caused a great meeting of the nobles and peers of the realme to hunt at Leicester in the forest and all the parkes there to him appertaining. On the saturdaye the king and queene were present, the archbishop of Poike, the duke of Poike, Thomas Mowbray duke of Gloucester, the earle of Arundell John of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other bishops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thursdaye next following the king departing from thence towards Nottingham sojourned with the lord of Beaumont besides Longborough.

In this thirtieth yeare of king Richards reigne, the christians took in hand a iourne against the Saracens of Barbarie, through suite of the Genowais, so that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the duke of Bourbon being their generall. Out of England there went one John de Beaufort, bastard son to the duke of Lancaster (as Froissard hath noted) also sir John Russell, sir John Butler and others. They set forward in the latter end of this thirtieth yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remained not long, but that the gallees and other vessels of the Genowais were ready to passe them over into Barbarie. And so about the beginning of the fourteenth yeare of this kings reigne, the whole armie being imbarcked, sailed forth to the coasts of Barbarie, where neare to the cite of Affrike they landed, at which instant the English archers (as some write) stood all the companie in good stead, with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing.

After they had got to land, they intrenched the cite of Affrike (called by the mores Mahamedia) with a strong siege: but at length constrained with the intemperance of the scalding site in that hot countrey, breeding in the armie sundrie diseases, they fell to a composition upon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens, and so six daies after their first arrivall there, they took the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Italie is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydor Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby, should be captaine of the English men, that (as before ye have heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and Genowais. It should otherwise appeare by other writers, who as

firmes that the said earle made a iourne in deed the same time against the miscreants, not into Barbarie, but into Prutenland, where he shewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage: for joining with the masters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came against the said order was vanquished, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken prisoners, three other being slaine, with three hundred of their chiefeest and best appoynted soldiers. Through the policie also and worthy manhood of the earle of Derby, there was a certaine cite taken, where the said earle and his men first entring upon the wallles, did set by his banner: other being southfull, or at the least unskillfull how to deale in such exploits. There were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common people, and amongst them that were found dead, the king of Polognies brother was one. The castell of the same cite was besieged five weekes space: but by reason of sickenesse and such infirmities as chanced in the armie, the masters of Pruten, and Lifeland would not tarie any longer, but brake up their siege and returned. The master of Lifeland led with him into his countrey three thousand prisoners.

In the meane time, whilst the christians were thus occupied, as well against the infidels in Barbarie, as in the east parts towards Attaw, a roiall iusts and martiall tournament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on sundaye next after the feast of saint Michaell. And because this triumphant pastime was published, not onelie in England, but also in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heimaule, and in France, manie strangers came hither forth of diverse countrees, namelie Walter an erle of saint Paule, that had married king Richards sister the ladie Maule de Courtne, and William the young erle of Mortuant, sonne to Albert de Bauiere earle of Holland and Heimaule. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared, there issued forth of the tower about three of the clocke in the after none sixtie couriers apparelled for the iusts, and upon everie one an equier of honoz, riding a fast pace. Then came forth foure and twentie ladies of honore (three score saynt Froissard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one side richlie apparelled, and everie lady led a knight with a chaine of gold. Those knights being on the kings part, had their armoz and apparell garnished with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and so they came riding through the streets of London unto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other instruments before them.

The king and the queene, with manie other great states were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to see the iusts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went by into chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the esquires of honoz from their couriers, and the knights in good order mounted upon them. And so when their helmets were set on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the heraults, the iusts began, and manie commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the queene, and all other the beholders. The prise that daie on the answerers part was given to the earle of saint Paule, and on the challengers side, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himselfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iusts, he bring chiefe of the inner part. That daie the prise was given to the erle of Mortuant, for the best dwer of the utter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser. On the tuesday, all manner of equiers

Thom. Walf.
The earle of
Derbie his
exploits in
his iourne
against the
infidels of
Prutenland.

A roiall iusts
holden in
Smithfield
at London.

The manner
of the iusts in
Smithfield.

Silmer saith
Froissard.

The king
kept open house
in the
bishop of Lon-
don his palace
by Paules
church.

The king
feasted
the strangers.

The duke of
Lancaster
feasted the
strangers.

Abr. Fl. out of
Angl. prel. sub
Rich. 2.

Smithfield.

squiers iusts, and likewise on the Wednesday all maner of knights and squires that would, on which daie was a fore and rude iusts, enduring till night. And so manie a noble course and other martiall feats were atchieued in those foure daies, to the great contentation and pleasure of manie a yong batcheler desirous to win fame, & also higble to the kings honour, who by all that season held his court in the bishops palace by Paules church, keeping open household for all honest persons that thither resorted, expectallie euerie night after the iusts were ended, a right sumptuous and princelie supper was prepared for the strangers and other, and after supper, the time was spent in dancing and reuelling after the most courtlike manner. On the thursdaie, the king made a supper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, and the quene to all the ladies and gentlewomen. On the fridaie the duke of Lancaster feasted at dinner all the said lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, in most sumptuous and plentifull manner. On the saturday, the king and all the whole companie departed from London unto Windsor, where new feasting began, and speciallie the king did all the honour that might be deuised vnto the earls of saint Paule and Oseruant. The earle of Oseruant, at the earnest request of the king, receiued of him the order of the Garter, for the which he was euill thought of afterwards by his friends, namely the French king and others. Finally, after the king had thus feasted the strangers and others at Windsor, each man tooke leaue of the king, the quene, and the kings vncles, and other lords and ladies, and so departed, the strangers into their owne countries, and other home to their houses, or whither they thought best.

This solemne iusts or toynement being touched, or rather in ample manner described by Ch. Okland, is reported of him to haue bene kept for actiuitie sake, and to set the youth & lustie blouds of the court on worke, who otherwise (because the king was yong and loued to liue in peace and ease, feasts of armes and warlike prowesse both abroad and at home languished and laie as it were a fainting) through idlenesse and want of exercise, degenerating and growing out of kind from their wonted warlike valiantnesse, should giue themselves to filthy lecherie, riot, slope, loitering pastimes, and slothfulnesse, all which doe greatlie impairre prowesse. Whereupon (saith he)

*Rege prius de re consulto, ludicra dixi
Martis opus simulatum inter se bella mouebant,
Atq. dies totos viginti quattuor hastis
Assumptis studio statim decurrere fixo.
Deinde idem numerus procerum pars prima lacesens
Mittit ad externas gentes qui talia pendunt.
Indus ab Angligenis mensis exercebitur vno
Hastibus. Prius harenis * sabrorum dictus * agellus
Extra Londini muros, spatiosus & amplus
Est locus: hic studium cursurus, certatq. meta
Ponitur: hinc veniant quicumq. ex gente creati
Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine victor
Qui fuerit, terris prosteruens corpora plura
Aut plures hastas frangens, donabitur aure
Multa vi, capiet quoniam plurima ditia dona
Præmia virtutis, Richardo hæc dante habebat, &c.*

Having thus described the place where the iusts should be kept, with the rewards and other circumstances; he toucheth the countries from whence the foreign nobilitie came, that should undertake triall of chivalrie with these foure, and twentie challeengers: who at the daie appointed (saith he) came prancing out of the Towre upon their great barbed horses through the broad streets, and their ladies of honor with them gorgeously decked with bracelets, owches, cheines, icwels, spangles, and verie sumptuous

attire: a goodlie sight for the people to behold. At last, when they were come to Smithfield, and althings readie, the trumpets sounded to the exercise; and both parties, as well the English as the outlandish chivaliers ran together, and tried their strengths till they did sweat and were tired, their horses panting and bzaing with the violence of their bodilie motion, their haues being crasht in sunder, due vp into the aire, and the broken stocke or stampe hitting the aduersarie ouerthrew him to the ground: the beholders with top of heart gaue a shout thereat, as greatlie delighted with the sight. When came the night and brake off the first daies toynement. On the next daie when they should renew and fall afresh vnto it againe, they shewed themselves in courage equall to their ancestors, and handled their matters so well, that they got them great renowne. The third daie came, and the multitude of people still gathered together wondered at the right valiant deeds of the valorous horsemen, how they did tosse, hoist vp, and wind their speares, and with what force they used their armes, what courage appeared in their statelie harness, and how the verie heavens rang with the rattling of their armor, and the strokes giuen to and fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of pleasure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders. When the time was expired of this tried chivalrie, necessarie occasion moued the king of England to set his mind on other matters, so that commending the prowesse of the outlandish lords, he bestowed vpon them manie cheines of gold, & lodging them with other gifts of great balure, dismissed them into their countries. But the English challengers required nothing but renowne for their reward, being allured onelie with the loue of praise; and thus when these pastimes of chivalrie were quite ended, euerie man got him home to his owne house. Thus farre Christopher Okland, touching the description of this *Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & externos.*

Ambassadors were sent from the French king, vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to indure for ever betwixt the two realmes of England and France, sith that by warre it was apparant inough, that neither realme could greatlie benefit it selfe, but rather soze indamage either other, as afore time it had come apparantlie to passe. Therefore the matter being well considered, both parts seemed well affected towards some good conclusion by treatie to be had of a full and perfect peace. About the same time, by the king with the aduise of his counsell, proclamation was made and published at London, that all beneficed men abiding in the court of Rome, being Englishmen borne, should retorne home into England before the feast of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their benefices; and such as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewise limited. The Englishmen hearing such a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left the popes court, and returned into their native soile.

The pope troubled with such a rumbling noise, sent in all hast an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king of England, as well to vnderstand the causes of this proclamation, as of statutes deuised and made latelie in parlement against those that provided themselves of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes buls, which seemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of Rome: in consideration whereof the said nuncio required that the same statutes might be repealed and abolished, so farre as they tended to the derogation of the church liberties: but if the same statutes were not abolished, the pope might not (saith his nuncio) with a safe conscience otherwise do than proceed against them that made those statutes, in such order as

1391
Thom. Wals.
Ambassadors
from the
French king
for a perpetuall
peace.
Froissard.

Spottiswood
that all Eng-
lish beneficed
men in Rome
should retorne
into England.

The popes
sent his nuncio
to king
Richard.

the canons did appoint. Moreover the said nuncio declared to the king certeine dangerous practises bewt the antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Bourcaine the French kings brother king of Tuscanie and Lombardie, and to establish the duke of Anjou in the kingdome of Sicile.

Moreover, he gaue the king to vnderstand, that if the French king might compasse by the antipapes meares to be chosen emperor, he would seeke to vsurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it stood the king of England chiefe in hand to prouide against such practises in tyme. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchmen seemed so much to fauour, it was to none other end, but that vpon agreement once had, they might more conuenientlie compasse their purpose in the premises. Furthermore the nuncio earnestlie besought the king of aid in the popes behalfe against the French king, if (as he threatened to do) he should invade him in Italie with open force. The king seemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the nuncio, and after aduise taken, appointed to staie till after Michaelmasse, at what time a parlement was appointed to be assembled, wherein such things as he had proponed should be weied and considered, and some conclusion taken therein.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to Henrie Knightons account, there was a prophane statute made against the church & churchmen; namely, that no ecclesiasticall person or persons should possesse manors, glebeland, houses, possessions, lands, reuenues or rents whatsoeuer, at the hands of the scoffer, without the kings licence & the chiefe lords. And this statute extended it selfe, as well to parish churches, chapells, chantries, as abbeies, priories, & other monasteries whatsoeuer: likewise to citizens of cities, to farmers, & burgeses, hauing such rents or possessions for the common profit. For men in those daies, that would bestow land or liuelod vpon church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for cost and charges to procure a mortmaine, vnder the kings licence and chiefe lords; were wont to feoffe some speciall men, in whom they had confidence and trust, vnder whose name and title, churchmen, or anie other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in possession. And it was prouided by that statute, that all and euerie as well persons ecclesiasticall as parishioners, both citizens, burgeses, and farmers, or anie other whatsoeuer, hauing such rents, possessions, manors, or anie reuenues whatsoeuer, in the hands of such scoffers, without the licence of the king and chiefe lords; that either they should obtaine and get a licence of the king and the chiefe lords to make it a mortmaine; or else set such things to sale, & raise profit of them, on this side or before the feast of Michaelmasse next ensuing: or the said feast being past and expired, that then the king and the chiefe lords, in things not ordered and disposed accordingly, may enter and seise vpon the same, and them haue and hold at his and their pleasure.

About the same time, the duke of Glocester went into Putzenland, to the great griefe of the people, that made account of his departure, as if the sunne had bene taken from the earth, doubting some mishap to follow to the common wealth by his absence, whose presence they thought sufficient to stay all detriments that might chance, for in him the hope of the commons onlie rested. In his returne home, he was sore tormented with rough weather and tempestuous seas. At length he arrived in Northumberland, and came to the castell of Tynmouth, as to a sanctuary known to him of old, where after he had refreshed him certeine daies, he took his iourne homewards to Palschis in Essex, bringing no small

ioy for his safe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the ninth of Iulie the sunne seemed darkened with certeine grosse and euill fauored clouds comming betwixt it and the earth, so as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from none till the setting thereof. And afterwards continually for the space of six weeks, about the middelt of the daie, clouds custonmable rose, and sometimes they continued both daie and night, not vanishing alwaie at all. ¶ At the same time, such a mortalitie and death of people increased in Northfolke, and in manie other countries of England, that it seemed not unlike the season of the great pestilence. In the cite of Yorke there died eleuen thousand within a short space. ¶ Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the marches against Scotland, and Robert Hotwate was sent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

On Friday next after All soules day, the parlement began at London, in which the knights would in no wise agree, that the statute made against spirituall men, for the prouiding themselves of benefices in the court of Rome should be repealed: but yet they agreed thus much, that it should be tollerated, so as with the kings licence such spirituall men might purchase to themselves such benefices till the next parlement. ¶ In this parlement aforesaid, there was granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the clergy, and one fiftenth of the people towards the expenses of John duke of Lancaster, who in Lent next following went ouer into France to the cite of Amiens for a finall peace betwene the kingdoms of England and France: where the king of France met him with a shew of great pompe and honor, sending before him first of all to welcome him thither the citizens of the same cite on horsebacke in a verie great number. Then afterwards, he sent earles and batons a great manie to the same end, then his two vnckles, last of all went the king himselfe to meet him, and saluting him called him by the name of The most worthy warriour of all christendome, the inuincible worthinesse of the king onelie excepted. And the duke had seauenteene daies (by couenant) to compasse this treatie of peace: at last he returned, hauing attendant vpon him in his traine the bishop of Durham, and the sonne of the duke of Yorke the earle of Rutland, with a thousand horsemen, set forth in a wonderfull sumptuous sort with goodlie furniture. ¶ Also conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole fiftenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he made anie iourne that yeare against the Scots. ¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelberland sent to the king of England letters of commendation & praise, wherein also were prouocations and stirrings up to warre and warlike activitie, and to the exercise of kinglie noblenesse, the tenor whereof followeth;

A great death in Yorke and sundrie other places.

A parlement at London.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knightons canon of Leicester abbeie.

The duke of Lancaster ambassadour for the king, right honorable received into France.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knightons canon of Leicester abbeie.

The tenor of the said dukes letter to king Richard.



*M*agnifice princeps, innata vobis probitas, & prudentum consilia (ut opinamur) simul agerent in officium, quod singula hereditaria iura, quae ex natalio vestram magnificant regiam maiestatem, temporibus vestre discretionis altissima providentia munirentur illaesa; et si quaeuis oppugnaret violentia, clypeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter defendere sua iura. Et quod vestram regiam personam coniungamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipse, quin semper parati erimus vobis in vestris iuribus defendendis assistere cum duobus milibus lancearum,

A a a. ij.

quando

quando & quotiens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut premissa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat versutia Gallicorum. Sanè serenissime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quod propter lanam & innumerabilia vestra singularia commoda, sine quibus non vinit oriens neque auster, regna singulari in pecunijs vos saluant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipse diuitias centuplatis. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcum asperitas, sine pari, taliter huc usque extulere gentem magnanimitatem occidentis, quod timor non paruus vestros innadit aduersarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victorioso dimicauit cum Gallicis Anglie gens auster. In pusillanimitate igitur (potentissime princeps) contra naturam non obdormiat cor leonis; sed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosis, in defensionem reipublice, iuris hereditarij sustentationem, augmentumque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronisabilem probitatem cordis magnanimitati regis.

The same letter in plaine phrase
verbatim Englished by A. F.



Of mightie prince, your roiall prowesse and the counsels of the sage, should altogether (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the most profound & deepe foresight of your discretion in time to mainteine and defend all and singular your rights & inheritance vnharmed, which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maiestie, and if anie violence whatsoeuer gainstand & assault the same, your kinglie diligence should indeuor with the shield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicause we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall person in aliance, vnlesse God himselfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to assist and aid you with two thousand pikes, when and how often soeuer you shall be disposed to rush out to battell. Your right ought not to be lost for words and promises, howsoeuer the craftinesse of the French labor to this purpose. Trulie most excellent prince, your renowme doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll sake, and other your singular commodities being innumerable (without the which the east and the south can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In comparisn therefore of other kings God himselfe hath bestowed vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike prowesse also, & the roughnesse of your bowes, being peerelesse, haue hitherto extolled the couragious nation of the west, that no small feare dooth innade your aduersaries; and to this day the sterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriously encountered with the French. Therefore o most puissant prince, let not the hart of a lion sleepe in cowardinesse against nature; but what force and valiantnesse nature hath giuen you, the same vouchsafe to put in practise with feare of armes in defense of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increase of your descent, and the

peerelesse prowesse of so great a kings courageous hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almost for the space of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after harvest was got in, to the great reliefe of the poeple, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the disease called the stir, whereof manie died, and suchie as was thought) the death and dearth had bene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord mayor of London had not bene, in relieuing the commons by such provision as he made for corne to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the seas, where otherwise neither had the countrie bene able in anie thing to haue sufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth this scarcitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large discourse both of the miseries which it brought with it, as also of the cause whereby it was procured, and of the notable means whereby the same in most places was remedied.

In this yeare (saith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or scarcitie of corne began vnder the sickle, and lasted till the feast of saint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new corne. This scarcitie did greatlie oppress the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poeple sozt. For a man might see infants and children in streets and houses, through hunger, howling, crying, and craving bread: whose mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was such plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and spoken of manie housekeepers and husbandmen, that if the seed were not sowne in the ground, which was horded vp and stored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be inough to feed and susteine all the people by the space of fife yeares following. But the cause of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in these daies was verie scant, and the principall cause hereof was, for that the wooll of the land lay a sterpe and long heaunte in some mens hands by the space of two yeares; and in others thre yeares, with out a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine parlement, that the merchants of England should not passe out of the land with wooll and other merchandize, but should bring the same vnto twelve places within the realme appointed for the same purpose, that the merchants strangers might haue recourse thither with their commodities and so by exchange should transport our merchandize for theirs. By means whereof the merchants of England did forbear to buy wooll and other wares vntill the next parlement ensuing, where in it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities. In these daies wooll was dogheape: for one stone of good wooll of the chosen and piked sozt, was sold for thre shillings, and in Leicester and Kent at some times for two shillings or two and twentie pence. This scarcitie of victuals was of greatest force in Leicester shire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of corne out of reason. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the highest, was sold at Leicester for 16 shillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourtene shillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was sold for ten shillings, or for litle more or lesse. For there arrived eleven ships laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerse places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Besides this, the citizens of London laid out two thousand marks to buy food out of the common chest of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a

The stir
ten by
the stir
on fima.

The lord
mayor of
London
commen
ced by
the
full
provision
of
commodities
beyond the
seas in the
time of
dearth.

Abr. Pl. outd
Henric Knighton
recount of
Leicester
book.

The cost of
the
wool
was
great
in
these
daies.

wool
was
dogheape
by
the
towne.

Provision
of
food
was
made
for
the
poore.

Sheweth of
London!

A dolphin taken
at London-
bridge.

1392

Ambassadors
sent to the
French king
to treat of
peace.

Sir Robert
Biquet a
Frenchman
king Richard
his prime
chamber.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
York, the
earls of Derby
& Hereford, the
lord Thomas
Perre, the
bishops of
Durham and
London were
present, as
well as
a great num-
ber of
nobles.
The duke of
Lancaster, a
prince of great
renown.

peace for necessarie provision, for feare of famine, like to fall upon the cite. And they laid up their store in sumptuous of the fittest and most convenient places they could chose, that the needie, and such as were wounding with want, might come & buy at a certeine price so much as might suffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to paie dolone presentlie in hand, their woode and credit was taken for a yeares space next following, and their turne serued. Thus was provision made that people should be relieved, and that none might perill for hunger.

On Christmasse day, a dolphin that came forth of the sea by the Thames unto London-bridge, was espied of the citizens as he played in the water, and being followed & pursued, with much ado was taken. He was ten foot long, and a monstrous growne fish, so as the sight of him was strange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his coming so farre into the landward, to foreshew such stormes and tempests as within a weeke after did, raginglie follow. We haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had bene first broched by the French king, by sending ambassadors to the king of England, to moue the same. Which motion being thoughtlie considered of the estates assembled in this last parliament, it was decreed, that it should go forward (as before we haue heard) and so about Candellmasse, the lord Thomas Perre, sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Robert Biquet, with diuerse other in their companie, were sent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodged in his house of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maister toward peace. And the better to bring it to passe, they shewed that king Richards desire was to haue some place and time appointed for commissioners to meet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as should be thought expedient. The French king greatlie honored these ambassadors, in feasting and banquetting them for the space of six daies together, and for answer, concluded with them, that he himselfe, with his vncles and other of his counsell, would be at Amiens by the middell of March next ensuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vncles, if it should please them thither to come.

The English ambassadors said there was no doubt, but that either the king himselfe, or his vncles should be there at the day assigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agrement that should seeme reasonable, and so those ambassadors returned with great gifts presented on the kings behalfe to each of them, sir Robert Biquet excepted, unto whom it seemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer serued the Parisians or Englishmen, and was now one of king Richards prime chamber. The king of England (as some write) was once minded to haue passed the seas himselfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finakie the duke of Lancaster, the bishop of Durham, and others, were sent thither with a traine nere hand of a thousand horses. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no lesse preparation for the duke of Lancasters comming, than if he had bene emperor. The duke of Lancaster well was esteemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wisest and sagest princes in all christendome, in those daies; so that it seemed the French king reioiced greatlie, that he might come to haue conference with him. There were with the French king here at Amiens, his brother the duke of Thouraine; his vncles, the dukes of Berrie, Bourbon, and Burgogney, & a great number of earles, lords,

and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Englishmens comming, for auoiding of strife and debate that might arise betwixt the English and French, a proclamation was set forth containing certeine articles, for the demeanour which the French men should obserue towards the Englishmen.

Whilste they there remained, all the Englishmens charges were borne by the French king, from their setting forth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerse demands made, and some offers, though to small purpose, for they took not effect, inso much as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truce which was to end at Whitsunmer next, was prolonged to continue one yeere more, that in the meane time, the lords and estates of the realme of England might assemble, and with good aduise deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agrée vnto a determinate peace, or to pursue the doubtfull chances of warre. And such was the end of that roiall ambassage, to the furnishing forth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good towne through the whole realme.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaster, and other the ambassadors that had bene at Amiens, a counsell of the lords and chiefe states of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had bene vnto a parlement) there came forth of euerie good towne certeine persons appointed to deliberate and take aduise in so weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or else vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to passe, sauing that they agreed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings swore to obserue the same, afoze such as were appointed to see their othes receiued. About the same time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings coufine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorable receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. This duke of Gelderland counselled the king not to conclude peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon such conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honozable to him and his realme, promising that if he had occasion to make warre against either of those two nations, he would be ready to serue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had bene here a time, and highlie feasted and banquetted, as well by the king as other great estates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerse rich gifts.

The king about this season sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them the summe of one thousand pounds, which they vncourteouslie refused to lend: and moreover they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and nere hand slue: because he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertised, he was sore moued against them, and calling together the most part of the peeres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners, complaining soze of such their presumption. The lords and great men, seeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counsell that the insolent pride of those presumptuous persons might with speed be repressed. The citizens of London in those daies (as should appeare) vsing their authoritie to the uttermost, had deuised and set forth diuerse orders and constitutions to abridge the libertie of forreiners that came to the cite to vnder their commodities. Religious men that wrote the doings of that age, seemed also to find fault with them, for that they fauored Williffes opinions, & therefore did

The truce
prolonged for
a yeere.
Thom. Wals.

A counsell at
Stamford.

The duke of
Gelderland
commeth into
England.

The duke of
Gelderland
dissuadeth
the king from
peace with the
French and
Scots.

The Londoners
refuse to
lend the king
a thousand
pounds.

charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howsoever the matter went they fell at this present into the kings heauie displeasure.

A great fire
kindled about
a little sparke.

Some there be that write, how the king picked the first quarrell against the maiors and shiriffes, for a riot committed by the unruly citizens, against the seruants of the bishop of Salisburie: for that where one of the same bishops seruants had taken a horse-loffe fro a bakers man, as he passed by in Fleetstreet with his basket to serue his masters customers, and would not deliuer it againe, but bzaie the bakers mans head, when he was earnest to haue recovered the loffe, the inhabitants of the street rose, and would haue had the bishops man to prison for breaking the kings peace: but he was rescued by his fellows, and escaped into Salisburie house, that stood there within the allie, and as then belonged to his master the bishop of Salisburie, being at that time high treasurer of England. The people being set in a rage for the rescue so made, gathered together in great multitudes about the bishops palace gate, and would haue setyed out the offender by force.

A riot by the
Londoners
upon the bi-
shop of Salis-
buries men.

To conclude, such a hurling was in the street, that the maior, with the shiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all speed, to take order in the matter, and to see the peace kept; but after the coming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie resorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were, the worse they were to rule, and would not be persuaded to quiet themselves, except the bishops seruant, whose name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the house, and committed to prison: but at length, after manie assaults, liks, & other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the house, the maior & aldermen, with other discret commoners appeased the people so, as they brought them to quiet, and sent euery man to his house.

waiter Ro-
mane.

The bishop was then at Windesore where the court laie, who being informed of this matter, by a grieuous report, and hapilie in worse manner than the thing had happened indeed, took such indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint against the citizens for their misdemeanors, so that his displeasure was the more kindled against the citizens, in so much that, whether in respect of this last remembred complaint, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lend him the thousand pounds, and misusing the Lombard that offered to lend the same, I cannot saie; but sure it is, that the maior and shiriffe, and a great sort more of the citizens, were sent for to come to the court, where diuerse misdemeanors were obieced and laid to their charge: and notwithstanding, what excuse they pretended, the maior and shiriffes with diuerse other of the most substantiall citizens, were arrested. The maior was committed to the castell of Windesore, and the other, vnto other castles and holds, to be safely kept, till the king, by the aduise of his counsell, should determine further what should be done with them.

The bishop of
Salisburie
maketh a grie-
uous complaint
of the London-
ners to the
king.

The maior &
shiriffes of
London sent
for to wind-
sore to the
king, & there
imprisoned.

The liberties
of London
seized.
A gardian ap-
pointed to go-
uerne the citie
of London.

Anno Reg. 16.
Sir Edward
Darlingrug
lord warden
of London.

The liberties of the citie were seized into the kings hands, and the authoritie of the maior utterly ceased, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named sir Edward Darlingrug knight, that should both rule the citie, and see that euery man had iustice ministred, as the case required. This sir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentieth of June, on which day the king entered into the 16 yeare of his reigne: by reason it was thought that the said sir Edward Darlingrug was ouer-fauourable to the citizens, he continued in his office

but till the first of Iulie, and being then discharged, one sir Baldwine Kadington, a right circumspect and discret knight, was put in that roome, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obtained, to the reliefe of their sorow and heauinesse.

Darlingrug
removed
Kadington
made lord
warden of
London.

At length, the king, through sute and instant labour made by certeine noble men, speciallie the duke of Glocester, began somewhat to relent and pacifie himselfe, as touching his rigorous displeasure against the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerse waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewise bestowed vpon him, whereupon he purposed to deale the more mildlie with them; and so sent for diuerse of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windesore, where he then kept his court, there to shew forth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduise of his counsell, he might determine which should remaine in force, and which should be abolished. Whereupon, when the said priuileges, and liberties were laid forth, to the view of such persons as had to consider of them, some were ratified, some permitted by tolleration, and some vtterlie condemned and abrogated.

The liberties
of London
part con-
firmed in part
condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that present, either the person or dignitie of their maior, nor obtaine the kings entire fauour, till they had satisfied the king of the damages and iniuries by them done, either to him or his people. And where he had bene at great charges, in preparing forces to chastise them, as he was determined, if they had not submitted themselves vnto him, they were sure that their purses must answer all that he had laid forth about that matter. They therefore with humble submission, in recompense & satisfaction of their trespasses, offered to giue him ten thousand pounds, but they were for this time sent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not understanding what they must pay, till the king with the aduise of his counsell had taken further order for them. At length, though such bailie sute as was made for the quieting of the kings hot displeasure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenses past. But first, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedly, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themselves like loving subjects, they should obtaine his fauour.

The citizens aduertised hereof, did not onelie pre- pare themselves to meet him, and to present him with gifts in most liberall manner; but also to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with sumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vsed at ante coronation. At the day appointed, there met him (beside other) foure hundred of the citizens on horsebacke, clad in one liuerie, presenting themselves in that order, vpon the heath on this side Shene, and in most humble wise, craning pardon for their offenses past, besought him to take his waie to his palace of Westminster, thorough the citie of London. This sute made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he gratioilie granted, and so held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was presented a passing faire steed, white, saddled, bzaieled, and trapped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewise to the queene was giuen a milke white palfrey, saddled, bzaieled, and trapped in the same sort, as the other was. These presents were thankesfullie accep- ted, and so both the king and the queene passing for- ward, entered the citie, prepared and banded with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens don.

A sweet
critic.

He was met
with pageants
on the heath
by the Lon-
doners to re-
ceiue his pre-
sents.

Gifts pre-
sented to the
king by the
Londoners to
reueale his
pleasure
towards
them.
The king
received
them with
much
reioysing.

reioysing

standing on each side the streets in their liveries, crying; King Richard, King Richard.

At the standard in Cheape, was a right sumptuous stage ordeined, on which were set diuerse personages, and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garnished with stone and pearle vpon the kings head, as he passed by, and likewise an other on the quenes head. This done, the king rode to Paules, and there offered, and so toke his horse againe, and rode to Westmynster, where the maior and his compaignie taking their leave, returned to London. On the morrow, the maior and his brethren went againe to Westmynster, and there presented the king with two halens gilt, & in them two thousand nobles of gold, beseeching him to be good and gracious lord to the citie; he receiued their present in courteous manner, and gaue them manie comfortable words. The third daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all their old liberties (at the least such as might be an aid to the citie, and no detriment to forreiners) wherefore, by counsell of their friends, they ordeined a table for an altar of siluer and gilt, ingrauen with imagerie, and maneled in most curious wise, containing the storie of saint Edward, it was valued to be worth a thousand marks. This was presented to the king, the which he shortly after offered to the shrine of saint Edward within the abbey. The Londoners beleued, that by these gifts they had bene quite rid of all danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king after this, ten thousand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offense and grudging in their minds.

You haue heard hitherto, what means was made by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the commonalties of London to procure the kings maiesties (in whose disfauour they were deaplie drowned) gracious reconciliation. Wherein though there hath bene large matter deliuered; yet to set forth the dignitie thereof the fuller, take here by the waie the report of Henrie Knighton. In the yeaere (saith he) 1392, the king called a great councill on the morrow after Trinitie fundae at Stamford, about certeine affaires concerning the Frenchmen, in which councill he assembled together all the old soldiers of his reline, that by the aduise of the elder lord he might see what were best for him to do in the premisses. The king also held a great councill at Nottingham, on the feast of saint John the Baptist, whereat he caused the maior of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the two shiriffes, and foure and twentie of the best commoners of the citie in the second degre to be conuented before him. Where he charged them that they had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the king, besides the losse of their liberties and priuileges. Which obligation or bond they had made in former time to the king, their deserts requiring the same. Now the king, after rehearsall made of their new offenses & faults, discharged the maior, the two shiriffes, and the rest of his officers of their offices, and sent the maior and the two shiriffes to certeine places of custodie as his prisoners, defeating the citie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in so much that a citizen or freeman should haue no more prerogative than a forreiner or stranger. He appointed also the lord Edward Baleringe to be gouernour thereof, to keepe and see kept the kings lawes and his liege people within London in due order, vntill such time as the king had otherwise provided for them. And he set them a day to answer the king and his councill to certeine interrogatories on the feast of saint Marie Magdalen then next ensuing, at Westminster. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine friends and wellwillers, the kings indignation was somewhat mitigated and asswaged towards them; in

so much that at length he released the maior and the shiriffes, and sent them home to their houses; setting ouer them notwithstanding a new keeper or gouernour of the citie, and reseruing in his hand all the priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the sundae next after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie; all the wealthiest and wealthiest commoners of the citie came to the king, and submitted themselves and all their goods to his grace, and then did he first receiue and take them into his fauour. On the wednesday ensuing, the king was purposed to come into London, and the citizens in multitudes innumerable met him on horsebacke; & they that had no horses went out on foot to welcome him thither; women also and infants shewed themselves vnto him; likewise the bishop of London, with all the clergie, no order, degree, condition, estate, or sex of ecclesiasticall dignitie being excused, went out in procession to meet the king and the quene with great reioicing. It was reported how in that procession there were aboue five hundred boies in surplices. Moreover, the citizens of London trimmed the outsidies of their houses and chambers in euerie street through which the king and the quene were to passe, from saint Georges to Westmynster. As for the houses of the wealthiest lord, they were by auncie garnished with cloth of gold, siluer, tissue, velvet, & other sumptuous stuffe whatsoeuer by any possible means could be gotten. In Cheapside there was a conduit, out of the which two spouts ran with red wine & white, and vpon the conduit stood a little boie apparelled in white like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who presented wine to the king and quene to drinke as they passed by. In the meane time they offered to the king a golden crowne of great value, and another golden crowne to the quene; and a while after passing forwards, they presented to the king a golden tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred pounds; and to the quene another golden tablet of saint Anne, whome she had in speciall deuotion and reuerence, because hir owne name was Anne. Such, and so great, and so wonderfull honours did they to the king, as the like in former times was neuer done to ante king of this realme: and so going forward, they brought the king and the quene to Westmynster hall. The king sitting in his seat roiall, & all the people standing before him; one in the kings behalfe as his speaker, gaue the people thanks for the great honour and princelie presents which they had bestowed vpon the king; and being blissen to fall euerie man to his businesse and affaires, it was told them that in the next parlement they should haue their final answer.

At the same time, the duke of Glocester, hauing receiued monie to leaue an armie, which he should haue conuayed ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good while before that present, the king had made him duke, was now readie to set forward, when suddenly through the malice of some priuite detractours about the king, he was contermanded, and so his iourne was staied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of both the countries of England and Ireland: for euen vpon the same that was byrden of his coming into Ireland, in manner all the Irish lords determined to submit themselves vnto him, so greatlie was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among those wild and sauage people. This yeaere Robert Uolere, late earle of Wrenford, and duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaine in Brabant, in great angustie of mind, & miserable necessitie: which young gentleman (doubtlesse) was apt to all commendable exercises and parts fit for a noble man, if in his youth he had bene well trained and brought by in necessarie discipline.

The duke of Glocester made duke of Ireland.

His iourne into Ireland vnto the last.

Uolere, late duke of Ireland, died at Louaine.

1392
The. Wals.
A parliament
at Winchester

The chance-
rie and kings
bench kept at
York and fro
thence remou-
ed to London.

Eures.

The Ile of
Man.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
Glocester
sent to France
to treat of a
peace.

The French
commissioners
would haue
Calis rased
to the ground.

The demand
of the English
commissioners.

Order taken,
that the de-
mands on
either side
should be set
downe in writ-
ting, the bet-
ter to be con-
sidered of.

This yere after Christmasse, a parlement was called at Winchester, in which onelic a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expenses of the duke of Lancaster & Glocester, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had bene remoued from Westminster to Poike, either in disfaour onelic of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Poike, for that the archbishop of that cite, being lord chancellor, wished to aduance (so farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuerthelesse about this season brought backe againe to Westminster, after they had remained a small time at Poike, to the displeasure of manie. ¶ This yere, the lord Aubrie de Clerie, uncle to the late duke of Ireland, was made earle of Wrenford. ¶ The two and twentieth of Februarie, John Eures, constable of Douer castell, & lord steward of the kings house departed this life, in whose roome the lord Thomas Persie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord steward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made constable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports; and the lord William Scrope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the same time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie therof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth.

The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester went ouer unto Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. These noblemen were sufficientlie furnished with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by sea and land, betwene the two realmes of France and England, and all their allies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Balingham, where tents and pavilions were pight up, for the ease of both parties. They met there twice or thise a weeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpose, about nine of the clocke in the forenone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered first into communication, and had scene each others authoritie, one of the first demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis rased, in such wise, as there should neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester answered herevnto, how they had no authoritie to conclude so farre, but that England should hold Calis still, as in demesne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purposed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they should cease from that demand and speake no more thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two cousins of England answer so roundlie, they spake no more of that matter.

Then the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester demanded to haue restitution of all such lands as had bene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commissioners, and also to haue fullie paid the summe of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France; and thus the English lawiers powerd to stand with equitie and reason. But neuerthelesse, the lords and chancellor of France argued to the contrarie, and so agree they could not, inasmuch as the Frenchmen required, that if the Englishmen meant to haue anie conclusion of peace, they should draw to some nearer points. At length, the four dukes take order, that all their demands on either side should be set downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeably, that they might be regarded at length, and such as should be found vntreasonable, to be rased or reformed. After they had commaned together diuerse times, and remained there fixtē daies, they ap-

pointed to aduertise the two kings of their whole doings, and after nine daies space to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeville, where the French king then laie; and the English dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Glocester was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the conclusion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaster, for he rather desired to haue had warre than any peace, except such a one as should be greatlie to the aduantage and honour of the realme of England; and therefore the commons of England vnderstanding his disposition, agreed that he should be sent, rather than anie other. For where in times past the Englishmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and squires, who had by the same maintained their estate, they could not giue their willing consents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reason of the wars, to profit themselves, as in times past they had done. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and so likewise was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaster. But the Frenchmen were so subtil, and vsed so manie darke and coloured words, that the Englishmen had much a do to vnderstand them: which offended much the duke of Glocester. But neuerthelesse, at the daie prefixed, these four dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French lords came the king of Armerie, newlie returned into France forth of Grecia, for in to his owne countrie he durst not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the strong towne of Conich, which the Genowaites held, excepted.

The king of Armerie would gladlie that peace might hang, bene established betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the sooner some aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them associat as assistants, had diligentlie perused and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not passe no scale to anie, till all darke and obscure words were clætelie declared, opened, and made perfect, so that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwithstanding, as Froissard saith, a truce for foure yeares space, vpon certeine articles was agreed to be kept as well by sea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agreement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former disease of frensie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occasion of his sicknesse, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and made perfect. The same time, sir Thomas Persie the younger was made lord warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

In September, much hurt was done, thorough exceeding great thunder, lightening, and tempests, which chanced in manie parts of England, but specially in Cambridgeshire, where manie houses were burned, with no small quantitie of coine. Great inundations and floods of water followed shortly after in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew walls of houses, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Essex also in September, great mortalitie fell by pestilence amongst the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Thierburg was restored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had ingaged it to the king of England, for two thousand markes. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, which began in the octaues of Saint Hilarie. ¶ The king purposing to go ouer into Ireland, required a subside, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furnishing forth of that iourne, if he

The Eng.
gentlemen
maintained
the French
warre.

The subtilty
of the French
men.

The com-
missioners
againe.

The king of
Armerie.

Obscure
doubtfull
words were
opened.

A truce for
four yeares
betweene
England and
France.

Anno Reg.
Great tem-
pests.

Aggrieved
people by
drought
in Suffolke
in Essex.

1392

Constance be-
cause the
duke of Lan-
caster was the
cause of her
death.

Death of
Anne.

The de-
struction of
the house
of Lancaster
by the
duke of
Gloucester.

An. Reg. 18.
Proclamation
that all
Ireland should
returne into
their countries.

The English
pale in Ire-
land
declared.

The gentle
treatment
of
Richard in
the Tower
by his
brother.

The duke of
Lancaster
sent into
the
country
with
charmes.

he went himselfe; if he went not, yet they agreed to
give to him the moiety of a tenth. In time of this par-
lement, there appeared great euill will to remaine
betwixt the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Ar-
undell, for the duke imposed to the earle, that about
the Crutacion of the crosse, he late with a companie
of armed men in the castell of Holt by Chester, the
same time that the countie there rose against the
duke, with their capitaine Nicholas Clifton, and his
complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to
haue aided against him: but this the earle flatlie de-
nied, and with probable reasons so excused himselfe,
as the quarrell at length was taken up, and the par-
ties for the time well quieted.

This yeare on Whitsundaie being the seauenty
of June, quene Anne departed this life, to the great
griefe of hir husband king Richard, who loued hir in-
tirelie. She deceased at Shene, and was buried at
Westminster, vpon the south side of saint Edwards
shrine. The king toke such a conceit with the house of
Shene, where she departed this life, that he caused the
buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, where
as the former kings of this land, being wearie of the
city, vsed custumable thither to resort, as to a place
of pleasure, and seruing highlie to their recreation.
Thus the king, the duke of Lancaster, and his sonne
the earle of Derby, were widowers, all in one sea-
son: for the ladie Constance duchesse of Lancaster
daughter to Peter king of Spaine, deceased the
last yeare, whilst hir husband the duke of Lancaster
was at the treatie in France: at the same time al-
so deceased the countesse of Derby, wife to the lord
Henric earle of Derby. Whereouer, in this yeare
1394, Isabell duchesse of Porke departed this life,
that was halfe sister to the duchesse of Lancaster, be-
ing borne of one mother. She was buried at Lang-
loie.

This yeare in August, was a proclamation set
forth, that all Irishmen should auoid this land, and
returne home into their owne countie, before the
feast of the Nativite of our ladie, on paine of death.
The occasion of which proclamation was, for that
such multitudes of Irishmen were come ouer into
this region, in hope of gaine, that the countries in
Ireland, subiect to England, were in manner left
void of people, so that the enimies spoiled and wasted
those countries at their pleasure, finding few or none
to withstand them. And where king Edward the
third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges,
with his exchequer, for the good administration of iu-
stice and politike gouernement to be vsed there, he
receiued from thence yearelie in reuenues and pro-
fits, comming to his owne cofers, the summe of thir-
tie thousand pounds: the king now laid forth no lesse
a summe to repell the enimies, which by absence of
those that were come ouer hither, could not othe-
wise be resisted, sith the power of the rebels was so
increased, and the force of the countries subiect, tho-
rough lacke of the former inhabitants, so dimini-
shed. About the feast of the Nativite of our ladie,
the king set forward to passe into Ireland, hauing
made such preparation for that iourne, as the like
for Ireland had not bene heard of at anye time be-
fore. There went out with him the duke of Gloucester,
the earles of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, the
lord Thomas Percy lord steward, and diuerse other
of the English nobilitie.

The duke of Lancaster, that in the thirteenth yeare
of king Richards reigne had bene created by autho-
ritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about
this present time sent thither, with five hundred
men of armes, & a thousand archers, to take posses-
sion of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by
his letters patents thereof had, made, and confir-

med with his seale, in presence of the most part of
all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all
that countie to the said duke and his heires for euer
in as large manner and forme, as his father king
Edward the third, or anye other kings of England,
or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and
as king Richard at that season had & held the same,
the homage alwaies yet reserved to the kings of
England for euer. But all this notwithstanding, at
his comming thither, so farre were the Gascoignes,
and other people of those marches from receiuing
him with ioy and triumph, that they plainlie told
him, they would not attune to him, nor be vnder
his iurisdiction at anye hand, although he had brought
ouer with him commissioners sufficientlie authori-
sed, both to discharge them of their former allegiance
to the king, and to inuest him in possession of that du-
chy, in maner and forme as before is said.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye shall un-
derstand, that when all his prouision and roiall ar-
mie was readie, about Michaelmas, he toke the sea,
and landed at Waterford the second of October, and
so remained in Ireland all that winter: his people
were lodged abroad in the countie, and lay so warie-
lie as they might. For although the Irishmen durst
not attempt anye exploit openlie against the Eng-
lishmen, after the kings arrivall with so puissant an
armie, yet they would steale sometimes vpon them,
where they espied anye advantage, and disquiet them
in their lodgings. But when the English still pre-
uailed, diuerse of the greatest princes among them
came in, and submitted themselves. Amongst other,
four kings are mentioned, as the great Onell king
of Opth, Rine of Thomond king of Thomond, Ar-
thur Macmur king of Lineisfer, and Conbur king
of Cheueno and Darpe: these kings were courteou-
lie interteined and much made of by king Richard,
who kept his Christmas this yeare at Dubline. And
after that feast was ended, he held a parlement there,
to the which all his subiects of Ireland, vnto whom it
appertained, resorted, as well those that had conti-
nued vnder the English gouernement aforetime, as
those that were latelie yielded.

Also at the same time, after the octaues of the Co-
piphanie, the duke of Porke, lord warden of Eng-
land, now in the kings absence, caused a parlement
to be called at Westminster, to the which was sent
forth of Ireland the duke of Gloucester, that he might
declare to the commons the kings necessitie, to haue
some grant of monie to supplie his want, hauing
spent no small quantitie of treasure in that iourne
made into Ireland. The dukes words were so well
heard and beleued, that a whole tenth was granted
by the clergie, and a fiftenth by the laitie; but not
without protestation, that those payements were
granted of a mere good will, for the loue they bare
to the king, and to haue his businesse go forwards,
which because it required great expences, both for
that his owne roiall person was abiding in Ireland
about the subduing of the rebels, as also because his
retinue and power could not be maintained without
excessive charges; they seemed to be no lesse desirous
to haue the same ended, than they which were daile
agents in the same, not without feare of misfortune
likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people
of such barbarous and rebellious behauior.

At the same time, those that followed Wickliffes
opinions, set by publikelie on the church doore of
Paules in London, and the church doores of West-
minster, certeine writings, containing accusations
of the clergie, and conclusions, such as had not com-
monlie bene heard, against ecclesiasticall persons,
and the vse of the sacraments, as the church then
maintained. They were encouraged thus to do, as it
was

The Gas-
coignes battle
refuse to ac-
cept the duke
of Lancaster
for their so-
ueraigne.

R. Richard
passeth ouer
into Ireland
with a mightie
armie.

Froissard.
Four Irish
kings submit
themselves to
R. Richard.

1395
A parlement
holden in
Ireland.

A parlement
at Westmin-
ster, king Rich-
ard being
in Ireland.

The Wickliffes
wrote as
gainst the
clergie.

The clergie
complainte to
the king of the
wicklenis, and their fa-
uourers.

R. Richard
knighteth the
fourte Irish
kings, and
others.
Froissard.

R. Richard
returneth out
of Ireland.

R. Richards
dealings a-
gainst the fa-
uourers of the
wicklenis.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knighton
canon of
Leicester
abbey.

was said, by some noble men, and knights of great worship, as sir Richard Sturrie, sir Elwes Tifford, sir Thomas Latimer, sir John Pontacute, & others, who comforted & picked forward those kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious persons, by all waies they might. Whereupon, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of London, and certeine other as messengers from the whole state of the clergie, passed over into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grievous complaint, as well against those that had framed and set forth such writings, as against them that maintained them in their dwellings, and therefore besought him with speed to returne home into England, there to take such order, for the restraining of those misordered persons, as unto the reliefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of sustaining irrecoverable losse and damage, if god reformation were not the soner had. King Richard hearing these things, upon god deli-
beration had in the matter, determined to returne home, but first on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Snell, Wyne of Homond, Arthur of Spackmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewise sir Thomas Wyphen, sir Joatas Pado, and his cosine sir John Pado.

This done, and now after that they were set in quiet in that countrie (the rebels not being so hardie as to stirre, whilest such a mightie armie was there ready at hand to assaile them) the king about Easter came backe into England without anie more ado, so that the gaine was thought nothing to counteruaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iourne, foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand archers, as Froissard saith he was informed by an English esquier that had bene in that iourne. The king at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London had exhibited to him, against those that were called Lollards, and heretiks, whereupon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour such kind of men, threatening terrible, if from thence forth they should in anie wise comfort and relieue them. He caused sir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he should not mainteine from that day forward anie such erroneous opinions, menacing him, and as it were, covenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderstand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he should die for it a most shamefull death.

By the report of H. Knighton it should seme, that this sect (as he calleth them) mightlie increased, to the no small offense of the lords temporall and spirituall, whereupon after sundrie complaints, and serious solicitations for the supplanting of them, commissions were granted, and the tenure of them (as it should seme though not absolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore listen what mine author saith, whose addition, though by his owne supputation of yeares it require to be placed elsewhere; yet for the consonance of the matter, and because writers varie greatly in their accounts of time, I haue here inserted the same, as in a verie conuenient place of the historie. The noblemen and the commons (saith Henric Knighton) seeing the ship of the church, with these & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all sides from day to day with ceaselesse violence and force to be shaken; besought the king in the parlement, that redresse might be had herof; lest the arke of the faith of all the church by such violences and inforcements giuen in those daies,

should thorough want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith should by little and little be drawne into a distresse of grace and losse of honor. Wherefore the king vsing the sound counsell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbishop of Canturburie, & the rest of the bishops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their diocesse, according to the canon lawes, more seuerelie and zealouslie; to correct the offenders, to examine their English books more subtile and substantiallie, to root out errors with all their induozs, to bring the people into an vnite of the right faith, to weed by out of the church all nelles, thistles, and bambles wherewith she is disgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roses; and should cause an establisment of his roiall power more boldlie and stoutlie. And the king forthwith commanded, without delate, that his letters patents should be sent abroad into all and euerie shire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie shire certeine searchers for such books and their fauourers; charging them to applie a speedie remedie unto these disorders, and to lay by the rebels in the verie next gaoles, till the king sent unto them. But verie slow execution or none at all followed, because the houre of correction was not yet come. [Whobest, to prepare and make an entrance to the purposed reformation and correction of those enormities, he gaue out a commission against the wicklenis, a copie whereof followeth both in Latine and English. Whereby the world may see how the springing church of Christ was hated and abhorred of the antichristian rout.]

Copia regia commissionis aduersus Lollardos & Lollardorum sequaces.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglia & Francie, & dominus Hibernie dilectis sibi magistro Thoma Brighwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leicestriae, & Gulielmo Cheselden prebendario prabendae eiusdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus nostris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, salutem. Quia ex insinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quod ex infama doctrina magistrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liston, & suorum sequacium, quam plures libri, libelli, schedulae, & quatermi, heresibus & erroribus manifestis in fidei catholicae lesionem, & sanae doctrinae derogationem, expresse, & palam, & notorie redundantes, frequentius compilantur, publicantur, & conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quam in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefariae sanae doctrinae contrariantes, oriuntur, crescent, & manententur, ac praedicantur, in fidei orthodoxae enervationem, ecclesiae sanctae subuersionem, & ex consequenti (quod absit) quam plurimum incredulitatem, corumque animarum periculum manifestum. Nos zelo fidei catholicae, cuius sumus & esse volumus defensores in omnibus (ut tenemur) moti salubriter & inducti, nolentes huiusmodi haereses aut errores infra terminos nostrae potestatis, quatenus poterimus, oriri, seu quomodolibet pullulare: assignamus vos coniunctim & diuim, ad omnes & singulos libros, libellos, schedulas, & quatermos huiusmodi doctrinae dictorum Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & sociorum sequacium, seu opinionum aliquam minus sanam continentes, ubicunque, & in quorumcunque mani-

bus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inuestigandum, capiendum, & arrestandum, & penes concilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibili deferri faciendum, ut tunc ibidem de ipsdem ordinare valeamus, prout de ausamento concilij nostri praedicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiam ad proclamandum, & ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscunque status, gradus, seu conditionis fuerit, sub pena imprisonmentis & forisfacturationum, quae nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manuteneat, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clam vel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere vel vendere praesumat quouis modo, sed omnes & singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos secum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum nostrum vobis reddat, seu reddi faciat indilate. Et ad omnes illos, quos post proclamationem & inhibitionem praedictis contrarium innueritis facientes, & huiusmodi nefarias opiniones manuteneat, coram vobis prefato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cum inde legitime cuius fuerint, ministris proximis, prout committendum, in ipsdem detinendum, quousque a suis erroribus, here libus, & prauis opinionibus resipiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dicta praemissa cum omni diligentia & efficaciam intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma praedicta. Damus autem tam vniuersis & singulis viris ecclesiasticis, quam vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, ministris, & alijs fidelibus & subditis nostris, tam infra libertates quam extra tenore praesentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis, & cuilibet vestrum, in praemissis faciendis assistentes sint, consulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vice primo tertio die Maij, anno regni nostri undecimo.

A copie of the kings commission against the Lollards or Wickleuists and their followers: Englished by A.F.

Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maister Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leicester, and to William Cheselden prebendarie of the prebend of the same college, and to our beloued and trustie subiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham, greeting. For so much as we are certeinlie informed by credible report, that by the vnfound doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Lipton, and their followers, many bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets expressedlie, euidentlie, and notoriouly, warming with manifest heresies and errors, to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the abolishing of found doctrine, are commonlie compiled, published, and written, as well in English as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrary to found doctrine, doo spring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right

faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and consequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifest danger of their foules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that such heresies or errors within the limits of our iurisdiction, so far as we are able, should grow, or by any meanes spring vp: doo assigne you iointlie and seuerallie, all and singular the bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets conteining such doctrine of the said Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, wheresoeuer, & in whose hands, possession, or keeping foeuer they shalbe found within the liberties or without; them to search, take, arrest, and cause to be brought before our counsell with all possible speed, that then and there we may take order for the same accordinglie, as by the aduise of our foresaid counsell we shall see requisite to be doone. And also to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatsoeuer state, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of imprisonment and forfeitures, which to vs he shall forfeit, any of these wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obstinatie to defend, priuile or openlie, or any of these bookes, libels, scheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cause to be written; but all and euerie such booke and bookes, libels, scheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cause to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you shall find dooing contrarie to the praemisses, and such lewd opinions mainteining, to call forth before you the said Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they shalbe lawfullie conuicted therein, to commit them to the next officers & prisons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, heresies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance shall otherwise thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the said praemisses, with all diligence and effect, and the same doo and execute in forme aforesaid. We doo also gine in streict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as shiriffes, maiors, bailiffes, officers, and other our trustie subiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of these presents, to assist, counsell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the praemisses, as it is conuenient. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the twentie third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

¶ About this time, or (as Henrie Knighton saith) in the yeare 1382, maister William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Derbyshire visited the diocese of Lincoln, and on the feast of saint Faith the virgine he visited maister Iohn Bokingham bishop of Lincoln in the cathedral church of Lincoln, with the chapter, and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leicester abbey in visitation, the Sunday before the feast of All Saints, where he abode all the Tuesday, and on the Tuesday

Archbishop of Canturburie visitatio.

Wickliffites
excommunicated.

of All saints being mondaie, calling together all the canons of the said monastrie, with the chaplines of his owne chappell, euerie of them hauing in their hands burning candels. The same archbishop confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wickliffites, with their fauourers, which either now maintained or caused to be maintained, or hereafter did mainteine or should mainteine the errors and opinions of master John Wickliffe, in the diocesse of Lincoln. On the morrow next after All saints, the same bishop flashed out his sentence of excommunication like lightning in open sight, with a crosse set vpright, with candels burning bright, and with bells ringing aloud, and namelie against those of Leicester towne that had too much defiled and infected the said towne and countrie. The archbishop departing from thence, went to saint Peters church, to a certeine anchoresse named Spatildis there kept as in a closet, whom he reponing about the foresaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir answers scarce aduiseable made, cited hir that she should appeare before him, on the sundae next ensuing, in saint James his abbey at Southampton, to answer vnto the foresaid erroneous and prophane points. Now she appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errors, and hauing penance imposed hir, she went auaile reformed. But till the second day before the feast of saint Lucie, she kept hir selfe out of hir closet, and then entred into the same againe. Other Lollards also were cited, and appeared at Oxford, and in other places, as the archbishop had commanded them: who renouncing their superstitious errors, and forswearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Also one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leicester, clothed in linnen [or in a white sheet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of saint Katharine, because the said Smith had sometimes cut in peeces and burned an image of saint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

A ridiculous
penance.

In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onlie daughter, whose marriage daies she instructed and trained vp to celebrat the masse, and she set vp an altar in hir priue or secret chamber with all the ornaments thereunto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrat the masse. Now when she came to the words of the sacrament, she cast hir selfe flat on hir face before the altar, & made not the sacrament; but rising vp, dispatched the rest of the masse euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and doing hir deuotion. This error a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that error, and compelled the young woman openlie to shew the priestlike shauing of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald. The bishop sighing and sorrieng that such an error should happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing imposed them penance, dispatched and sent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be meddling in matters impertinent to their degree, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their priuat conuenticles of such things as whereabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to undertake some publike pece of seruice incident to the ministerie; whose over-sawcie rashnesse bring

boldnesse of
women in ec-
clesiasticall
matters
taxed.

bolstered and borne vp with abbettoys not a few, whether it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected. I wot not; but of the vnuiformed presbiterie I am sure it is lamented.]

A certeine thing appeared in the likenesse of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one fashion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerse places all Nouember and December. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would stand still when he stood still. So some it appeared in the likenesse of a turning wheele burning; to others some round in the likenesse of a barrell, flashing out flames of fier at the head; to othersome in the likenesse of a long burning lance; and so to diuerse folkes at diuerse times and seasons it shewed it selfe in diuerse formes and fashions a great part of winter, speciallie in Leicestershire and Southamptonshire: and when manie went together, it approached not nere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of war made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to speake, uttered these words following at thre times, and then ceased to speake any more. These be the words; first, The head shall be cut off; secondlie, The head shall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The feet shall be lift vp aloft about the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the merciesse parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought wonders. In Aprill there was seene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreaddfull sight as it made manie a one amazed, so it ministred occasion of mistrust to the minds of the maruellous, that some great mischief was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognostication. In this kings daies (as saith Thomas Walsingham) whose report, because I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents imposing some strange euent, I am the more bold to interlace) about the troublesome time when discord sprang betwene the king and his youthfulie companions with the duke of Lancaster, in the moneth of Maie, there hapened a conjunction of the two greatest planets, namelie Jupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the proceesse of this historie may appeare.

The French king about this time summoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and search out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in saint Peters chaire, for the schisme and diuision betwene the two popes was not yet ended. The French cleargie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & confirmed their script or writing with the vniuersitie seale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king sent ouer to Richard king of England, that touching these doubts and difficulties he with the counsell of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard summoned a conuocation at Oxford of the learned diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Urbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuersitie seale of Oxford, & sent it ouer sea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was done further in the premises, both popes, vnder the shadow or shelter of schisme preuailing betwene them, insisting their title & interest. [This is the last record found in Henrie Knighton, who so that which he hath done touching chronographie, hath written (the blindness of the time wherein he liued, and his order considered) though not so well as the best, yet not so ill as the worst; and whose collections, if they were laid together,

A fierie appa-
rition of a
fierie hea-
d.

A head of
war wrought
by
necromancie
speareth.

A fierie
dragon
seene in
diuers places.

Abt. Pl. cont
Thom. Wals-
in Rich. a. 1193
341.

A conuoca-
tion of Japiter
& Saturne.

A schisme
betwene two
popes for the
vniuersitie of
Paris.

An. Reg. 18, 19.

together, would afford a large augmentation to matters of chronicle: but despite that so abruptlie he breaketh off, and continueth his annales no further than this yeare, 1395.]

This yeare, the Danes that late raving on the seas did much hurt to the English merchants, taking and robbing manie English ships, and when the haven townes along the coasts of Northfolke, made forth a number of ships, and ventured to fight with those pirates, they were vanquished by the Danes, so that manie were slain, and manie taken prisoners, which were constrained to paie great ransoms. The enimies also found in ransacking the English ships, twenty thousand pounds, which the English merchants had aboard with them to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to go. In the same yeare, William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie, having more regard to his owne private commoditie, than to the discommoditie of others, purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was authorized to leaue through his whole province foure pence of the pound of ecclesiasticall promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cause being shewed: pretended, that he ought so to do; and to see the execution of this bull put in practice, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London, were named and appointed.

Manie that feared the censures of such high excommunicators, chose rather to paie the monie forthwith, than to go to the law, and be compelled happily, manage their good willes. Some there were that appealed to the see of Rome, meaning to defend their cause, and to procure that so unlatwfull an exaction might be revoked. Speciallie, the prebendaries of Lincolne stood most stiffelie against those bishops, but the death of the archbishop that chanced shortly after, made an end of those so passing great troubles. This yeare, John Waltham bishop of Salisbury, and lord treasurer of England departed this life, and by king Richard his appointment had the honor to have his body interred at Westminster amongst the kings. After this decease, Roger Walden that before was secretary to the king, and treasurer of Calis, was now made lord treasurer.

We have heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert the duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in November, caused his corps being embalmed, to be conveyed into England, and so to the priorie of Colnie in Essex, appointing him to be laid in a coffin of copper, and to be adorned with princelie garments, having a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich rings on his fingers. And to shew what love and affection he bare unto him in his life time, the king caused the coffin to be opened, that he might behold his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he honored his funerall requies with his presence, accompanied with the countesse of Drenford, mother to the said duke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and manie other bishops, abbats, and priors: but of noble men there were verie few, for they had not yet digested the ennie and hatred which they had conceived against him.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaster was in Gascoigne, treating with the lords of the countrie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which utterly refused to receive him otherwise than as a lieutenant or substitute to the king of England, and in the end addressed messengers into England, to signifie to the king, that they had bene accustomed to be governed by kings, and meant not now to become subjects to any other, contrarie to all reason, sith the king could not (saving his oth) alien them from the crowne. The duke of Lancaster died all

waies he might devise, how to win their good willes, and had sent also certaine of his trustie counsellors over hither into England, as sir William Perreer, sir Peter Clifton, and two clerkes learned in the lawe, the one called master John Huech, and the other master John Richards a canon of Litchester, to plead and sollicit his cause.

But to be briefe, such reasons were shewed, and such matter unfolded by the Gascoignes, whie they ought not be separated from the crowne of England, that finally (notwithstanding the duke of Gloucester, and certaine other were against them) it was decreed, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine should remaine still in demesne of the crowne of England, least that by this transporting thereof, it might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof should fall into the hands of some stranger, and enemie to the English nation, so that then the homage and soveriegnitie might perhaps be lost for ever. Indeed, the duke of Gloucester, being a prince of an high mind, & loth to have the duke of Lancaster at home, being so highlie in the kings fauor, could have bene well pleased, that he should have enioied his gift, for that he thought thereby to have borne all the rule about the king, for the duke of Yorke was a man rather coueting to live in pleasure, than to deale with much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the realme.

About the same time, or somewhat before, the king sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbishop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Marshall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenfer, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twenty knights with fortye esquires. The cause of their going over, was to treat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the ladie Isabell, daughter to the French king, she being as then not past eight yeares of age, which before had bene promised unto the duke of Brittaines sonne: but in consideration of the great benefit that was likelie to insue by this communication and alliance with England, there was a meane found to undo that knot, though not presentlie. These English lords, at their coming to Paris, were with fullie received, and so courteously intertained, banketted, feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expences were borne by the French king, and when they should depart, they received for answer of their message, verie comfortable words, and so with hope to have their matter sped, they returned.

But now when the duke of Lancaster had, by laying forth an inestimable masse of treasure purchased in a manner the good willes of them of Aquitaine, and compassed his whole desire, he was suddenly countermanded home by the king, and so to satiffie the kings pleasure, he returned into England, and coming to the king at Langley, where he held his Chiffmasse, was received with more honor than love, as was thought; whereupon he rode in all haste that might be to Lincolne, where Katharine Swinford as then late, whom shortly after the Epiphanie, he took to wife. This woman was borne in Henault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called sir Daou de Huert: she was brought up in hir youth, in the duke of Lancasters house, and attended on his first wife the duchesse Blanch of Lancaster, and in the daies of his second wife the duchesse Constance, he kept the foresaid Katharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceased. Before she was married, the duke had by hir three children, two sonnes and a daughter; one of the sons was named Thomas de Beaufort, & the other Henrie, who was brought up at Aken in Almaine,

The grant of the duchie of Aquitaine to the duke of Lancaster res-nosed.

Ambassadors sent into France to treat a marriage betweene king Richard & the French Kings daughter.

Thom. Wals.

1396

The duke of Lancaster married a ladie of a meane estate, whom he had kept as his concubine.

B b f.

printed

procured a good lawyer, and was after bishop of Winchester.

For the love that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother the said Isatharine of Winford, being now a widow, whereof men marvelled much, considering his meane estate was farre vnmet to match with his highnesse, and nothing comparable in honoz to his other two former wives. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duchess of Glocester, the countesses of Derby, Arundell and others, descended of the blood roiall, greatly desired, that she should be matched with the duke of Lancaster, and by that means be accounted second person in the realme, and preferred in some before them, and therefore they said, that they would not come in any place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wives daies, should go and haue place before them. The duke of Glocester also, being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, disliked his brothers matching so meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well enough, and berelie, the lady his selfe was a woman of such bringing up, and honorable demeanoz, that enie could not in the end but giue place to well deserving. About this season, the doctrine of John Wickliffe still mightie spread abroad here in England. The schisme also still continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane, for one of their popes could no longer be dead, but that they ordeined an other in his place.

In this eighteenth yeare also was a wonderfull tempest of wind in the months of Iulie and August, and also most spectallie in September, by violence whereof, in sundrie places of this realme, great and wonderfull hurt was done, both in churches and houses. The ambassadors that had bene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage, as before we haue heard, went thither againe, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were growne to certeine points and covenants of agreement, the earle marshall, by letters of procuration, married the lady Isabell, in name of king Richard, so that from thenceforth she was called queene of England. Amongst other covenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beseeching him to assist the prelates against the Lollards, as they tearmed them, whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he besought him to take order for the punishment of them, whom the prelates should denounce to be heretikes.

At the same time, he sent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hands of his legats or nuncios purchased to be his chapleins, and accompting themselves thereby exempt from their order; so that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obserue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namely the minors, that sought by all means they might deuide, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by such exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were segregated & diuided from the residue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentieth yeare of his reigne, went ouer to Calis with his vnckles the dukes of Yorke and Glocester, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgonie, and so they commenced of the peace. There was no enemie to the conclusion thereof but the duke of Glocester, who shewed well

by his words that he wished rather war than peace, in somuch as the king stood in doubt of him, least he would procure some rebellion against him by his subiects, whom he knew not to fauour greatly this new aliance with France.

The king after the duke of Burgonie had talked with him thoughtlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England, leaving the ladies still at Calis, to open the covenants of the marriage and peace unto his subiects, and after he had finished with that business, and vnderstood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vnckles, of Lancaster and Glocester, and diuerse prelates and lords of the realme; and shortly after came the French king to the basside of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgonie, Berrie, Britaine and Bourbon. There was set up for the king of England a right faire and rich pavilion a little beyond Guisnes within the English pale; and another the like pavilion wasight by also for the French king on this side Arde, within the French dominion; so that betwixt the said pavilions was the distance of threescore & ten paces, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third pavilion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents sundrie times should meet and haue communication together.

The distance betwixt the two tents was beset on either side in time of the interuiew with knights armed with their swords in their hands; that is to say, on the one side stood foure hundred French knights in armor with swords in their hands, and on the other side foure hundred English knights armed with swords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with such noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine distance from the two first pavilions, were appointed to stand such companies of men as either of them by appointment had commanded to bring with them. The two kings before their meeting, receiued a solemne oth for assurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obserue the sacred lawes of amitie one toward another in that their interuiew, so as no damage, violence, molestacion, arrest, disturbance, or other inconuenience should be practised by them, or their friends and subiects; and that if any disorder rose through any mishap, arrogancie, or strife moued by any person, the same should be reformed, promising in the words of princes to assist one another in suppressing the malice of such as should presume to do or attempt any thing that might sound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that assemblie eight daies before, and seven daies after.

On the six and twentieth of October, the king of England removed from Calis toward the castell of Guisnes, and with him the duke of Berrie, who was sent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euent of Simon and Jude, the kings met, and the lords of France, to wit, the duke of Berrie, Burgonie, Orleans, and Bourbon, the earle of Sancerre, the vicount of Meur, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were sent to condna the French king diuerse of the English lords, as the two dukes of Lancaster and Glocester, foure earles; to wit, of Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, and Southumberland. After the two kings were come together into the tent for that purpose prepared, it was first accorded betwixt them, that in the same place where they thus met, should be builded of both their coffs a chapel for a perpetuall memorie, which should be called the chapel of our lady of peace. On saturdaye being the feast daie of the apostles Simon and Jude, the kings talked together of certeine articles touching

wickliffes increase.

The earle marshall effecteth French kings marriage, in name of king Richard.
Anno Reg. 20.
A truce for 30 yeares betwixt England and France.
Tho. Walin.

The popes letters to R. Rich. against wickliffes.

R. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

The manner the interuiew betwixt Richard and the French king.

Fabian.

Froissard.

Fabian.

The oth of the two kings.

The chapel of our lady of peace.

An. Reg. 20.

ding the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded by
on the same, they receiued either of them an oth vpon
the holie Euangelists, to obserue and keepe all the
covenants accorded vpon.

On the mondaie the French king came to the
king of England his pavillion, and the same time
was brought thither the yong queene Isabell daugh-
ter to the French king, who there deliuered hir vnto
king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kissed hir, &
gaue to hir father great thanks for that so honorable
and gracious a gift, openlie protesting, that vpon the
conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue
hir, that by such assent both the realmes might con-
tinue in quietnesse, and come to a good end and per-
fect conclusion of a perpetuall peace. The queene was
committed to the duchesses of Lancaster & Gloucester,
to the countesses of Huntingdon and Stafford, to the
marchionesse of Dublin daughter to the lord Cour-
cie, to the ladies of Namure, Poinings, and others;
which with a noble traine of men and hories, con-
ueied hir to Calis: for there were twelue charrets
full of ladies & gentlewomen. This done, the kings
came together into the king of Englands pavillion
to dinner. The French king sate on the right side of
the hall, and was soallie serued after the maner of
his countrie, that is to saie, of all maner of meats
appointed to be serued at the first course in one migh-
tie large dish or platter, and likewise after the same
sort at the second course. But the king of England
was serued after the English manner. When the
tables were taken vp, and that they had made an
end of dinner, the kings kissed ech other, and toke
their hories. The k. of England brought the French
king on his waie, and at length they toke leaue either
of other, in shaking hands and embracing on horse-
backe. The French king rode to Arde, and the king
of England returned to Calis.

¶ We haue omitted (as things superfluous to
speake of) all the honorable demenor and courteous
interciment used and shewed betwixt these prin-
ces and noble men on both parts, their sundrie fea-
stings and banquetings, what rich apparell, plate, and
other furniture of cupboards and tables, the princelie
gifts and rich iewels which were presented from one
to another, striving (as it might seeme) who should
shew himselfe most bounteous and liberrall: beside
the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the
French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which
amounted aboue the summe of ten thousand marks)
the k. of England spending at this time (as the same
went) aboue thre hundred thousand marks. After
the kings returne to Calis on wednesdaie next in-
stant, being All halloves daie, in solemne wise he
married the said labie Isabell in the church of saint
Nicholas, the archbishop of Canturburie doing the
office of the minister.

The thursdaie after, the dukes of Mleance and
Burbon came to Calis to see the king & the queene:
and on the fridaie they toke their leaue and depar-
ted, and rode to saint Omers to the French king. On
the same daie in the morning the king and the
queene toke their ship, and had faire passage: for
within thre houres they arrived at Douer, from
whence they sped them towards London, whereof
the citizens being warned, made out certeine horse-
men well appointed in one luerie of colour, with a
devill imbroidered on their sleeves, that euerie com-
panie might be knowne from other, the which with
the maior and his brethren, clothed in skarlet, met the
king and queene on Blackheath, and there doing
their duties with humble reuerence attended vpon
their maiesties till they came to Newington: where
the king commaunded the maior with his companie to
returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that

night at Kennington.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirtenth of Nouember,
the yong queene was conueied from thence with
great pompe vnto the Towre, at which time there
was such pzeale on London bridge, that by reason
thereof, certeine persons were thrust to death: a-
mong the which the prior of Ciptrie, a place in CEs-
ter was one, and a worshipfull matrone in Coznehill
an other. The morow after she was conueied to
Westminster with all the honoz that might be deu-
sed, and finallie there crowned queene vpon sun-
daie being then the seauenth of Januarie. On the
two and twentieth of Januarie was a parlement be-
gun at Westminster, in which the duke of Lancaster
caused to be legitimated the issue which he had begot
of Katharine Swinfort, before she was his wife. ¶ At
the same time Thomas Beaufort sonne to the said
duke, by the said Katharine, was created earle of
Summerset. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the
same parlement, that iustices should not haue arie
to sit with them as assistants. ¶ Moreover, there was
a tenth granted by the clergie to be paid to the kings
vse at two severall termes in that present yeare. In
this yeare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the
iustices south of Ireland, whom by constraint (as be-
fore ye haue heard) he was enforced to banish, there-
by to satisfie the noble men that would haue it so.

In this twentieth yeare of his reigne king Richard
receiuing the summes of monie (for the which the
strong towne of Brest was ingaged to him) by euill
counsell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the
duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small sparke
of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of
Gloucester, which kindled by such a flame (as it was
easie to do) finding matter enough to feed vpon in
both their brests, that finallie it could no longer be
kept downe, nor by anie meanes quenched. In the
moneth of Februarie, the king holding a sumptuous
feast at Westminster, many of the soldiors that were
newlie come from Brest pzealed into the hall, and
kept a come together. Whom as the duke of Glouc-
ster beheld, and vnderstood what they were, to re-
member how that towne was giuen by contrarie
to his mind and pleasure, it grieved him not a little:
and therefore as the king was entred into his cham-
ber, and few about him, he could not forbear, but
brake forth, and said to the king: Sir, saw ye not those
felowes that sate in such number this daie in the hall,
at such a table? The king answered that he saw
them, and asked the duke what they were? To whom
the duke made this answer: Sir, these be the soldiors
that came from Brest, and haue nothing now to take
to, nor yet know how to thift for their livings, and
the worse, for that (as I am informed) they haue bene
euill paid. Then said the king: What is against my
will, for I would that they should haue their due wa-
ges; and if anie haue cause to complaine, let them
shew the matter to the tresuroz, and they shall be
reasonable answered: and herewith he commaunded
that they should be appointed to foure certeine villa-
ges about London, there to remaine, and to haue
meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they
were paid.

Thus as they fell into reasoning of this matter, the
duke said to the king: Sir, your grace ought to put
your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by
seats of war, yet you take vpon you to sell or deliuer
anie towne or strong hold gotten with great adven-
ture by the manhood and policie of your noble proge-
nitours. To this the king with changed countenance
answered and said: Uncle, how say you that? And
the duke boldlie without feare recited the same a-
gaine, not changing one word in anie better sort.
¶ Wherevpon the king being more chafed, replied: Sir,
I thinke

Certeine
thrust to death
in the pzeale
on London
bridge.
John Stow.
The queens
coronation.
1297

The duke of
Lancaster his
bastards made
legitimate by
parlement.

The iustices
reuked out of
Ire.

Brest yeilded
by to the duke
of Britaine.

Private
grudge be-
twixt the
king and the
duke of Glou-
cester.

The talke be-
twixt the king
and the duke
of Gloucester.

Out of a
French pame-
phlet.

The French
king's daughter
to
king Richard
in marriage.

The order of
the French
kings service
at table.

The expen-
ses of king
Richard at
this inter-
marriage.

The marriage
commenced at
Calis.

The maior of
London and
the citizens
meete the k.
& the queene
on Blackheath.

all the night before, as should appeare by his iournie) came to the house, and entering into the court, asked if the duke were at home, and understanding by a gentlewoman that made him answer, that both the duke and duchesse were yet in bed, he besought hir to go to the duke, and to shew him that the king was coming at hand to speake with him, and forthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding in to the base court, his trumpets sounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the base court, where the king was, having none other apparell vpon him, but his shirt, and a cloke or a mantell cast about his shoulders, and with humble reuerence said that his grace was welcome, asking of the lords how it chanced they came so earlie, and sent him no word of their coming. The king herewith courtesously requested him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horse to be fabled, for that he must needs ride with him a little waie, and conferre with him of businesse. The duke went by againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horse, fell in talke with the duchesse and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerse other followed the duke into the hall, and there staid for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came forth againe all togither into the base court, where the king was deliuiting with the duchesse in pleasant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might staid no longer, and so toke his horse againe, and the duke likewise. But shortly after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the base court, he commanded the earle marshall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was done according to the kings appointment.

The duke of Gloucester arrested.

¶ Here we find some variance in writers. For as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue seene) it should appeare, the king commanded first, that this duke should be conueied vnto the towre, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuertheless, the king shortly after appointed, that he should be sent to Calis, as in the same pamphlet is also contained. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehension, the earle marshall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being set aboard in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length dispatched out of life, either strangled or smothered with pillowes (as some do write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Gloucester should stand to his answer openly, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his iustices called William Biskill, an Irishman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Gloucester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alledged against him, and the earles of Arundell and Warwicke, as after shall be specified. Justice Biskill hearing what he confessed vpon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to do, and therewith speedilie returned to the king, and as it hath bene reported, he informed the king: whether trulie or not, I haue not to say that the duke frankly confessed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Wherevpon the king sent vnto Thomas Mowbraye earle marshall and of Nottingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it done with all expedition, wherby the king conceived no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obied not his commandement. The earle thus as it seemed in manner enforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England,

and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smother him to death, or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that noble man, fierce of nature, hallic, wilfull, and giuen moze to war than to peace: and in this great lie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoever he wished to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not so soon as the brute ran of his death. But (as it should appeare by some authors) he remained alieue till the parlement that next ensued, and then about the same time that the earle of Arundell suffered, he was dispatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerail pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there creted.

The same euening that the king departed from London towards Plashie, to apprehend the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were sent with a great number of men of armes and archers to arrest the erle of Arundell; which was done easilie inough, by reason that the said earle was trained with faire words at the kings hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwile he might haue bene able to haue saued himselfe, and deliuered his friends. The earle of Warwicke was taken, and committed to the towre the same day that the king had willed him to dinner, and shewed him verie good countenance. There were also apprehended and committed to the towre the same time, the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was sent to the Isle of Wight, there to remaine as prisoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined so to prouide, that they should be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of some commotion that might arise amongst the commons, he caused it by open proclamation to be signified, that these noblemen were not apprehended for any offense committed long agoe, but for new trespasses against the king, as in the next parlement should be manifestlie declared and proued.

Shortly after, he procured them to be indicted at Nottingham, suborning such as should appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraye earle marshall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, John Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Somerset, John Mowbraye earle of Salisburie, Thomas lord Spenser, and the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing what might be attempted against him by those that fauoured these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keepe watch and ward about his person. They were about two thousand archers, paid weeklie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little trust in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland some to the duke of York, and in the earle of Salisburie: in these onelie he reposed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priue chamber.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beside them of whom we haue spoken, were apprehended and put in sundrie prisons. The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September, and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arrais: for it was not knownen how the dukes of Lancaster and York would take the death

* For he was son to a king, and uncle to a king.

The earle of Arundell apprehended.

The names of the appellants.

A gard of Cheshire men about the king.

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parliament.

Polydor.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
York assemble
their
powers to re-
sist the kings
dealings.

Caxton,
Fabian,
Polydor.

The king and
the dukes re-
conciled.

Caxton.

The great
parliament.

of their brother, nor how other piers of the realme would take the apprehension and imprisonment of their kinsmen, the earles of Arundell and Mar-
twike, and of the other prisoners. Suerlie the two
dukes when they heard that their brother was so sub-
denlie made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the
matter, and began both to be sorrowfull for his death,
and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw
how the king abused by the counsell of euill men ab-
steined not from such an heinous act, they thought he
would afterwards attempt greater misorders from
time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast,
great numbers of their seruants, friends, and te-
nants, and coming to London, were receiued into
the citie. For the Londoners were right soie for the
death of the duke of Glocester, who had euer sought
their fauour, in somuch that now they would haue
borne contented to haue ioined with the dukes in se-
king reuenge of so noble a mans death, procured and
brought to passe without law or reason, as the com-
mon brute then walked; although peradventure he
was not as yet made awaie.

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and ma-
nie things were proponed. Some would that they
shuld by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death,
other thought it meet that the earles Marshall and
Duntington, and certeine others, as these authours
of all the mischief should be pursued and punished for
their demerites, hauing trained by the king in vice
and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the
dukes after their displeasure was somewhat asswa-
ged, determined to coner the stings of their griefes
for a time, and if the king would amend his maners,
to forget also the injuries past. In the meane time
the king late at Clitham, and had got about him a
great power, namely of those archers, which he had
sent for out of Cheshire, in whome he put a singular
trust more than in any other.)

There went messengers betwixt him and the
dukes, which being men of honour did their endeavour
to appease both parties. The king discharged himselfe
of blame for the duke of Glocesters death, conside-
ring that he had gone about to breake the truce, which
he had taken with France, and also stirred the peo-
ple of the realme to rebellion, and further had sought
the destruction and losse of his life, that was his soue-
reigne lord and lawfull king. Contrarie, the dukes
affirmed, that their brother was wrongfullie put to
death, hauing done nothing worthy of death. At
length, by the intercession and meanes of those noble
men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were ac-
corded, & the king promised from thenceforth to do
nothing but by the assent of the dukes; but he kept
small promise in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

When the time came, that the parliament should be
holden at Westminster, according to the tenour of
the summons, the lords repaired thither, furni-
shed with great retinues both of armed men and ar-
chers, as the earle of Derby, the earle Marshall, the
earle of Kentland, the lord Spencer, the earle of Dor-
set, the lord Thomas Percie the said earles brother,
also the lord Scrope treasurer of England, & diuerse
other. All the which earles and lords brought with
them a great & strong power, suerie of them in their
best arraie, as it were to strengthen the king against
his enemies. The dukes of Lancaster and York
were likewise there, giuing their attendance on the
king with like furniture of men of armes & archers.
There was not halfe lodging sufficient within the
citie & suburbs of London for such companies of men
as the lords brought with them to this parliament,
called the great parliament: in somuch that they were
constrained to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue

miles on ech side the citie.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king
greatlie complained of the misdeuour of the
piers and lords of his realme, as well for the things
done against his will and pleasure, whiles he was
young, as for the streit dealing, which they had shewed
towards the quene, who was three houres at one
time on hir knees before the earle of Arundell, for one
of hir chiquiers, named John Caluerlie, who neuer
thelesse had his head smit fro his shoulders, & all the
answer that she could get, was this: Gadame, prae
for your selfe, and your husband, for that is best, and
let this sute alone. Those that set forth the kings
griuances, as prolocutors in this parlement were
these: John Bishie, William Bagot, and Thomas
Craue. The king had caused a large house of tim-
ber to be made within the palace at Westminster,
which he was called an hall, couered aboue head with
tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might
see through it. This house was of so great a com-
passe, that scarce it might stand within the romme of
the palace. In this house was made an high throne
for the king, and a large place for all estates besides
to sit in. There were places also made for the ap-
pellants to stand on the one side, and the defendants on
the other, and a like romme was made behind for the
knights and burgesses of the parlement. There was
a place deuised for the speaker, named sir John
Bishie, a knight of Lincolnshire, accompted to be an
exceeding cruell man, ambitious, and conetous be-
yond measure.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his
rome, the cause of assembling that parlement was
shewed, as that the king had called it for reformation
of diuerse transgressions and oppressions committed
against the peace of his land by the duke of Gloce-
ster, the earles of Arundell, Martrwike, and others.
Then sir John Bishie stopt forth, and made request
on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it might
please the kings highnesse for their heinous acts at-
tempted against his lawes and roiall maiestie, to ap-
point them punishment according to their deser-
uings, and speciallie to the archbishop of Cantur-
burie (who then sat next the king) whome he accused of
high treason, for that he had euill counselled his ma-
iestie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon
to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke
traitor.

When the archbishop began to answer in his owne
defense, the king willed him to sit downe againe and
to hold his peace, for all should be well. Here with sir
John Bishie besought the king, that the archbishop
should not be admitted to make his answer, which if
he did, by reason of his great wit and good utter-
ance, he feared least he should lead men awaie to
believe him: so the archbishop might be heard no fur-
ther. Sir John Bishie in all his talke, when he pro-
poned any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to
him titles of honour, due and accustomed, but inuen-
ted bruised termes and such strange names, as were
rather agreable to the diuine maiestie of God, than
to any earthlie potentate. The prince being desirous
inough of all honour, and more ambitious than
was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and
gaue good care to his talke.

Thus when the archbishop was constrained to
keepe silence, sir John Bishie proceeded in his pur-
pose, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that
the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to
wit, the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundell
and Martrwike, should be reuoked by consent of all
the estates now in parlement assembled. The king
also for his part protested, that those pardons were
not voluntarie granted by him, but rather extorted
by

The king
granted
pardon
parliament

The king
John Bishie
William Ba-
got, Thomas
Craue.

I now to
made
the palace
well known
for the
ment of the
parliament

John Bishie
Polydor.
Sir John
Bishie
Speaker.

The arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie
king in
ment to
sed of
by the

Arundell
Bishie

by compulsion, and therefore he besought them that
 enie man would shew forth their opinions what
 they thought thereof. There were two other persons
 of great credit with the king, besides sir John Bus-
 shie, that were, as before ye haue heard, verie ear-
 nest to haue those charters of pardon reuoked and
 made void, to wit, sir William Bagot, and sir Tho-
 mas Greene.

But because this matter seemed to require good
 deliberation, it was first put to the bishops, who with
 small adu gaue sentence, that the said charters were
 reuocable, and might well inough be called in: yet
 the archbishop of Canturburie in his answer here-
 unto said, that the king from whome those pardons
 came, was so high an estate, that he durst not saie,
 that anie such charters by him granted, might be re-
 uoked: notwithstanding, his brethren the bishops
 thought otherwise: not considering (saith Thomas
 Walsingham) that such reuoking of the kings char-
 ters of pardon should sound highlie to the kings dis-
 honor: forsomuch as mercie and pardoning trans-
 gressions is accompted to be the confirmation and
 establishing of the kings seat and roiall estate.

The temporall lords perceiving what the bishops
 had done, did likewise giue their consents, to reuoke
 the same pardons: but the iudges with those that
 were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but
 finally the bishops pretending a scrupulositie, as if
 they might not with safe consciences be present
 where iudgement of blood should passe, they appoint-
 ed a laie man to be their prolocutor: to serue that
 turne. To conclude, at length all manner of charters
 of pardon were made void, for that the same seemed
 to impeach the suertie of the kings person. When sir
 John Busshie and his associates had obtained that re-
 uocation, it was further by them declared, that the
 earle of Arundell had yet an other speciall charter of
 pardon for his owne person, which he had obtained
 after the first. And therefore sir John Busshie ear-
 nestlie requested in name of the communalitie that
 the same might likewise be reuoked.

The question then was asked of the bishops, who
 declared themselves to be of the like opinion, touch-
 ing that charter, as they were of the other. At that
 selfe time the archbishop of Canturburie absented
 himselfe from the parlement, in hope that the king
 would be his friend, and stand his verie god lord, for
 that he had promised nothing should be done against
 him in the parlement whilst he was absent. But
 neuertheless, at the importunate sute of the said
 sir John Busshie and others, the archbishop was con-
 demned unto perpetuall exile, and appointed to avoid
 the realme within six weekes. And therewith the king
 sent secretlie to the pope for order that the archbishop
 might be removed from his see to some other, which
 sute was obtained, and Roger Walden lord treasu-
 rer was ordained archbishop in his place, as after
 shall appeare.

On the feast daie of saint Matthias, Richard fitz
 Aline, earle of Arundell, was brought forth to
 sweare before the king and whole parlement to such
 articles as he was to be charged with. And as he
 stood at the bar, the lord Beull was commanded by
 the duke of Lancaster, which sat that daie as high
 steward of England, to take the hood from his necke,
 and the girdle from his waiste. When the duke of Lan-
 caster declared unto him, that for his manifold rebel-
 lions and treasons against the kings maiestie he had
 bene arrested, and hitherto kept in ward, and now
 at the petition of the lords and commons, he was
 called to answer such crimes as were there to be ob-
 tained against him, and so to purge himselfe, or else to
 suffer for his offences, such punishment as law ap-
 pointed.

First, he charged him, for that he had traitorously
 rid in armour against the king in companie of the
 duke of Gloucester, and of the earle of Warwick, to
 the breach of peace, and disquieting of the realme.
 His answer hereto was, that he did not this upon
 anie euill meaning towards the kings person, but
 rather for the benefit of the king and realme, if it were
 interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It
 was further demanded of him, whie he procured let-
 ters of pardon from the k. if he knew himselfe gilt-
 lesse: He answered, that he did not purchase them for
 anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but
 to staie the malicious speach of them that neither lo-
 ued the king nor him. He was againe asked, whether
 he would denie that he had made anie such rode with
 the persons before named, and that in companie of
 them he entred not armed unto the kings presence
 against the kings will and pleasure: To this he an-
 swered, that he could not denie it, but that he so
 did.

Then the speaker sir John Busshie, with open
 mouth, besought that iudgement might be had a-
 gainst such a traitour: and pour faithfull commons
 (said he to the king) aske and require that so it may
 be done. The earle turning his head aside, quietlie
 said to him; Not the kings faithfull commons require
 this, but thou, and what thou art I know. Then the
 eight appellants standing on the other side, cast their
 gloues to him, and in prosecuting their appeale (which
 already had bene read) offered to fight with him
 man to man to iustifie the same. When said the earle,
 If I were at libertie, and that it might so stand with
 the pleasure of my soueraigne, I would not refuse to
 proue you all liars in this behalfe. Then spake the
 duke of Lancaster, saieing to him; What haue you
 further to saie to the points before laid against you?
 He answered, that of the kings grace he had his let-
 ters of generall pardon, which he required to haue al-
 lowed. Then the duke told him, that the pardon was
 reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parle-
 ment, and therefore willed him to make some other
 answer. The earle told him againe that he had an
 other pardon vnder the kings great seale, granted
 him long after of the kings owne motion, which also
 he required to haue allowed. The duke told him, that
 the same was likewise reuoked. After this, when the
 earle had nothing more to saie for himselfe, the duke
 pronounced iudgement against him, as in cases of
 treason is used.

But after he had made an end, and paused a
 little, he said: The king our soueraigne lord of his
 mercie and grace, because thou art of his blood,
 and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remit-
 ted all the other paines, sauing the last, that is to
 saie, the beheading, and so thou shalt onlie lose thy
 head; and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through
 London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him
 to see the execution done sir great lords, of whome
 there were three earles, Nottingham (that had marri-
 ed his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters son)
 and Huntington, being mounted on great horses,
 with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce
 bands of the Cheshire-men, furnished with ares,
 swords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and
 behind him, who onlie in this parlement had licence
 to beare weapon, as some haue written. When he
 should depart the palace, he desired that his hands
 might be loosed to dispose such monie as he had in his
 purse, betwixt that place and Charingcrosse. This
 was permitted, and so he gaue such monie as he had
 in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were
 still bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men
 that were about him, moued him right earnestlie to
 acknow-

The earle of
 Arundell his
 answers to
 the points of
 his indictment.

The earle of
 Arundell con-
 demned.

The charters
 of pardon gran-
 ted to the lords
 were made void by
 parliament.

Thom. Wals.

The archb. of
 Canturburie
 continued to
 persecute the
 commons.

The earle of
 Arundell de-
 tained.

The duke of
 Lancaster high
 steward of
 England at
 the parliament.

acknowledge his treason against the king. But he in no wise would so do, but maintained that he was neuer traitour in word or deed: and herewith perceiving the earles of Nottingham and Kent, that stood by with other noble men busie to further the execution (being as yet have heard) of him and alied to him, he spake to them, and said: I wote it would have beene seemed you rather to have bene absent than here at this busynesse. But the time will come yet it be long, when as manie shall mervell at your misfortune as do now at mine. After this, forgiving the executioner, he besought him not to torment him long, but to strike off his head at one blowe, and feeling the edge of the sword, whether it was sharpe enough or not, he said: It is verie well, do that thou hast to do quickly, and so kneeling downe, the executioner with one stroke, strake off his head: his bodie was buried together with his head in the church of the Augustine friers in Breadstreet within the cite of London.

The execution of the earle of Arundell.

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, considering his sudden fall and miserable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was such a number, as no countrie in the world had greater store at that present) there was none more esteemed: so noble and valiant he was, that all men spake honour of him. After his death, as the same went, the king was sore vexed in his sleepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare unto him threatening him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had said with the poet to king Richard;

Enid.

*Nunc quod factorum venio memor umbra tuorum,
Inferior & vultus offesa formatus.*

With which visions being sore troubled in sleepe, he cursed the daie that ever he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, because he heard it reported, that the common people took the earle for a martyr, insomuch that some came to visit the place of his sepulture, for the opinion they had conceived of his holinesse. And where it was bouted abroad as for a miracle, that his head should be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king sent about ten of the clocke in the night, certaine of the nobilitie to see his bodie taken up, that he might be certified of the truth. Which done, and perceiving it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were set up about the place of his buriall, and to cover the graue, so as it should not be perceived where he was buried.

The earle of Warwicke arrested of treason.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwicke was brought forth to abide his trial by parlement, and when his accusers charged him in like points of treason, such as before were imposed to the earle of Arundell; he answered that he neuer meant euill to the kings person, nor thought that those robes and assemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accounted treason. But when the iudges had helved him, that they could not be otherwise taken than for treason, he humbly besought the king of mercie and grace. The king then asked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Arundell, as had bene alleged: He answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer seene them. When said the king, Do ye not know that you are guiltie of treason: He answered againe, I acknowledge it; and with sobbing teares besought all them that were present, to make intercession to the kings maiestie for him.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaster communed, and after the king had a while with silence considered of the matter, he said to the earle; By

saint John Baptist, Thomas of Warwicke, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more auailable than all the duke of Gloucesters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making full intercession for pardon, the lords humbly besought the king to grant it. Finally the king pardoned him of life, but banished him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scropes, promising that both he, and his wife, and children, should haue good intertainment. Which promise notwithstanding was but slenderly kept, for both the earle and the countesse liued in great penurie (as some wote) and yet the lord Scrope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thousand nobles percellie paid out of the kings coffers.

On the mondaie next after the arresignment of the earle of Warwicke, to wit, the foure and twentieth of September, was the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheine arresigned, and found guiltie of like treasons for which the other had bene condemned before: but at the earnest instance and sute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetuall prison. The king desirous to see the force of the Londoners, caused them (during the time of this parlement) to muster before him on Blakhe heath, where a man might haue seene a great number of able personages. And now after that the parlement had continued almost till Christmasse, it was adourned untill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shrewesburie.

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Christmasse, which being ended, he took his iourne towards Shrewesburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of saint Hilarie, as before yet haue heard. In which parlement there holden upon prorogation, for the lone that the king bare to the gentlemen and commons of the shire of Chesser, he caused it to be ordeined that from thenceforth it should be called and knowne by the name of the principalltie of Chesser: and herewith he intituled himselfe prince of Chesser. He held also a roiall feast, keeping open household for all honest commers, during the which feast, he created five dukes and a duchesse, a marquisse, and foure earles. The earle of Derby was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Nottingham that was also earle marshall duke of Norfolk, the earle of Rutland duke of Aubermarle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Excester; the lady Margaret marshall countesse of Norfolk, was created duchesse of Norfolk; the earle of Summer set marques Dorset, the lord Spenser earle of Gloucester, the lord Beuill surnamed Daurable earle of Westmerland, the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Thomas Persie lord steward of the kings house earle of Worcester.

And for the better maintenance of the estate of these noble men, whome he had thus advanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of those lands that belonged to the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwicke, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted up all plants of treason, and therefore cared lesse who might be his friend or his fo, than before he had done, esteeming himselfe higher in degree than anie prince liuing, and so presumed further than ever his grandfather did, and took upon him to beare the armes of saint Edward, joining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, whatsoeuer he then did, none durst speake a word contrarie thereto. And yet such as were chiefe of his counsell, were esteemed of the commons to be the worst creatures that might be,

The parlement adourned to Shrewesburie.

The king himselfe had Christmasse at Lichfield, 1398.

The earle made a great expellite.

Richard prince of Chesser. Creation of dukes and earles.

Richard beareth the armes of Edward his grandfather.

as the dukes of Aumarle, Dorfolke and Excester, the earle of Wiltsheire, sir John Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Grene: which thre last remembred were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and plaine hatred.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, the lord Reginald Cobham, being a verie aged man, simple and byright in all his dealings, was condemned for none other cause, but for that in the eleuenth yere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinaunces also deuised and established in the parlement holden in the eleuenth yere were likewise repealed. Moreover, in this parlement at Shrewsburie, it was decreed, that the lord John Cobham should be sent into the Ile of Gerneise, there to remaine in exile, hauing a small portion assigned him to liue vpon. The king so wrought & brought things about, that he obtained the whole power of both houses to be granted to certeine persons, as to John duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of Porke, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, John duke of Excester, John marquisse Dorset, Roger earle of March, John earle of Salisburie, and Henrie earle of Dorchesterland, Thomas earle of Glocester, and William earle of Wiltsheire, John Haultie, Henrie Chelmeuile, Robert Teie, and John Conlofer knights, or to seauen or eight of them. These were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this grant, they proceeded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the states thereof, to the disauantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

When the king had spent much monie in time of this parlement, he demanded a disme and a halfe of the clergie, and a fifteenth of the tempozaltie. Finally, a general pardon was granted for all offences to all the kings subiects (fifte onelie excepted) whose names he would not by anie meanes expresse, but referred them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keepe them still within his danger. To the end that the ordinaunces, iudgements, and acts made, pronounced and established in this parlement, might be and abide in perpetuall strength and force, the king purchased the popes bulls, in which were contained greuous censures and curses, pronounced against all such as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the statutes in the same parlement ordeined. These bulls were openlie published & read at Paules crosse in London, and in other the most publike places of the realme.

Spanie other things were done in this parlement, to the displeasure of no small number of people; namelie, for that diuerse rightfull heires were disherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the same parlement: with which wrongfull doings the people were much offended, so that the king and those that were about him, and chiefe in counsell, came in to great infaime and slander. In deed the king after he had dispatched the duke of Glocester, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them still readie to disappoint him in all his purposes, and therefore being now as it were carelesse, did not behaue himselfe (as some haue written) in such discreet order, as manie wished: but rather (as in time of prosperitie it often happeneth) he forgot himselfe, and began to rule by will more than by reason, threatening death to each one that obeyed not his inordinate desires.

By means thereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they took for a man destitute of sobrietie and wisdom, and therefore could not like of him, that so abused his authoritie.

Herevpon there were sundrie of the nobles, that lamented these mischances, and speciallie they wed their griefes vnto such, by whose naughtie counsell they vnderstood the king to be misled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counsell; or else he hauing knowledge that euill report went of him, might mend his maners misliked of his nobles. But all this in vaine, for so it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, Henrie duke of Hereford accused Thomas Spolwzaire duke of Dorfolke, of certeine words which he should utter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither late lie before betwixt London and Wainford, sounding highlie to the kings dishonour. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Dorfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloyal to the king, and enemie vnto the realme. This supplication was red before both the dukes, in presence of the king: which done, the duke of Dorfolke took vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an untrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it: he taking his hood off his head, said; My soueraine lord, euen as the supplication which I take you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Spolwzaire duke of Dorfolke is a traitour, false and disloyal to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realme.

When the duke of Dorfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: Right deere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your cosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, like a false and disloyal traitor as he is, doth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me other wise than well. So more said the king, we haue heard enough: and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Porke the duke of Aumarle constable of England: and the duke of Surrie marshall of the realme undertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Dorfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windso: castell, and there garded with keepers that were appointed to see him safelie kept.

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come vnto Windso:, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windso: for the king to sit with the lords and prelates of his realme: and so at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelates being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Dorfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir John Bushie to speake for the king, declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as appertained to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Dorfolke of treason.

Thom. Wail

The duke of Surrie marshall and the duke of Aumarle constable of England.

The order of the proceeding in this appeale.

Edw. King
John Cobham
condemned.

Edw. King
John Cobham
condemned.

John Wail

Edw. King
John Cobham
condemned.

Edw. King
John Cobham
condemned.

Edw. King
John Cobham
condemned.

an other, and to shall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being constable, and the other marshall, to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendand, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to some agrement: and for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had bene said or done amisse betwixt them, touching anie harme or dishonor to him or his realme: but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agrement made betwixt them.

When he heard that they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought forthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Here with an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commended the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace together without moze delaie. When they were come before the king and lordes, the king spake himselfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace together: for it is (said he) the best waie ye can take. The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace together, and become friends?

Then stood forth a knight; who asking and obtaining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said; Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford and earle of Derby, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraye duke of Norfolke is a false and disloyall traitor: to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraye duke of

Norfolke hath receiued eight thousand nobles to pay the soldiers that keepe your towne of Calis, which he hath not done as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath bene the occasion of all the treason that hath bene contriued in your realme for the space of these eightene yeares, & by his false suggestions and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right deare uncle, the duke of Gloucester, sonne to king Edward. Mowbraye, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lihs. The king herewith wared angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his words, who answered: Right deare lord, they are my words; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him.

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and obtaining, it began to answer thus: Right deare souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraye duke of Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauiug the reuerence due to the king and his counsell) is a lie; and the said Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloyall knight, and both hath bene, and is a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to do with my bodie against his: right deare lord, I beseech you therefore, and your counsell, that it maie please you in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said.

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his words, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: Right deare sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis, which I haue done, and I demand

that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandment as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath bene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right deare and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almaine, where we spent great treasure: Marie true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth: but neuer the lesse he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was god peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yeld him hartie thanks. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against mine aduerfary; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell against him in vpright iudgement.

After this, when the king had communed with his counsell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand forth, that their answers might be heard. The king then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agree and make peace together, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke took it vp. The king perceiuing this demeanour betwixt them, swore by saint Iohn Baptiste, that he would neuer seeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therefore sir John Buthie in name of the king & his counsell declared, that the king and his counsell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. & Here withers disagre about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a Monday daie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuententh of September, other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onlie the daie, but also appointed them lihs and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter appertained.

At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein, comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall lihs there to be created and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp nere to the lihs, and the duke of Norfolke put on his armes, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautiful house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was done within the house.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie marshall, placed themselves betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the lihs with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbodered with siluer, both richlie and curiously, euerie man hauing a tipped stasse to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the barriers of the lihs, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with greene & blew belnet imbodered sumptuously with swans and antelops of goldsmiths towre, armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he answered;

The objection
against the
duke of Nor-
folke.

The combat
appointed to
be done at
Couentrie.
The French
pamphlet.
John Stow.
Fabian.

Anno Regni

The order of
the combat.

The duke of
Norfolke his
answer for
himselfe.

An. Reg. 21.

" answered; I am Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, which am come hither to do mine indeuor against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me. Then incontinently he swore vpon the holie gospels, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists; Then he put by his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his bozle, and with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene velvet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

Some after him, entered into the field with great triumph, king Richard accompanied with all the paires of the realme, and in his companie was the earle of Saint Paule, which was come out of France in poss to see this challenge performed. The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by quarrelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, which was righte hangd and adorned; a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterpise or attempt to approach touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried; Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford appellant, which is entered into the lists roiall to do his deuor against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk defendant, vpon paine to be found false and recreant.

The duke of Norfolk howered on horsebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horse being barbed with crimson velvet, imbrodered richlie with lions of silver and mulberie trees; and when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell was iust and true, he entered the field manfullie, saying aloud: God aid him that hath the right, and then he departed from his horse, & fate him downe in his chaire which was of crimson velvet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall bielded their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolk by a knight. When the herald proclaimed that the traueses & chaires of the champions should be removed, commanding them on the kings behalfs to mount on horsebacke, & addresse themselves to the battell and combat.

The combat
began by the
king.The king his
came betwixt
the two dukes

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horsed, and closed his bauler, and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiously towards his enimie sir or seven paces. The duke of Norfolk was not fullie set forward, when the king cast downe his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho. Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his counsell deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finally, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be done therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir John Bussie the kings secreta-rie read the sentence and determination of the king and his counsell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fiftene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, because he had soluen sedition in the realme

by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approach the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treasure for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still unpaid.

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him, both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willingly; nor haue any companie to gather in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humble, and so went their wayes. The duke of Norfolk departed sorrowfull out of the realme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie decreased: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue bene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it grieved him not a little. The duke of Hereford took his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment: so he took his iourne ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained. A wonder it was to see what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and street where he came, before he took the sea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defence and comfort of the common wealth was bated and gone.

The duke of
Hereford be-
lieued of the
people.

At his comming into France, king Charles hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be verie light) receiued him gentlie, and him honorable intertained, in so much that he had by fauour obtained in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berry, vnle to the French king, if king Richard had not bene a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, sent the earle of Salisburie with all speed into France, both to surmise by vntrue suggestion, the heinous offenses against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cou- sine to be matched in mariage with him that was so manifest an offendor. This was a pestilent kind of proceeding against that nobleman then being in a forren countrie, hauing bene so honorable receiued as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon vieto and good liking of his behaviour there, so forward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So sharpe, so seuer, & so heinous an accusation, brought to a strange king from a naturall prince, against his subject, after punishment inflicted (for he was banished) was inough to haue made the French king his fatal so, & vpon suspicion of assailing the like treche-rie against him, to haue throwne him out of the li- mits of his land. But what will enue leaue vn- attempted, where it is once settled? And how are the ma- licious tormented with egerne of reuenge against them whom they maligne, wizinging themselves in the meane tise with inward pangs gnawing them at the hart: whereunto serueth the poets allusion,

Froissard.

Hor. lib. epist. 1.

*Invidia Siculi non inueniunt tyranni
Mains tormentum.*

On the twelues day this yeare, the riuer that pas- seth betwixt Suellston or Snellston, and Harewood, two villages not far from Bedford, suddenlie ceased his course, so as the chanell remained drie by the space of three miles, that any man might enter into, and passe the same drie foot at his pleasure. This di- uision, which the water made in that place, the one part seeming as it were not to come nere to the o- ther, was iudged to signifie the reuolting of the sub- iects of this land from their naturall prince. It may be, that the water of that riuer ranke into the ground, and by some secret passage or chanell toke course

I 399

course till it came to the place where it might rise a gaine as in other places is likewise kene.

Tabian.

Blanche charter.

The death of the duke of Lancaster.

Tho. Wals.

The duke of York's military the count & goeth home.

The realm set to farme by the king.

Tho. Wals.

De haue heard before, how the archbishop of Cantuarburie Thomas Arundell, was banished the realme, and Roger Walden was made archbishop of that see, who was a great fauourer of the cite of London, the which was cittyfones about this season fallen into the kings displeasure: but by the diligent labour of this archbishop, and of Robert Walsbyoke then bishop of London, upon the humble supplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuised, and brought into the cite, which manie of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with payment of monie, as otherwise.

In this meane time, the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elyes place in Wolborne, and lieth buried in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, on the northside of the high altar, by the ladie Blanche his first wife. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneys generall to sue luerie for him, of any manner of inheritances or possessions that might from thenceforth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his utter vndoing.

This hard dealing was much disliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort: but namelie the duke of Boke was therewith soe moued, who before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie nere, as the death of his brother the duke of Gloucester, the banishment of his nephew the said duke of Hereford, and other mo injuries in great number, which for the superie pouth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget as well as he might. But now perceiving that neither law, iustice nor equitie could take place, where the kings willfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, he considered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie must needs decate, by reason of the king his lacke of wit, and want of such as would (without flatterie) admonish him of his dutie: and therefore he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place, and to leaue the following of such an vnadvised captaine, as with a leden sword would cut his owne throat.

Whereupon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langley, reioysing that nothing had mishapened in the common-wealth through his deuise or consent. The common brute ran, that the king had set to farme the realme of England, vnto sir William Scrope earle of Wilthire, and then treasurer of England, to sir John Bussie, sir John Bagot, and sir Henrie Greene knights. ¶ About the same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Creters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell late archbishop of Cantuarburie, as then sojourning at Cullen. ¶ King Richard being desirous

of treasure to furnish such a peticellie post as he maintained, borrowed great summes of monie of manie of the great lordes and peres of his realme, both spiritual and temporal, and likewise of other meane persons, promising them in good earnest, by bestowing to them his letters patents for assurance, that he would repate the monie so borrowed at a daie appointed: which notwithstanding he neuer paid.

Moreover, this yeare he caused seuerall shires of the realme by waies of putting them to their fines to paie no small summes of monie, for redeeming their old debts, that they had aised the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, and Gloucestre, when they rose in armes against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were enforced also to receiue a new oth to aduise the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certaine prelates and other honorable personages, were sent into the same shires to persuaue men to this payment, and to see all things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and further the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constrained to paie, were not small, but exceeding great, to the offense of manie. Moreover, the kings letters patents were sent into euerie shire within this land, by vertue wherof, an oth was demanded of all the kings liege people for a further assurance of their due obedience, and they were constrained to ratifie the same in writing vnder their hands and seales.

Moreover they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certaine blankes, wherof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleased him he might write what he thought good. There was also a new oth deuised for the shiriffes of euerie countie through the realme to receiue: finalle, manie of the kings liege people were through spite, enuie, and malice, accused, apprehended, & put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshall of England, in the court of chivalrie, and might not otherwise be deliuered, except they could iustifie themselves by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lustie, yong and valiant, where the parties accused were perchance old, impotent, maimed and sicklie. Whereupon not onelie the great destruction of the realme in generall, but also of euerie singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

¶ About this time the bishop of Calcedon came into England, with letters apostolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and loiall of the land should of their goods disburse somewhat to the emperor of Constantinople, who was extremelie vexed and troubled by the Tartars, and their capteine called Aporet. And to the intent that the peres of the land might be made the more willing and forward to bestow their contribution in this behalfe, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confessed) full remission, and wrapped in his bitter censures all such as hindered those that were willing to bestow their beneuolence in this case; considering, that although the emperor was a schismaticke, yet was he a christian, and if by the infidels he should be oppressed, all christendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that saleng of the poet full fit for his purpose,

Tunc tuares agitur paries cum proximo ardet.

¶ In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trees withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe, a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknewne euent. ¶ In this meane time the king being aduertised that the wild Irish daile wasted and destroyed the towtens and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the soldiers which laie there in garrison for defense of that countrie.

Some call it a new oth.

The prince of Wales was called Blanche the 2d. sonne of the king.

The people confirmed oth of allegiance by writing seals.

Inditred dealings.

Ab. Florid. Thom. Wals. pag. 37.

Ab. Florid. Thom. Wals. pag. 37.

Polyd.

Books at
Windsor.

The king sail-
ed over into
Ireland with
a great armie,
consisting
of
The duke of
Gloucester
governor
of England,
the king be-
ing in Ire-
land.
Hen. Marl.

Out of a
French pam-
phlet that be-
longeth to
maister John
Dee.

Spacmur.

Pioneers set a
work to cut
downe woods.

Spacmur sent
back to the king
offering a
parley.

countre, determined to make efflowes a boiage thi-
ther, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage
now against the spring. A little before his setting
forth, he caused a tuss to be holden at Windesore of
fourtie knights and fourtie esquiers, against all com-
mers, & they to be apparelled in greene, with a white
falcon, and the queene to be there well accompani-
ed with ladies and damfels. When these tuss were
finisshed, the king departed toward Wiltshire, from
thence to passe into Ireland, leaving the queene with
hir traine still at Windesore: he appointed for his
lieutenant generall in his absence his uncle the duke
of Gloucster: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diverse
authors write, he set forward from Windesore, and fi-
nally toke shipping at Spilford, and from thence
with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of
men of armes and archers he sailed into Ireland.
The first daie next after his arrivall, there were slaine
two hundred Irishmen at Fford in Kenlis within
the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman
Genico Dartois, and such Englishmen as he had
there with him: and on the morrow next ensuing the
citizens of Dublin invaded the countie of Dubryn,
and slue thirtie and thre Irishmen.

The king also after he had remained about seven
daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards
Bilkennie, and comming thither, staid thereabout
fourteen daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that
was appointed to haue met him, but he failed and
came not, whereupon the king on Spilsumner even
set forward againe, marching straight towards the
countie of Spacmur the principall rebell in that
season within Ireland, who keeping himselfe among
woods with thre thousand right hardie men, seemed
to passe little for any power that might be brought a-
gainst him. Yet the king appochoing to the skirts of
the woods, commanded his soldiers to fyer the houses
and villages: which was executed with great for-
wardnesse of the men of war. And here for some va-
liant act that he did, or some other favourable respect,
which the king bare to the lord Henrie sonne to the
duke of Hereford, he made him knight. ¶ This Hen-
rie was called king of England, succeding his fa-
ther, and called by the name of Henrie the sixt. There
were nine or ten others made knights also at the
same time.

Afterward, there were two thousand & thre hundred
pioneers set a worke to cut downe the woods, and to
make passages through, and so then the Englishmen
entred, and by force got through: for the Irishmen
were feared the English bowes, but yet now and then
they espieng their advantage, assailed oftentimes
Englishmen with their darts, and slue diverse that
went abroad to fetch in forrage. The uncle of Spa-
cun having a withie or with about his necke, came
in and submitted himselfe, and likewise manie other
naked and bare legged: so that the king seeming to
pity their miserable state, pardoned them, and after-
ward he also sent unto Spacmur, promising that if he
would come in and require pardon as his uncle had
done, he would receive him to mercie: but Spacmur
understanding that for want of vittels, the king
must needs retire within a short time, he refused the
kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in
those parts 11 daies, was in the end constrained to
come backe, when all their vittels were spent: for
more than they brought with them they could not
get. They lost manie horses in this iourne for want
of provision and forrage.

As the king was withdravne towards Dublin,
marching through the countie, in despite of his eni-
mies, that howred still about his armie, Spacmur
sent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if
it should please him to send any noble man to meet

him at a place appointed. The king hereupon com-
manded the earle of Glocester to take with him two
hundred lances, and a thousand archers, and to go to
trie if he might by persuation cause him to come in
and submit himselfe. The earle went, and comming
to talke with him, found him so obstinate, that their
parlee straightwaies brake off: so taking leaue each
of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the
king, to advertise him what he had done and percei-
ued by the communication which he had had with
Spacmur.

The king was sore offended with the obstinatnes
of the rebell, that would not agree otherwise: but so
as he might remaine still at libertie, without danger
to suffer anye manner of punishment for his passed of-
fenses. Whereupon the king after his comming to
Dublin, and that the armie had rested there, and in
the countie nere to the citie, for the space of fiftene
daies, he divided his people into thre parts, and sent
them abroad into the countie to pursue the enemies
and withall made proclamation, that who so cur-
could bring Spacmur unto his presence, should haue
for his recompense a great reward: for he determi-
ned not to depart the countie, till he had him either
dead or alive. But he knew full little then what inci-
dents to hinder his purposed intention would after
follow.

The same daie that he sent abroad his armie thus
into thre severall parts, the duke of Aumarle with
an hundred saile arrived, of whose coming the king
was right iofull; and although he had used no small
negligence in that he came no sooner according to or-
der before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a
gentle nature) courtesously accepted his excuse: whe-
ther he was in fault or not, I haue not to saie; but
verelie he was greatly suspected, that he dealt not
well in tarrying so long after his time assigned. But
now whilst the king rested at Dublin, his people so
demeaned themselves, that the most part of the re-
bels, that by manhood and policie were subdued, and
brought under subiection, and (as is to be thought) if
no trouble had risen in England to haue called him
backe, he meant to haue rid by the woods, and made
some notable conquest at that time upon the rebels
that yet held out. Nevertheless, during the time of
his abode there, such was the prowesse of him and his,
that the Irish were well tamed, and forced to submit
themselves: and yet the kings power made no great
slaughter of them, if it be true that Christ. Okl. saith,
speaking hereof in few words as after followeth:

*Pergit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Eibernos,
Ing. potestatem multo sine sanguine seuo
Arte reluctantes.*

*In Angl. preliis
sub Rich. 2.*

Now whilst he was thus occupied in devising how
to reduce them into subiection, and taking orders for
the good state and quiet government of the countie,
diverse of the nobilitie, aswell prelates as other, and
likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the
cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England,
perceiving daile how the realme drew to utter ru-
ine, not like to be recovered to the former state of
wealth, whilst king Richard lived and reigned (as
they took it) devised with great deliberation, and
considerate advise, to send and signifie by letters un-
to duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was
in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requir-
ing him with all convenient speed to conueie himselfe
into England, promising him all their aid, power and
assistance, if he expelling R. Richard, as a man not
meet for the office he bare, would take upon him the
scepter, rule, and diademe of his native land and re-
gion.

He therefore being thus called upon by messen-
gers and letters from his friends, and chiefe through

the

The earle of
Glocester.

Anno Reg. 23.
He came to
Dublin the
28 of June as
Henric Marl.
saith.

The duke of
Aumarle.

The duke of
Lancaster so-
licit to ex-
pell king Ri-
chard, and to
take upon him
the regment.

The duke of
Britaine a
great friend
to the duke of
Lancaster.

The duke of
Lancaster &
his adherents
flee into
England.

Donations to
Polychron.

Thom. Wall.

Chron. Brit.

Proffard.

Tho. Walling.

The commons
come to resist
the duke of
Lancaster.

The duke of
Lancaster is
killed in Poole
shire.

Donations to
Polychron.

The earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Cantuarburie, who as before we have heard, had bene removed from his see, and banished the realm by king Richard's means, for him downe to Britaine, together with the said archbishop, were he was ostentatiously received in the duke and duchesse, and bounding friendship in the duke's hands, but there were extreme ships gotten, and made ready for him, to place in the Britaine called Le port d'ant, as before the promoters of Britaine: and when all preparation was made ready, he took the sea, together with the said archbishop of Cantuarburie, and his neppue Thomas Arundell, some and went to the late earle of Arundell, beleagured in the Tower hill, as you have heard. There were also with him, Reginald earl of Cornham, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Rampton knights. John Poynton, Robert Waterton, & Francis Dunsiquires: few else were there, for as some write he had not past affiance: as they carried him in hole dices, but so late, men of armes, furnished and appointed as he did then was. For other write, that the duke of Britaine sentured into him the household men of Poole. Moreover, were Frenchmen and also the promoters of Britaine, which that he should land at Portsmouth, by our English knights if it might otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he approaching to the shore, did not freight raise land, but lay hovering about, and then to him self now in this place, and now in that, so he that countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuoultie to resist him, or to receive him.

When the lord governor Edmund duke of Forke was advertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and was ready to arrive: but there he meant first to set foot on land, there was not any that meet him: the certificate he sent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford bishop of Exeter, and for the lord treasurer William Scrope earle of Wiltshire, and other of the king's private council, as John Baulie, William Bagor, Henrie Greene, and John Maudslay knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be done in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their advice was, to depart from London, unto Salisbury, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing, out to show small purpose their council served, he conclusion thereof plainly declared, for he most part that were called, when they came thither, made promise, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, upon any shew to be evil dealt withall.

The lord treasurer, Baulie, Bagor, and Greene, perceiving that the commons would cleave unto, and take part with the duke, slipped away, calling the lord governor of the realm, and the lord chancellor to make what shift they could for themselves: Bagor got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland: the other fled to the castle of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted along the shore a certaine time, had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, and about the beginning of Julie in Poole shire, at a place sometime called Hamenpur, betwixt Guil and Spidington, and with him not past thre score persons, as some write: but he was so ostentatiously received of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means by their helpe, forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first war came to him, were the lords of Lan-

cashire, and other countreies adjoining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darce, and Beaumont.

At his coming unto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne Sir Henrie Percy, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came unto him, where he swore unto hole words, that he would remaine to more, out the lands that were to him beleagured in resistance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreover, he undertooke to cause the payment of taxes and tallages due and done, & to bring the king to good government, & to remove from him the Englishmen, which were named of name, so that the king esteemed of them more than of any other: how soe it, because they were more faithful to him than other, ready in all respects to obey his commandments and pleasure. From Doncaster having told for a night or two about him, he marched with all speed through the countreies, coming to Selham into Berkeley, without he past it hee dices, all the kings castles in hole parts were surrendered unto him.

The duke of Forke, mooving king Edward's advice, is governor of the realm in his absence, hearing that his neppue the duke of Lancaster was thus moved, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes, and archers (as we have heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would shoot out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, so his partakers, so in some wise offend him as his friends. The duke of Forke therefore passing forth towards Wales to meet the king, at his coming north of Ireland, was received into the castle of Berkeley, and there remained, till the coming thither of the duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceived that he was not able to resist on the land, after the feast of Saint James, which as that peace came about, fell upon the 11th date, he came forth into the quays that stood without the castle, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Forke were the bishops of Exeter, the lord Berkeley, the lord Seymour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster were these, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Cantuarburie that had bene banished, the abbot of Evesham, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greifosse, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with othere other lords, knights, and other people, which came to him from every part of the realm: hole that came not, were spoiled of all they had, so as they were never able to recover themselves againe, for their goods being then taken away, were never reformed. And thus that for love, and that for feare of losse, they came flocking unto him from every part.

At the same present there was arrested, and committed to safe custody, the bishop of Exeter, Sir William Glanville, and Sir Walter Burie, knights, Laurence Drew, and John Collier esquires. On the morrow after, the royal dukes with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their coming) they shewed themselves before the towne & castle, being an huge multitude of people. There were avoided within the castle, the lord William Scrope earle of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, Sir Henrie Greene, and Sir John Baulie knights, who prepared to make resistance: but when it would not prevaile, they were taken and brought forth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morrow next ensuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshal, and found guilty of treason, in misgoverning the king and realm, and forthwith had their heads smit off.

John

Richard the Second

Richard the Second

Richard the Second

Richard the Second

An. Reg. 22.

зритель

John Russell was also taken there, who feining him-
self to be out of his wits, escaped their hands for a
time.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertised, how the duke of Lancaster was landed in England, and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons assembled themselves to take his part, he forthwith caused the lord Henrie, sonne to the said duke of Lancaster, and the lord Humfrey, sonne to the duke of Gloucester, to be sent by fast in the castell of Ermmine, and with all speed made hast to returne into England, in hope with an armie to encounter the duke, before he should haue time to assemble his friends together.

Out of master
1 cts French
bake.

But here you shall note, that it fortuned at the same time, in which the duke of Iyresford or Lancaster, whether he list to call him, arrived thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer south of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that for the space of six weeks, he received no aduertisements from thence : yet at length, when the seas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ship, whereby the king vnderstood the manner of the dukes arrivall, and all his proceedings till that daie, in which the ship departed from the coast of England, whereupon he meant forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make resistance against the duke : but through perswasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he staied, till he might haue all his ships, and other provision, fullie ready for his passage.

In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie over into England, to gather a power together, by helpe of the kings friends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all speed possible, that they might be ready to assist him against the duke, upon his arrivall, for he meant himselfe to followe the earle, within fix daies after. The earle passing over into Wales, landed at Conwaite, and sent forth letters to the kings friends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leaveie their people, & to come with all speed to assist the k. whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds they fulfilled, hoping to have found the king himselfe at Conwaite, in such that within foure daies space, there were to the number of forty thousand men assembled, ready to march with the king against his enemies, if he had bene there himselfe in person.

But when they misde the king, there was a b:ute
spied amongst them, that the king was fuerlie dead,
which wrought such an imp:ression, and euill disposition
in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that
for anie perswasion which the earle of Salisburie
might vse, they wouold not go forth with him, till they
saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie
fourtene daies to see if he shoulde come o: not; but
when he came not within that tearme, they wouold
no longer abide, but scaled & departed aboue: wheras
if the king had come before their breaking bp., no
doubt, but they wouold haue put the duke of Here-
ford in aduenture of a feld: so that the kings linger-
ing of time before his comming ouer, gaue oppor-
tunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he
couold haue wished, and toke from the king all occa-
sion to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to
resist him.

At length, about eightene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he toke the sea, together with the dukes of Aumarle, Cresser, Burie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carleill. They landed nere the castell of Barcelowie in Wales, about the feast of saint James the apostle, and staid a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got to-

10 He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed with a good courage : but when he understood as he went thus forward, that all the castles, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Wysslow were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster, and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie counsellors had lost their heads at Wysslow, he became so greatly discomforted, that sorrowfull lamenting his miserable state, he bitterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie together, which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart to his home.

The fouldiers being well bent to fight in his defence, besought him to be of good chere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers unto death: but this could not encourage him at all, so that in the night next ensuing, he stole from his armie, and with the dukes of Excestre and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephen Scrope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Contwaie, where he found the earle of Salisburrie, determining there to hold himselfe, till he might see the world at some better staie; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischance thus pressing vpon him he wist not. On the one part he knew his title iust, true, and infallible; and his
40 conscience cleane, pure, and without spot of enuie or malice: he had also no small affaunce in the Welchmen, and Cheshire men. On the other side, he saw the puissance of his aduersaries, the sudden departing of them whom he most trusted, and all things turned vpon the downe: he euidentlie saw, and manifestlie perceived, that he was forsaken of them, by whom in time he might haue bene aided and relieved, where now it was to late, and to farre cuer-
passed.

50 ¶ This furtliere is a verie notable example, and not
unworthy of all princes to be well weied, and dili-
gentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaster
shoulde be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the
helpe and assistance (almost) of all the whole realme,
which perchance neuer therof thought oz yet de-
maied; and that king Richard shoulde thus be left de-
olate, void, and in despaire of all hope and comfort,
in whom if there were anie offense, it ought rather to
be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to
60 the malice of his hart: but such is the detestable
iudgement of man, but not regarding things pre-
sent with due consideration, thinketh euer that
things to come shall haue good successe, with a plea-
sant & delitefull end. But in this defecting of the one,
& aduancing of the other, the providence of God is to
be respected, & his secret will to be wondered at. For
as in his hands standeth the donation of kingdoms,
so likewise the disposing of them consisteth in his
pleasure, which the verie pagans understood right
well; otherwile, one of them would neuer haue said,

Regum timendum in proprios greges,

Reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis

Cuncta supercilio mouentis.

Sir Thomas Persse earle of Worcester, lord
C. c. ii. steward

Additions to Polychron.

**Dr. Richard
in utter de-
spaire.**

R. Richard
stealeth awate
from his ar-
mie, and ta-
keth the castell
of Flint.

A speciall
note worthy
to be well
sweied.

Hor. lib. car. 3.
ode. 1.

The earle of
Worcester
leaueth the
is. and fleeth
to the duke.

Steward of the kings house, either being so com-
manded by the king, or else upon displeasure, as some
write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother
the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his wittes
staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his
office, and without delaye went to duke Henrie.
When the kings servants of household saw this, (for it
was done before them all) they disperied themsel-
ues, some into one countrie, and some into an other.
When the duke of Lancaster understood that king
Richard was returned forth of Ireland, he left the
duke of York still at Wyllow, and came backe with
his power unto Berkleie; the second daie he came
to Glocester, and so to Ross, after to Hereford, where
came to him the bishop of Hereford, and sir Edmund
Mortimer knight. On the sundaie following, he
went to Lunsler, and there the lord Charleton came
to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the
next daie to Shrewsburie, where he rested one daie,
and thither came to him sir Robert Leigh, and sir
John Leigh, and manie other being sent from Che-
ster, to treat with the duke of Lancaster, for the citie
and countie of Chester, that were now ready to sub-
mit themselves unto him in all things.

where for-
tune fauor-
eth, thither
the people
favour flack.

The duke of
Lancaster
comming to
Chester.

There came thither unto him the lord Scales, and
the lord Berdolie, both of Ireland, hauing bene
spoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they
came through the countie. From Shrewsburie, he
kept on his iourne towards Chester, and lodging
one night by the waie, in a towne there in the boy-
ders of Wales, he came the second night to Chester,
and staid there certeine daies together, making a
solie muster of his armie there in sight of the citie.
The clergie met, & receiued him with procession: he
sent forthwith for his sonne & heire, & likewise for the
duke of Glocesters sonne & heire, that were as yet
remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all
speed to returne home into England. But the duke
of Glocesters sonne, through mischance perished, as
he was on the seas to come ouer, for whose losse his
mother toke such grieue, that the while after through
immoderate sorow she likewise passed out of this
transitorie life.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the
castell of Contwaie fore discomfited, and fearing lest
he could not remaine there long in safetie, vpon
knowledge had by his trustie friends John Paulet,
and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approach
of his aduersaries, sent the duke of Crecester to talke
with the duke of Lancaster, who in this meane while
had caused one of king Richards faithfull and trustie
friends, sir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Per-
kin a Lee, to lose his head, & commanded the same to
be set by, vpon one of the highest turrets about all
the citie; and so that true and faithfull gentleman, for
his stedfast faith, and assured loialtie to his louing
soveraigne, thus lost his life. There came to him a-
bout the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of
Gummarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and sir John
Stanleie, beseeching him to receiue him into his fa-
uour.

Out of maister
Dees booke.

Holt castell
delivered to
the duke.

By some writers it should seme, not onelie the
duke of Crecester, but also the duke of Surrie were
sent unto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that
duke Henrie staid them both, and would not suffer
them to returne to the king againe, keeping the duke
of Crecester still about him, and committing the duke
of Surrie to prison, within the castell of Chester. The
king herewith went to Beaumaris, & after to Car-
narvon: but finding no prouision either of vittells or
other things in those castells, no not so much as a bed
to lie in, he came backe againe to Contwaie, and in
the meane time to was the castell of Holt delivered to
the duke of Hereford, by those that had it in keeping

wherein was great store of victualls, to the value of
two hundred thousand marks, besides an hundred
thousand marks in ready coine. After this, the duke,
with aduise of his counsell, sent the earle of North-
umberland unto the king, accompanied with foure
hundred lances, & a thousand archers, who comming
to the castell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and
from thence he hastied forth towards Contwaie. But
before he approached nere the place, he left his power
behind him, hid closelie in two ambushes, behind a
craggie mountaine, beside the high waie that lea-
deth from Flint to Contwaie.

This done, taking not past foure or five with him,
he passed forth, till he came before the towne, and
then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe
conduct from the king, that he might come and talke
with him, which the king granted, and so the earle of
Northumberland passing the water, entred the cas-
tell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that
if it might please his grace to undertake, that there
should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice
might be had, against such as were enemies to the
common-wealth, and had procured the destruction of
the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and here-
with pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wher-
in he had offended him, the duke would be ready to
come to him on his knees, to craue of him forgiveness,
and as an humble subiect, to obeye him in all
doutfull seruices. The king taking aduise vpon these
offers, and other made by the earle of Northumber-
land on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford; vpon the
earles oth, for assurance that the same should be per-
formed in eche condition, agreed to go with the earle
to make the duke, and here vpon taking their horses,
they rode forth, but the earle rode before, as it were,
to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but com-
ming to the place where he had left his people, he
staid there with them.

The king keeping on his waie, had not ridden past
foure miles, when he came to the place where the am-
bushes were lodged, and being entred within dan-
ger of them, before he was aware, shewed himselfe
to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedie
for the earle being there with his men, would not suf-
fer him to returne, as he gladiie would haue done if
he might; but being inclosed with the sea on the one
side, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduersi-
ties so nere at hand before him, he could not lift a
waie by any means, for if he should haue fled backe,
they might easilie haue overtaken him, yet he could
haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he
was then constrained to go with the earle, who
brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from
thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had be-
lie set about him of his friends, except onelie the
earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Carleill, the lord
Stephan Scrope, sir Nicholas Herebie, a sonne also
of the countesse of Salisburie, and Jenico Dartois
a Gascoigne that still wore the cognisance of deuilse
of his maister king Richard, that is to saie, a white
hart, and would not put it from him, neither for per-
suasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the
duke of Hereford understood it, he caused him to be
committed to prison within the castell of Chester.
This man was the last (as saith mine author) which
wore that deuilse, and shewed well thereby his con-
stant hart toward his maister, for the which it was
thought he should haue lost his life, but yet he was
pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fa-
uour, after he was king.

But now to our purpose. King Richard being thus
come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the
eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford be-
ing still aduertised from houre to houre by posts,
how

Some say
that the
duke of
Northum-
berland
was the
last that
wore the
deuils
livery.

The earle
of North-
umberland
was ready
to the king.

The king
with Con-
waie
castell, and
to take
him
safe to his
craues.

A constant
seruant.

how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesday, and the nineteenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence, which undoubtedly made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henry Percy, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, under the duke, of the whole armie. There were come alreadie to the castell, before the approaching of the maine armie, the archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Aquitaine, the earle of Gloucester, and diuerse other. The archbishop entred first, and then followed the other, comming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the baises of the walls, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off, might see, that the archbishop and the other were come, and (as he tolke it) to talke with him: whereupon he forthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knees, he tolke them by, and drawing the archbishop aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop tolled him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to haue any hurt, as touching his person; but he protested not as a prelat, but as a vnto. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his person, to be spoiled of his roialtie, to be deposed from his crowne, to be translated from principalltie to prison, & to fall from honoz into honoz. All which befell him to his extreme hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increase, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminish, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue said with the forloze man in the merueille seas of his miseries,

*perferam nimis tumuerant equora vento,
In medijs lacera naue relinquitur aquis.*

Some write (as before in a marginnall note I haue quoted) that the archbishop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that even then the king offered, in consideration of his insufficiencie to governe, freely to resigne the crowne, and his kingly title to the same, vnto the duke of Hereford. But forsomuch as those that were continually attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his comming to Flint, do plainely asseure, that the archbishop came not to him, till this tuesday before his removing from Flint vnto Chester: it maie be thought (the circumstances well considered) that he rather made that promise here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an instrument, containing the declaration of the archbishop of Yorke, and other commissioners sent from the estates assembled in the next parlement, vnto the said king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be some default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

But wheresoeuer this offer was made, after that the archbishop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horse againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that present to approach the castell, and compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemlie order, at the foot of the mountains: and then the earle of Northumberland passing forth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got up to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now advanced within two bowe shot of the castell, to the small reioicing (ye may be sure) of the forsoyfull king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred

the same all armed, his basinet onelie excepted, and being within the first gate, he staid there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephen Scrope knight, who bare the sword before him, and a few other, came forth into the vtter ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and comming forthward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tolke him by the hand, and lift him up, saying; Where cousin, ye are welcome. The duke humbly thanking him said; My souereigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honoz faued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence. The king herunto answered; Where cousin, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that ye may inioy all that is yours, without exception.

Spaking thus together, they came forth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horsebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Chester, the third vnto Shrewsbury, the fourth to Hereford. Where, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchamp earle of Warwick met them, that had bene confined into the Ile of Man, as before ye haue heard; but now was reuoked home by the duke of Lancaster. From Hereford they rode to Stafford, and the first daie vnto Lichfield, and there rested sundae all daie. After this, they rode forth, and lodged at these places insuing, Couentrie, Dantrie, Northampton, Dunstable, St. Albons, & so came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode still through all these townes simple clothed in one sute of raiment, and yet he was in his time exceeding sumptuous in apparell, in so much as he had one cote, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30000 marks: & so he was brought the next waie to Westminster.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the toy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Pauls church. It was a wonder to see what great conturle of people, & what number of horses came to him, on the waie as he thus passed the countries, till his comming to London, where (upon his approach to the citie) the mayor rode forth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, uttering the same also with words, as the like not lightlye bene seene. For in euerie towne and village where he passed, children reioiced, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked together in the fields and streets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I speake of the presents, welcomings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and commonaltie.

But now to the purpose. The next day after his comming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custodie. Many euill disposed persons, assembling themselves together in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the mayor and aldermen gathered to them the worshipfull commons and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adoe, the other were reuoked from their euill purpose: albeit, before they might be pacified, they coming to Westminster,

The dukes behaviour to the king at their meeting.

The dukes demand.

The king and the duke route together towards London.

R. Richard sumptuous in apparell.

The dukes receiuing into London.

The king committed to the tower.

A parliament
in the king's
name.

minister, took maister John Selake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Jewgate, and there laid him fast in irons.

After this was a parliament called by the duke of Lancaster, using the name of king Richard in the writs directed forth to the lords, and other states for their summons. This parliament began the thirtieth daie of September, in the which manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be perswaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthe to be deposed) were ingrossed by in 33 solemn articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to some almost incredible, the verie effect of which articles here insue, according to the copie which I haue seene, and is abridged by maister Hall as followeth.

The articles objected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthy to be deposed from his principalltie.

First, that king Richard wastfullie spent the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possessions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reason whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore commonalitie. And where diuerse lords, as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parliament, to commune and treat of diuerse matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being busie about the same commission, he with other of his assentie went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iudices of the realme at Shrewsburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said lords, in so much that he began to raise warre against John duke of Lancaster, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwick, and other lords, contrarie to his honoꝝ and promise.

Item, that he caused his vncle the duke of Gloucester to be arrested without law, and sent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murdered him, and although the earle of Arundell upon his arraignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner suddenly put to death.

Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the same lords, and suffered them to rob and pill, without correction or reppraue.

Item, although the king flateringly, and with great dissimulation, made proclamation through out the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of any crime of treason, but onlie for extortion and oppressions done in this realme, yet he laid to them in the parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

Item, he hath compelled others of the said lords servants and friends, by menaces & extreme paines, to make great fines to their bitter undoing; and notwithstanding his pardon, yet he made them fine anew.

Item, where diuerse were appointed to commune of the state of the realme, and the common-wealth thereof, the same king caused all the rolls and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promise made in the parliament, to his open dishonour.

Item, he vnhairtably commanded, that no man upon paine of losse of life and goods, should once

intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaster.

Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other prince, the said king Richard, after he had obtained diuerse acts of parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he obtained bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell all men straightlie to keepe the same, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

Item, although the duke of Lancaster had done his deuote against Thomas duke of Norfolk in proofe of his quarrell; yet the said king, without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten years, contrarie to all equitie.

Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad seale licenced him to make attornies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none attorneie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

Item, the same king put out diuerse shiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their roones diuerse other of his owne, subuerting the law, contrarie to his oth and honoꝝ.

Item, he bestowed great summes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repayment of the same, and yet not one penie paid.

Item, he sared men at the will of him and his vnhappie counsell, and the same treasure spent in folie, not paying poore men for their vittels and bandes.

Item, he said, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his brest, by reason of which fantastical opinion, he destroyed noble men, and impouerished the poore commons.

Item, the parliament setting and enacting diuerse notable statutes, for the profit and advancement of the common-wealth, he by his priue friends and solicitors caused to be enacted, that no act then enacted, should be more preiudiciall to him, than it was to any of his predecessoꝝ: through which prouiso he did often as he liked, and not as the law did meane.

Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the shiriffes of the shire to remaine aboue one yeare or two.

Item, at the summons of the parliament, when knights and burgesses should be elected, that the election had bene full proceeded, he put out diuerse persons elect, and put other in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

Item, he had priue espials in euerie shire, to heare who had of him any communication; and if he committed of his lasciuious living, or outrageous doings, he straightwaies was apprehended, and put to a grieuous fine.

Item, the spiritualltie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and iewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation.

Item, where diuerse lords and iustices were sworn to saie the truth of diuerse things to them committed in charge, both for the honoꝝ of the realme, and profit of the king, the said king so menaced them with soe threateninges, that no man would or durst saie the right.

Item, that without the assent of the nobilitie, he carried the iewels, plate, and treasure, over into Ireland, to the great impouerishment of the realme: and all the good records for the common-wealth, and against his extortiones, he caused priuie to be imbeisled, and conuicted auaie.

Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or sent to the see of Rome, or other regions, his

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his writing was so subtil and darke, that none other prince once beleued him, nor yet his owne subiects.

23 Item, he most tyrannouslie and unprincipellie said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of England, he caused diuerse lustie men to appeale diuerse old men, vpon matters determinable at the common law in the court Martiall, because that there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon, the said aged persons, fearing the sequelle of the matter, submitted themselves to his mercie, whome he fined and ransomed unreasonable at his will and pleasure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuised certeine priuie othes contrarie to the law, and caused diuerse of his subiects first to be swozne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bonds for keeping of the same, to the great vndoing of manie honest men.

26 Item, where the chancelor, according to the law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a certeine person, the king granted it vnto the same, vnder his priuie scale, with great threatenings, if it should be disobeyed.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Canturburie without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the parliament chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the bishops goods he granted to his successor, vpon condition, that he should mainteine all his statutes made at Wyndesore anno 21, and the statutes made anno 22 at Couentrie.

29 Item, vpon the accusation of the said bishop, the king craftilie perswaded him to make no answer for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament, and so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized.

These be all the articles of anie effect, which were laid against him, sauing foure other, which touched onelie the archbishops matter, whose working toward king Richard at length from his crowne. Then for so much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusations were laid against him in open parliament, it was thought by the most part, that he was worthy to be deposed from all kinglie honor, and princelie gouernement: and to bring the matter without slander the better to passe, diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had access to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

And first, they aduised him willingly to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obtaine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceived) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their perswasion proceeded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincerer affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie; it is diuersely iudged: but yet the effect followed not, howsoever their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king being now in the hands of his enemies, and vnder desperate of all comfort, was easilie perswaded to resigne his crowne and princelie preeminence, so that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demaunded. And so (as it should seme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie, the mondaie being the nine and twentieth daie of September; and

feast of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne. The copie of which instrument here followeth.

A copie of the instrument touching
the declaration of the commissioners
sent from the states in parliament, vnto king
Richard.

His present indenture made the nine and twentieth daie of September, and feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and the thre and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second. Witnesseth, that where by the authoritie of the lordes spiritual and tempozall of this present parliament, and commons of the same, the right honozable and discret persons here vnder named, were by the said authoritie assigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and testifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the said honourable and discret persons hard. Know all men, to whome these present letters shall come, that we, sir Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke, John bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleye, William abbat of Westminster, John prior of Canturburie, William Chirning and Hugh Burnell knights, John Harkham iustice, Thomas Stow and John Burbadge doctors of the ciuill law, Thomas Crpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yere aboue said, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were present in the chiefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the said place of the Tower, where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the fore said earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conuait in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of, to occupie so great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladly leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to doo in such convenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised & ordeined. To the which rehearsall, the king in our said presences answered benignlie and said, that such promise he made, and so to do the same he was at that houre in full purpose to performe and fulfill; sauing that he desired first to haue personall speech with the said duke, and with the archbishop of Canturburie his coulsins. And further, he desired to haue a bill drawne of the said resignation, that

This promise he made at Flint rather than at Conuait, as by that which goeth before it may be parlie conuaited,

The king is persuaded to resigne the crowne to the duke.

Edm.

that he might be perfect in the rehearfall thereof.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lordes and other departed: and vpon the same afternone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lordes Roos, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance done by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appered) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in ptesence of vs and the other aboue rehearsed, said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he befoze had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the moze suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therfore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the instrument whereby
king Richard resigneth the crowne to
the duke of Lancaster.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and assoile all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, secular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, state, or condition so euer they be; and also all dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regaltie and lordship, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwise constrained; and them, their heires, and successors for euermore, from the same bonds and oths I release, deliuer, and acquit, and set them for free, dissolued and acquit, and to be harmlesse, for as much as longeth to my person by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foresaid things, or anie of them. And also I resigne all my kinglie dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the lordships, power, and priuileges to the foresaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordships and possessions to me in anie maner of wise pteining, of what name, title, qualite, or condition soeuer they be, except the lands and possessions for me and mine obits purchased and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of possession, which I euer had or haue in the same lordships and possessions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or appertaining vnto anie

part of them. And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iurisdicitions of the same belongeth of right, or in anie wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name, worship, and regaltie and kinglie highnesse, clearelie, freelie, singularlie and wholie, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and resigne them, and go from them for euermore; sauing alwaies to my successors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the said kingdome and lordships abouesaid belonging and appertaining. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my selfe to be, and haue beene insufficient and vnable, and also vnprofitable, and for my open defects not vnworthie to be put downe. And I fiveware vpon the holie euangelists here presentlie with my hands touched, that I shall neuer repugne to this resignation, demission or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugn them in anie maner by word or deed, by my selfe nor none other: nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuile or apertlie. But I shall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demission, and giuing vp for firme and stable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, so God me helpe and all saints, and by this holie euangelist, by me bodilie touched and kissed. And for more record of the same, here openlie I subscribe and signe this present resignation with mine owne hand.

Now forthwith in our ptesences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saing that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successor, and king after him. And in token hereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lordes of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successor and their king after him. ¶ All this doone, euerie man tooke their leaue and returned to their owne.

¶ Upon the moztow after being tuesday, and the last date of September, all the lordes spirituall and tempozall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westmynster, where, in the ptesence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousin of Lancaster to haue him his successor. And mozeouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand, which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This done, the question was first asked of the lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted

granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessary in avoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before done by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openly declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for ever.

All this was done accordingly, for the articles which before we haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed by, and there shewed ready to be read; but for other causes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred. Then forsomuch as the lords of the parliament had well considered the voluntarie resignation (of king Richard), and that it was behouefull and as they thought, necessary for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the sentence of his deposing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the estates there in parliament assembled, the bishop of Saint Asaph, the abbat of Glasfenburie, the earle of Gloucester, the lord Berkeley, William Thirning iustice, and Thomas Crpingham, with Thomas Craie, knights, that they should giue and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard. Whereupon the said commissioners taking counsell together, by good and deliberate aduise therein had, with one assent agreed, that the bishop of S. Asaph should publish the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The publication of king Richards deposing.

In the name of God Amen. We John bishop of S. Asaph, John abbat of Glasfenburie, Thomas earle of Gloucester, Thomas lord Berkeley, William Thirning iustice, Thomas Crpingham & Thomas Craie knights, chosen and deputed speciall commissioners by the three states of this present parliament, representing the whole bodie of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we vnderstanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes done by Richard king of England, and misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decaye of the said land, and vtter ruine of the same shoulde to haue bene, had not the speciall grace of our God thereunto put the sooner remedie: and also furthermore aduerting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his owne insufficiencie, hath of his owne mere voluntee and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the same belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himselfe not vnbeworthy to be deposed of all kinglie maiestie and estate toiall. We the premises well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is said) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the same king Richard, before this to haue bene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vninsufficient,

and vnbeworthy of the rule and gouernance of the foresaid realmes and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worship, and of any kinglie worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue; forbidding expresselie to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelates, dukes, marqueses, erles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdome and lordships, subiects, and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foresaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realmes and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which sentence thus openly declared, the said estates admitted forthwith the forenamed commissioners for their procurators, to resigne and yeld vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times past they had made and obought vnto him, and also for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before done that concerned the purpose and cause of his deposing: the which resignation was respite till the morow following. Immediately as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forehead, and likewise on his breast, and after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge or claime to the crowne.

In the name of the father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances as I that am descended by right line of the blood coming from that good lord king Henrie the third; and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my frends, to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernance and due iustice.

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. When the lords hauing heard and well perceived this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood up & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessary for the wealthe of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, *Yea, yea, yea.* After which answer, the said archbishop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addrested to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, the archbishop of Yorke assisting him, and with great reuerence

The demand of the archbishop of Canturburie to the commons.

Thom. Wals. The duke of Hereford placed in the regal throne.

The archbi-
shop preached.

reuerence set him therein. after that the duke had first vpon his knees made his praier in deuout man-
ner vnto almightie God. When he was thus placed
in his throne to the great reioicing of the people, the
archbishop of Canturburie began a breste collation,
taking for his theme the se words, written in the first
booke of kings the ninth chapter, *Vir dominabitur in po-
pulo*, &c. handling the same, & the whole tenour of his
tale to the praise of the king, whose settled iudgement,
grounded wisdome, perfect reason, and ripe discre-
tion was such (said he) as declared him to be no child,
neither in yeares, nor in light conditions, but a man
able and mete for the gouernment of a realme: so
that there was no small cause of comfort ministred
to them through the favourable goodnesse of almightie
God, which had prouided them of such a gouernor,
as like a discret iudge shall deeme in causes by skil-
full domes, and rule his subiects in vpright equitie,
setting apart all wilfull pleasures, and childish incon-
stancie. This is a summarie of his oration. But be-
cause the qualitie of this volume is such, as that it
hath set forth matters at large: I will laie downe
the archbishops words, as they are recozded by Fa-
bian in ample manner as followeth.

The archbishop of Canturburie his o-
ration, framed vpon this text, *Vir dominabitur*
in populo, &c. written in the first booke of
kings and ninth chapter.

Abr. Fl. ont of
Fabian, pag.
351.

THese be the words of the high,
and most mightie king, speaking
to Samuel his prophet, teaching
him how he should chiole and or-
daine a gouernor of his people of Itraell,
when the said people asked of him a king,
to rule them. And not without cause may
these words be said here of our lord the
king that is. For, if they be inwardlie con-
ceined, they shall giue vnto vs matter of
consolation and comfort, when it is said
that a man shall haue lordship and rule of
the people, and not a child. For God threat-
neth not vs as he sometime threatned the
people by Esau, saieing: *Esa. 3. Et dabo pueros*
principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis,
I shall (saith our Lord) giue children to be
their rulers & princes, and weake or feare-
full shall haue dominion ouer them. But of
his great mercie he hath visited vs, I trust
his peculiar people, and sent vs a man to
haue the rule of vs, & put by children that
before time ruled this land, after childish
conditions, as by the workes of them it
hath rightlie appeared, to the disturbance
of all this realme; and for want and lacke
of a man. For, as saith the apostle Paule
ad Corinthos, 1. capite 14. *Cum essem paruulus,*
loquebar ut paruulus, &c: quando autem factus
sum vir, euacuauit que erant paruuli, that is to
say, When I was a child, I sauored and
spake as a child, but at the time when I
came vnto the estate of a man, then I put
by all my childish conditions.

The apostle saith, he sauored and spake
as a child, in whom is no stedfastnesse, or
constancie. For a child will lightlie promise,
and lightlie he will breake his promise, and
do all things that his appetite giuerh him
vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath
doone. By which reason it followeth, that

nardilie great inconuenience must fall to
that people, that a child is ruler and go-
uernour of: nor it is not possible for that
kingdome to stand in felicitie, where such
conditions reigne in the head and ruler of
the same. But now we ought all to reioice,
that all such defaults be expelled, and that
a man, and not a child, shall haue lordship
ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a
sure rane vpon his twing, that he maie be
knowne from a child, or a man vsing chil-
dish conditions: of whom I trust I maie
say, as the wise man saith in his prouerbs,
*Proverb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit sapien-
tiam, & qui affluit prudentia,* that is to say,
Blessed be the man that hath sapience or
wisdome, and that aboundeth in prudence.
For that man that is ruled by sapience,
must needs loue & dread our Lord God, and
who so loueth & dreadeth him, it must con-
sequentlie follow that he must keepe his
commandements. By force wherof he shall
minister true iustice vnto his subiects, and
do no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then shall follow the words of
the wise man the which be rehearsed, *Pro-
verb. 10. Benedictio Domini super caput iusti, os*
autem impiorum operit iniquitatem, that is
to saie, The blessing of our Lord God shall
light vpon the head of our king, being a
iust and righteous man, for the tong of
him worketh equitie and iustice; but the
tong of the wicked & of sinners couereth
iniquitie. And who so worketh or mini-
stret iustice in due order, he not onlie safe-
gardeth himself, but also holdeth people in
a suertie of restfulness, of the which insueth
peace and plentie. And therefore it is said
of the wise king Salomon, *Eccles. 10. Beata*
terra cuius rex nobilis est, vel cuius principes ves-
cuntur in tempore suo, which is to be vnder-
standed, that blessed & happie is that land,
of the which the king or ruler is noble and
wise, and the princes be blessed that liue in
his time. As who would say, they may take
example of him to rule and guide their sub-
iects. For by the discretion of a noble and
wise man being in authoritie, manie evils
be sequestred and set apart, all dissemblers
put to silence. For the wise man considereth
and noteth well the great inconueniences
which daile now growe of it, where the
child or insipient drinketh the swet and de-
licious words bradusedlie, and perceiueth
not intorication which they be mingled or
mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrap-
ped in all danger, as latelie the experience
thereof hath bene apparent to all our
sights and knowledges, & not without the
great danger of all this realme. And all
was for lacke of wisdome in the ruler,
which demed & taught as a child, giuing
sentence of wilfulnesse and not of reason.
So that while a child reigned, selfe-will &
lust reigned, and reason with good consci-
ence were outlawed, with iustice, stedfast-
nesse, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deli-
uered by the especiall helpe and grace of
God,

An Reg. 23.

God, *Quia vir dominabitur in populo*, that is to saie, He that is not a child but perfect in reason. For he cometh not to execute his owne will, but his will that sent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man unto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen perfect reason and discretion, to discern & deme as a perfect man. Wherefore not all onlie of this man we shall saie that he shall dwell in wisdom, but as a perfect man and not a child, he shall thinke, and deme, & haue such a circumspection with him, that he shall diligentlie fore-looke and see that Gods will be done, & not his. And therefore now I trust the words of the wise man, *Ecclesiast. 10. Shall be verified in our king: sciens, Index sapiens indicabit populum suum, & principatus sensati stabilis erit*; that is (as saith the wiseman) A wise and discret iudge shall now deme his people, and the dominion or lordship of a discret wiseman shall stand steadfast. Whereupon shall then follow the second verse of the same chapter, *sciens, Secundum indicem populi, sic & minister eius*, that is, Like as the head & souereigne is replenished with all sapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, administering to them law, with due and convenient iustice, so shall the subjects againeward be garnished with awe and louing dread, and beare unto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the residue of the foresaid verses; *Qualis rector est ciuitatis, tales & inhabitantes in ea*, which is to saie, Such as the ruler of the citie is, such then be the inhabitants of the same. So that consequentlie it followeth, a good master maketh a good disciple. And likewise an euill king or ruler shall lose his people, & the cities of his kingdome shall be left desolate and inhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In sted of a child wilfullie doing his lust and pleasure without reason, now shall a man be lord and ruler, that is replenished with sapience and reason, and shall gouerne the people by skilfull doome, setting apart all wilfulness and pleasure of himselfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, *Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo*. The which our lord grant, & that he may prosperously reigne unto the pleasure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might so come to passe, and the people answered, Amen; the king standing on his feet, said unto the lords and commons there present: I thanke you my lords both spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this land, and do you to wit, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conquest would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor to put him out of that which he now enioieth, and hath had before time by custome or god law of this realme, except such priuat persons as haue bene against the god purpose, and the common profit of the realme. When he had thus ended, all the thriftes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to execute the same as before, which they could

not do whilest the kings rofall thzone was hold.

Whereupon, a proclamation was made, that the states should assemble againe in parlement on mondaie then next ensuing, being the feast daie of saint J. alth, which is the first of October; and that the mondaie then next following, being the 13 of the same moneth, and the feast day of saint Edward the king and confessor, the coronation should be solemnized, and that all such as had to claime any seruice to be done by them at the same by any tenure, they should come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the steward and constable of England, on saturday next before the same day of the parlement, and presenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they should obtaine that to them appertained. Excuse was also made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement vpon so short a warning, so as the knights and burgeses were not changed, but onelic appointed to assemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather bene continued than dissolued. The cause was alledged to be for easing of the charges that would haue risen, if ech man had bene sent home, and new knights and burgeses called.

These things done, the king rose from his place, and with a cherefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to White-hall, where the same day he held a great feast. In the after none were proclamations made in the accustomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being wednesday and first of October, the procurators above named repaired to the tower of London, and there signified vnto king Richard the admission of king Henrie. And the aforesaid iustice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced vnto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in manner and forme as appertained. Which renuntiation to the depolied king, was a redoubling of his greefe, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and souereigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forswore him to be their king. So that in his heuines he might verie well haue said with a greued plaintife,

Hec quanta sortes miseris mortalibus instant!
Ab churi quoties oblitus nominis opto!
O qui me fluctus, quis me telluris hiatus
Pertesum tetrica vita deglutiat ore
Chasmatico?

T. Wals. Amine
tui querela.

Thus was king Richard depolied of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so giuen to follow euill counsell, and vsed such inconuenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwise a right noble and worthy prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, three moneths and eight daies. He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus depolied, all the goods that he had, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides plate and iewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the iniuries by him committed and done, in hope to be in more suretie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatsoeuer was promised, he was deceived therein. For shortly after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & fro thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare.) He was seemelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good enough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanour of such as were about him had not altered it.

His chance verelie was greatlie unfortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he toke it for the best waie he could deuise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mostall men are accustomed to hazard

Thom. Wals.

The coronation proclama-
tion.

The parlement

King Henrie
4 fourth pro-
claimed.

Hall,

his person
nage.

Harding.

The noble
house-keeping
of king Ric-
hard.Excesse in
apparell.Ignorant
prelats.

all they haue to attaine thereunto. But such misfor-
tune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those prin-
ces, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for pe-
rils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious,
and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. He kept
the greatest port, and maintained the most plentifull
house that euer any king in England did either be-
fore his time or since. For there reioyced daile to his
court about ten thousand persons that had meat and
drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there
were three hundred seruitors, and euerie other office
was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chambe-
rers, and landerers, there were aboute three hundred
at the least. And in gorgeous and collie apparell they
exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept with-
in the bounds of his degre. Peomen and gromes
were clothed in silkes, with cloth of graine and scar-
let, ouer sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates.
And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in
those daies, but also other people abroad in the towne
and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise
than had bene accustomed before his daies, with im-
boderies, rich fures, and goldsmiths worke, and eue-
rie daie there was deuising of new fashions, to the
great hinderance and decaie of the common-wealth.

Moreover, such were preferred to bishopps, and
other ecclesiasticall livings, as neither could teach
nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture of
God, but onelie to call for their tithes and duties; so
that they were most unworthie the name of bishopps,
being lewd and most baine persons disguised in bi-
shopps apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abun-
dantly the filthy sinne of lecherie and fornication,
with abominable adulterie, speckle in the king,
but most chiefe in the prelacie, whereby the whole
realme by such their euill example, was so infected,
that the wrath of God was daile provoked to ven-
geance for the sins of the prince and his people. How
then could it continue prosperously with this king,
against whom for the foule enormities wherewith
his life was defiled, the wrath of God was whetted
and toke so sharpe an edge, that the same did shed
him off from the scepter of his kingdom, and gaue
him a full cup of affliction to drinke, as he had done
to other kings his predecessors, by whose example he
might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie case
when God thundereth out his reall arguments ei-
ther vpon prince or people.

Thus haue ye heard what writers do report touch-
ing the state of the time and doings of this king. But
if I may boldlie saie what I thinke: he was a prince
the most vnthankfullie vsed of his subjects, of any
one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (tho-
rough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himselfe
more dissolutelie than seemed conuenient for his ro-
all estate, & made choise of such counsellors as were
not fauoured of the people, whereby he was the lesse
fauoured himselfe: yet in no kings daies were the
commons in greater wealth, if they could haue per-
ceiued their happie state: neither in any other time
were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor
churchmen lesse wronged. But such was their ingra-
titude towards their bountifull & louing soueraigne,
that those whom he had chiefe aduanced, were readi-
est to controule him; for that they might not rule all
things at their will, and remoue from him such as
they disliked, and place in their rowmes whom they
thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by
gentle and courteous meanes, which stirred such ma-
lice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not
be asswaged without perill of destruction to them
both.

The duke of Glocester chiefe instrument of this
mischaunce, to what end he came ye haue heard. And al-

though his nephew the duke of Hereford toke vpon
him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation
and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he him-
selfe and his lineall race were scourged afterwards,
as a due punishment vnto rebellious subiects; so as
deferred vengeance seemed not to staie long for his
ambitious crueltie, that thought it not enough to
driue king Richard to resigne his crowne and regall
dignitie ouer vnto him, except he also should take
from him his guiltlesse life. What vnnaturalnesse, or
rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be con-
tent with his principallitie: not to be content with his
treasure: not to be content with his depriuation: not
to be content with his imprisonment: but being so
nere knit in consanguinitie, which ought to haue
moued them like lambs to haue loued each other,
woulfulie to lie in wait for the distressed creatures
life, and rauenslike to thrust after his blood, the spli-
ling thereof should haue touched his conscience so, as
that death ought rather to haue bene aduentured for
his safetie, than so sauagelie to haue sought his life
after the losse of his roialtie.

But to let this passe to the consideration of the
learned: according to our order, I will shew what
writers of our English nation liued in his daies, as
we find them in John Bales centuries. First Hen-
rie Boderic, otherwise surnamed of Burie, after the
name of the towne where he is thought to haue bene
borne, an Augustine frier; Simon Alcocke, called
Bolton a monk of Durham, borne in the borders of
Wales beyond Seuerne; William Jordan a blacke
frier; John Wiltan a frier of the order of the
Carmelite frier in Nottingham, Henrie Daniell a
blacke frier and a good physician, Ralfe Parham,
John Partridge a grate frier, & cordelier as some
call them, Thomas Wome a Carmelite frier of
London, John Wyldington borne in Yorkshire,
William Worne an Augustine frier of Canturbe-
rie, an historiographer, Adam Wermouth a canon of
saint Pauls church in London, that wrote two trea-
tises of historiicall matters, the one intituled *Chro-
nicon 40 annorum*, and the other *Chronicon 60 annorum*;
Simon Wydon borne in Wiltshire a doctor
of physike and a skillfull astronomer, John Thomp-
son borne in Dorsetshire in a village of that name, and a
Carmelite frier in Blacknie.

More, Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnshire,
an Augustine frier in Stamford; William Wack-
ington secretarie sometime to the blacke prince an
excellent historiographer, Westraie Wyngam a ci-
uilian, John Wotlesham borne in Cambridgeshire a
blacke frier, William Wobbie a Carmelite frier, bi-
shop of Worcester, and confessor to the duke of Lan-
caster; William Wollewell a frier of the order of
Lincolnshire, John Bourgh parson of Collingham
in Nottinghamshire a doctor of diuinitie, and chan-
celor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge; William
Sclabe a monke of Buckfast abbey in Devonshire,
John Thoresbie archbishop of Dorke and lord chan-
celor of England, was admitted by pope Urbane
the first into the college of cardinals, but he died be-
fore R. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight
and fourth yeare of king Edward the third, in the
yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Wyborne an Au-
gustine frier, John Wone an earnest follower of
Wickliffes doctrine, and therefore condemned to per-
petuall prison; Casteron a monke of Norwich and
an excellent diuine, Nicholas Wadcliffe a monke of
saint Albons, John Wthwarbie a diuine and a fa-
uourer of Wicliffes doctrine. Richard Wadstone
so called of the towne in Kent where he was borne,
a Carmelite frier of Aileford.

Adde to these John Wardbie an Augustine frier,
and a great diuine; Robert Wadbie excellentlie
learned

learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was first aduanced to a bishopricke in Salisbury, and after he was admitted archbishop of Dublin; William Barton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and aduersarie to Wickliffe; Philip Kepington abbat of Leicester a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe; Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a secular priest, a doctor of diuinitie, and scholer to Wickliffe; Walter Bixit also another of Wickliffes scholars wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments; Henrie Berkleie chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great sophister; Robert Fozzie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentieth prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Augustine frier, professed in the same citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduersarie to Wickliffe.

More, William Gillingham a monke of saint Sauours in Canturburie; John Gilmarke a fellow of Harton colledge in Oxford, a great philosopher and mathematician; John Sharpe a philosopher, and a diuine, wrote manie treatises, a great aduersarie to Wickliffe; Richard Laingham bozne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipswich, an excellent logician, but a fore enimie to them that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Batehull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is said that he was in the end constrained for doubt of persecution to flie into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciscane frier, a chosen champion against Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell; John Bompart a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a fore enimie also to Wickliffes; Marcell Ingeline an excellent philosopher and a diuine, one of the first teachers in the Vniuersitie of Heidelberge, which Robert duke of

Bauier and countie palantine of the Rhene had instituted about that season; Richard Posthall sonne to a maior of London (as is said) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the same citie; Thomas Edwardson prior of the friers Augustines at Clare in Suffolke, John Summer a Franciscane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliffes; Richard Withes a learned priest & an earnest follower of Wickliffe, John Swafham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a student in Cambridge, who became bishop of Bangor, a great aduersarie to the Wickliffes.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egmond a frier heremit of the sect of the Augustines in Stamford; John Tillington a Franciscane frier, a maintainer of the popes doctrine; William Kimpton or Kimington a monke of Salleie, an enimie also to the Wickliffes; Adam Ekton well scene in the toongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who restored him to his former dignitie; John Beaufu a Carmelite of Portsmouth, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Orenford, and was made prior of his house; Roger Twiford alias Godducke, an Augustine frier; John Treuisse a Cognishman bozne, and a secular priest and bicar of Berkleie, he translated the bible; Bartholomew De proprietatibus rerum; Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, and diuerse other treatises, Rafe Spalding a Carmelite frier of Stamford; John mone an Englishman bozne, but a student in Paris, who compiled in the French tongue the Roman of the Rose, translated into English by Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shirbozne; Richard Withingham bozne in Suffolke, and diuerse other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whose depriuation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.



Henrie the fourth, cousine germane to Richard the second, latelie depriued.



When king Richard had resigned (as before is specified) the scepter and crowne; Henrie Plantagenet bozne at Wallingbroke in the countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earle of Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln, sonne to John of Cant duke of Lancaster, with generall consent both of the lords & commons, was published, proclaimed, and declared king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, the last daie of September, in the peare of the world 5366, of our Lord 1399, of the reigne of the emperorour Wenceslaus the two and twentieth, of Charles the first king of France the twentieth, and the tenth of

Robert the third king of Scots. After that king Richard had surrendered his title, and dispossessed himselfe (which Chr. Okl. noteth in few wordes, saying:

post breue tempus
Exiit insigni sese diademate, sceptrum
Henrico Lancastrensi regere linquens)

In Angl. prelijs.

King Henrie made certeine new officers. And first in right of his earledome of Leicester he gaue the office of high steward of England (belonging to the same earledome) vnto his second sonne the lord Thomas, who by his fathers commandement exercised that office, being assisted (by reason of his tender age) by Thomas Berlie earle of Worcester. The earle of Northumberland was made constable of England: sir John Scirlie lord chancellor, John Fitzburie esquier lord treasurer, sir Richard Clifford

Edo.

loze

The parliament
new summoned.

Record
Curia.

Claiming of
offices at the
coronation.

Curtana.
The earle of
Summerfet.

The earle of
Northum-
berland.
The Ile of
Man.

Lancaster
sword.

The earle of
Westmerland.

The duke of
Norfolke.
Sir Thomas
Crypgham.

The earle of
Warwike.

Sir William
Argentine.

John Fitz-
warren.

The lord
Furnuall.

The lord
Graie.

lord p[ri]nc scale. For so much as by king Richards re-
signation and the admitting of a new king, all p[re]s-
ent in euerie court and place were ceased, and without
daie discontinued, new writs were made for sum-
moning of the parlement under the name of king
Henrie the fourth, the same to be holden, as before
was appointed, on mondaie next ensuing. Upon the
fourth day of October, the lord Thomas second sonne
to the king sat as lord high steward of England by
the kings commandement in the White-hall of the
kings palace at Westminster, and as belonged to
his office, he caused inquirie to be made what offices
were to be exercised by anie manner of persons the
daie of the kings coronation, and what fees were be-
longing to the same, causing proclamation to be
made, that what noble man or other that could
claime anie office that daie of the solemnizing the
kings coronation, they should come and put in their
bills coprehending their demands. Whereupon diuers
offices & fees were claimed, as well by bills as other-
wise by speech of mouth, in forme as here insueth.

First, the lord Henrie the kings eldest sonne, to
whome he as in right of his duchie of Lancaster had
appointed that office, claimed to beare before the
king the principall sword called Curtana, and had
his sute granted. John erle of Summerfet, to whom
the king as in right of his earldome of Lincoln,
had granted to be caruer the daie of his coronation,
and had it confirmed. Henrie Persie earle of Nor-
thumberland, and high constable of England, by the
kings grant claimed that office, and obtained it to
enjoy at pleasure. The same earle in right of the Ile
of Man, which at that present was granted to him,
and to his heires by the king, claimed to beare on the
kings left side a naked sword, with which the king
was girded, when before his coronation he entered
as duke of Lancaster into the parts of Holderneshe,
which sword was called Lancasters sword. Rafe erle
of Westmerland, and earle marshall of England, by
the kings grant claimed the same office, and obtained
it, notwithstanding that the attornies of the duke of
Norfolke, presented to the lord steward their peti-
tion on the dukes behalfe, as earle marshall, to exer-
cise the same. Sir Thomas Crypgham knight
exercised the office of lord great Chamberleine, and
gaue water to the king when he washed, both before
and after dinner, hauing for his fees, the bason, cluer,
and towels, with other things whatsoeuer belong-
ing to his office: notwithstanding Aubrie de Cler
earle of Orenford put in his petitions to haue that
office as due vnto him from his ancestors. Thomas
Beauchampe earle of Warwick by right of inheri-
tance, bare the third sword before the king, and by
like right was pantler at the coronation. Sir Wil-
liam Argentine knight, by reason of the tenure of
his manour of Wilmundale in the countie of Hert-
ford, serued the king of the first cup of drinke which
he tasted of at his dinner the daie of his coronation:
the cup was of silver vngilt, which the same knight
had for his fees: notwithstanding the petition which
John Fitzwarren presented to the lord steward, re-
quiring that office in right of his wife the ladie
Maude, daughter and heire to sir John Argentine
knight. Sir Thomas Beuill lord Furnuall, by rea-
son of his manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of
Cere, which he held by the courtie of England after
the decesse of his wife, the ladie Jane decesed, gaue
to the king a glove for his right hand, and susteined
the kings right arme so long as he bare the scepter.

The lord Reginald Graie of Ruthen, by reason
of his manour of Ashleie in Norfolke couered the
tables, and had for his fees all the tableclothes, as
well those in the hall, as else where, when they were
taken up, notwithstanding a petition exhibited by sir

John Dutton to haue had that office. The same lord
Graie of Ruthen, bare the kings great spurs before
him in the time of his coronation by right of inheri-
tance, as heire to John Hastings earle of Penbroke.
John erle of Summerfet, by the kings assignement
bare the second sword before him at his coronation,
albeit that the said lord Graie of Ruthen by petition
exhibited before the lord steward demanded the same
office, by reason of his castell & towne of Penbroke,
and of his towne of Denbigh. Thomas earle of A-
rundell cheefe butler of England, obtained to exer-
cise that office the daie of the coronation, and had the
fees thereto belonging granted to him, to wit, the
goblet with which the king was serued, and other
things to that his office appertaining (the vessels of
wine excepted) that laie vnder the bar, which were ad-
iudged vnto the said lord steward, the said earle of A-
rundells claime notwithstanding.

The citizens of London chosen sayth by the cite,
serued in the hall, as assistants to the lord cheefe but-
ler, whilst the king sate at dinner, the daie of his co-
ronation: and when the king entered into his cham-
ber after dinner, and called for wine, the lord maior
of London brought to him a cup of gold with wine,
and had the same cup given to him, together with the
cup that contained water to allay the wine. After the
king had drunke, the said lord maior and the alder-
men of London had their table to dine at, on the left
hand of the king in the hall. Thomas Dimocke, in
right of his mother Margaret Dimocke, by reason
of the tenure of his manor of Sctruelbie, claimed to
be the kings champion at his coronation, and had his
sute granted; notwithstanding a claime exhibited by
Baldwin frenill, demanding that office by reason
of his castell of Tamworth in Warwike shire. The
said Dimocke had for his fees one of the best cour-
sers in the kings stable, with the kings saddle and
all the trappers & harness appertaining to the same
horse or courser: he had likewise one of the best ar-
mours that was in the kings armorie for his owne
bodie, with all that belonged wholie therevnto.

John lord Latimer, although he was vnder age,
for himselfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithstan-
ding that his possessions were in the kings hands, by
his attornie sir Thomas Graie knight, claimed and
had the office of almoner for that daie, by reason of
certeine lands which sometime belonged to the lord
William Beauchampe of Bedford. They had a towell
of fine linnen cloth prepared, to put in the filter
that was appointed to be given in almes; and like-
wise they had the distribution of the cloth that con-
cerned the paucement and floors from the kings chamber
doze, vnto the place in the church of Westminster
where the pulpit stood. The residue that was spread in
the church, the serten had. William le Tenour, by
reason he was tenant of the manor of Liffon, claim-
ed and obtained to exercise the office of making
wafers for the king the daie of his coronation. The
barons of the fine ports claimed, and it was granted
them, to beare a canopie of cloth of gold over the 30
with foure staues, & foure bels at the foure corners,
euerie staffe hauing foure of those barons to beare
it: also to dine and sit at the table next to the king on
his right hand in the hall the daie of his coronation,
and for their fees to haue the said canopie of gold,
with the bels and staues, notwithstanding the abbat
of Westminster claimed the same. Edmund cham-
bers claimed and obtained the office of principall lar-
derer for him and his deputies, by reason of his ma-
nour of Skulton, otherwise called Wurdellebin
Skulton, in the countie of Norfolke. Thus was eue-
rie man appointed to exercise such office as to him of
right appertained, or at the least was thought requisite
for the time present. On mondaie then next ensuing,
when

The
citizens
of London.

The
citizens
of London.

The
citizens
of London.

Thomas
Dimocke.

Baldwin
frenill.

The
citizens
of London.

William
le Tenour.

The
citizens
of London.

An. Reg. I.

Knights of
the Bath.

The lord mar-
shal of Lon-
don.

The earle of
Gloucester en-
ued the re-
parlement.

Edmund erle
of Lancaster
betrue false-
ned to be sur-
named
Crokebacke.

Sir John
Cheinie

when the states were assembled in parlement, order was taken, that by reason of such preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they should sit no more till the morow after saint Edwards daie. On the sondaie following, being the even of saint Edwards, the new king lodged in the Tower, and there made fortie & six knights of the Bath, to wit: thre of his sonnes, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwike his sonne, the earle of Stafford, two of the earle of Devonshires sonnes, the lord Beaumont, the lord Willoughbies brother, the earle of Staffords brother, the lord Camois his sonne, the lord of Haulle, Thomas Beauchampe, Thomas Pelham, John Luttrell, John Lisleie, William Haukeford iustice, William Wyndlesore iustice, Bartholomew Bachford, Giles Daubeneie, William Butler, John Ash-ton, Richard Sanape, John Tiptoft, Richard Fraunceis, Henrie Perse, John Arundell, William Strall, John Turpington, Almer Saint, Edward Hastings, John Greisdreie, Gerald Satill, John Arden, Robert Chalons, Thomas Dimocke, Hungerford, Sibthorpe, Newpport, and diuers other, to the number of fortie and six.

On the morow being saint Edwards daie, and the thirtieth of October, the lord marshall of London road towards the Tower to attend the king, with diuers worshipfull citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king rode through the citie to Westminster, where he was consecrated, anointed, and crowned king by the archbishop of Canturburie with all ceremonies and roiall solemnitie as was due and requisite. Though all other rejoiced at his advancement, yet surliche Edmund Mortimer earle of March, which was cosine and heire to Lionel duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of king Edward the third, & Richard earle of Cambrydge, sonne to Edmund duke of York, which had married Anne sister to the same Edmund, were with these doings neither pleased nor contented: inso much that now the division once begun, the one linage ceased not to persecute the other, till the heires males of both the lines were clerlie destroyed and extinguished.

At the daie of the coronation, to the end he should not seeme to take upon him the crowne and scepter roiall by plaine extorted power, and iniurious intrusion: he was advised to make his title as heire to Edmund (surnamed or vntrulle feined) Crokebacke, sonne to king Henrie the third, and to saie that the said Edmund was elder brother to king Edward the first, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whom by his mother Blanche, daughter and sole heire to Henrie duke of Lancaster, he was next of blood, and vndoubted heire. But because not onelie his friends, but also his priuite enemies, knew that this was but a forged title, considering they were surliche informed, not onelie that the said Edmund was younger sonne to king Henrie the third, but also had true knowledge, that Edmund was neither crokebacked, nor a deformed person, but a goodlie gentleman, and a valiant capteine, and so much favored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in marriage to the queene Dowager of Navarre, hauing a great liuelihod, gaue to him the countie palatine of Lancaster, with manie notable honours, high segnorities, and large priuileges. Therefore they advised him to publish it, that he challenged the realme not onelie by conquest, but also because he by king Richard was adopted as heire, and declared by resignation as his lawfull successor, being next heire male to him of the blood roiall.

But to proceed to other doings. The solemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tuesdaye, the parlement began againe, and the next daie sir John Cheinie that was speaker, excusing

himselfe, by reason of his infirmities and sickness, not to be able to exercise that roie, was dismissed, and one William Durward esquier was admitted. Herewith were the acts established in the parlement of the one & twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne repealed and made void, and the ordinances deuised in the parlement holden the eleventh yeare of the same king, confirmed, and againe established for good and profitable. ¶ On the same daie, the kings eldest sonne lord Henrie, by assent of all the states in the parlement, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earle of Chester, then being of the age of twelue yeares.

Upon the thursdaie, the commons came and rehearsed all the errors of the last parlement holden in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard, & namely in certeine fine of them.

First, that where the king that now is, was readie to arraigne an appeale against the duke of Norfolk, he doing what pertained to his dutie in that behalfe, was yet banished afterwards without anie reasonable cause.

Secondlie, the archbishop of Canturburie, metropolitan of the realme, was foreiudged without answer.

Thirdlie, the duke of Gloucester was murdered, and after foreiudged.

Fourthlie, where the earle of Arundell alledged his charters of pardon, the same might not be allowed.

Fiftlie, that all the power of that euill parlement was granted and assigned ouer to certeine persons, and sith that such heinous errors could not be committed (as was thought) without the assent and aduise of them that were of the late kings counsell, they made sute that they might be put vnder arrest, and committed to safe keeping, till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoe there was in this parlement, speciallie about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Gloucesters death, and of the condemning of the other lords that were aduised traitors in the foresaid late parlement holden in the said one and twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne. Sir John Bagot knight then prisoner in the Tower, disclosed manie secrets, vnto the which he was priuite; and being brought on a daie to the barre, a bill was read in English which he had made, containing certeine euill practises of king Richard; and further what great affection the same king bare to the duke of Aumarle, inso much that he heard him say, that if he should renounce the gouernement of the kingdom, he wished to leaue it to the said duke, as to the most able man (for wisdom and manhood) of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreame enimie and cruell tyrant to the church.

It was further contained in that bill, that as the same Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Norfolk in the Sanoy street toward Westminster, the ruke asked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Gloucester his death, and he answered that he knew nothing at all: but the people (quoth he) doe say that you haue murdered him. Wherevnto the duke swore great othes that it was vntrue, and that he had saued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the space of thre weekes, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life time more afraid of death, than he was at his coming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. And then (said he) the king appointed one of his owne seruants, and certeine other that

her of the par-
lement dissuad-
ed, and will-
iam Dur-
ward admit-
ted.

Acts confir-
med.

1

2

3

4

5

Fabian.
Sir John
Bagot disclo-
seth secrets.

Henrie the
fourth suspec-
ted not to be
well affected
towards the
church before
his coming
to the crowne.

Do d.ij.

were

The duke of
Aumarle ac-
cused.

were servants to other lords to go with him to see the said duke of Gloucester put to death, swearing that as he should answer afore God, it was never his mind that he should haue died in the fort, but onely for feare of the king, and saving of his owne life. Nevertheless, there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that to fulfill his mind, had set him in hand with all that was done against the said duke, and the other lords. There was also contained in that bill, what secret malice king Richard had conceived against the duke of Hereford being in exile, wherof the same Bagot had sent intelligence unto the duke into France, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Piers Buckton, and others, to the intent he should the better haue regard to himselfe. There was also contained in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead, not for any feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischance that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of
Aumarle his
answer vnto
Bagots bill.

After that the bill had bene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points contained in the bill concerning him, they were utterlie false and vntrue, which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisite. Therewith also the duke of Gloucester rose vp, and willed Bagot that if he could say any thing against him to speake it openlie. Bagot answered, that for his part he could say nothing against him: But there is (said he) a peoman in the court called John Hall that can say somewhat. Well then (said the duke of Gloucester) this that I doe and Hall say is true, that the late king, the duke of Norfolk, and thou being at Wodstoke, made me to go with you into the chapel, and there the duke being shut, ye made me to sweare vpon the altar, to keepe counsell in that ye had to say to me, and then ye rehearsed that we should neuer haue our purpose, so long as the duke of Lancaster liued, & therefore ye purposed to haue counsell at Richfield, & there you would arrest the duke of Lancaster, in such sort as by colour of his disobeying the arrest, he should be dispatched out of life. And in this manner ye imagined his death. To the which I answered, that it were conuenient the king should send for his counsell, and if they agreed hereunto, I would not be against it, and so I departed. To this Bagot made no answer.

Bagot and
Hall brought
to the barre.

After this, the king commanded that the lords, Berkleie, and Louell, and six knights of the lower house, should go after dinner to examine the said Hall. This was on a thursdaie being the fifteenth of October. On the saturday next ensuing, sir William Bagot and the said John Hall were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certein points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Gloucesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the verie cause of his death, and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

The lord
Fitzwater
appealeth the
duke of Au-
marle of trea-
son.

The duke of Surrie stood by also against the lord Fitzwater, avouching that where he had said that the

appeallants were causers of the duke of Gloucesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement against the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was done by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered hereunto, that he was not present in the parliament house, when iudgement was given against them, and all the lords bare witness therof. Moreover, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his servants to Calis, to murder the duke of Gloucester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norfolk affirmeth, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hood which he had borrowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the king licensed the duke of Norfolk to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale. After this was John Hall condemned of treason by authoritie of the parliament, for that he had confessed himselfe to be one of them that put the duke of Gloucester to death at Calis, and so on the mondaie following, he was hanged from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, beheaded, and quartered: his head being sent to Calis there to be set vp, where the duke was murdered.

On wednesdaie following, request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Wherevpon the bishop of Carlisle, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed forth his opinion concerning that demand, affirming that there was none amongst them worthy to meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their soueraigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more; And I assure you (said he) there is not so ranke a traitor, nor so errant a thief, nor yet so cruell a murderer apprehended or detained in prison for his offense, but he shall be brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye proceed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to king Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or vs: for it is manifest & well knowne, that the duke was banished the realme by king Richard and his counsell, and by the iudgement of his owne father, for the space of ten yeares, for that cause ye know, and yet without licence of king Richard, he is returned againe into the realme, and (that is worse) hath taken vpon him the name, title, & preeminence of king. And therefore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceed in any thing against king Richard, without calling him openlie to his answer and defense. As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbey of saint Albons.

Moreover, where the king had granted to the earle of Westmerland the countie of Richmond, the duke of Britaine pretending a right thereto by an old title, had sent his letters ouer vnto the estates assembled in this parliament, offering to abide such order as the law would appoint in the like case to any of the kings subjects. Wherevpon the commons for the more suertie of the intercourse of merchants, besought the king that the matter might be committed to the ordering of the counsell of either of the parties.

Fabian.

John Hall con-
demned.

John Stow.
The record
of the com-
mons.

Hall.
A bold bishop
and a lamp-
fall.

The duke
of Britaine.

An. Reg. 1.

parties, and of his counsell, so as an end might be had therein, which request was likewise granted. After this, the records of the last parlement were shewed, with the appeales, & the commission made to twelve persons, to determine things that were motioned in the same last parlement. Whereupon the commons prayed that they might haue iustice Sparham, and maister Salcoigne a sergeant at the law ioined with them for counsell, touching the perusing of the records, which was granted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morrow in the White-hall, where they sat about these matters thre daies together.

R. Richard appeared to his sign in person.

On the morrow following, being the euen of Simon and Jude the apostles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richard. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie appointed to speake, declared how that the king that now is, had granted king Richard his life; but in such wise as he should remaine in perpetuall prison, so safely kept, that neither the king nor realme should be troubled with him. It was also concluded, that if anie man went about to deliuer him, that then he should be the first that should die for it. After this, the commons prayed that the lords and other that were of king Richards counsell, might be put to their answers for their sundrie misdoings, which was granted. On Wednesday following, being the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, all the proccesse of the parlement holden the 21 yere of king Richards reigne was read openlie, in which it was found, how the earle of Warwicke had confessed himselfe guiltie of treason, and asked pardon and mercie for his offense: but the earle denied that euer he acknowledged anie such thing by word of mouth, and that he would proue in what manner sooner should be to him appointed. Herein was also the appeale found of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester, the marquesse Dorset, the earles of Salisburie, and Glocester, vnto the which ech of them answered by himselfe, that they neuer assented to that appeale of their owne free wills, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affirmed by their othes, and offered to proue it by what manner they should be appointed.

The earle of warwicke.

the water Copon,

Sir Walter Clopton said then to the commons; If ye will take advantage of the proccesse of the last parlement, take it, and ye shall be recelued therevnto. Then rose by the lord Spolie, and said to the earle of Salisburie, that he was chiefe of counsell with the duke of Glocester, and likewise with king Richard, & so discovered the dukes counsell to the king, as a traitor to his maister, and that he said he would with his bodie proue against him, throwing downe his hood as a pledge. The earle of Salisburie soe moued herewith, told the lord Spolie, that he falslie belied him, for he was neuer traitor, nor false to his maister all his life time, and therewith threw downe his glove to wage battell against the lord Spolie. Their gages were taken by, and deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties were arrested, and day to them giuen till another time.

The lord Spolie appeale to the earle of Salisburie.

On mondaie following, being the morrow after All soules day, the commons made request, that they might not be entred in the parlement rolls, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this parlement, but there as in verie truth they were partie to the same: for the iudgement otherwise belonged to the king, except where anie iudgment is giuen by statute enacted for the profit of the common-wealth, which request was granted. Diuers other petitions were presented on the behalfe of the commons, part whereof were granted, and to some there was none answer made at that time. Finally, to auoid further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it

was finally enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parlement against the duke of Glocester and other, should in this wise following be ordered. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester there present, were iudged to lose their names of dukes, together with the honours, titles and dignities thereunto belonging. The marquesse Dorset being likewise there present, was adiudged to lose his title and dignitie of marquesse; and the earle of Glocester being also present, was in semblable maner iudged to lose his name, title and dignitie of earle.

Dukes and others were deprived of their titles.

Moreover, it was further decreed against them, that they and euerie of them should lose and forfeit all those castles, lordships, manors, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties and reuenues, whatsoever had bene giuen to them, at or since the last parlement, belonging aforesaid to any of those persons whom they had appealed, and all other their castles, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties, and reuenues whatsoever, which they held of the late kings gift, the daie of the arrest of the said duke of Glocester, or at any time after, should also remaine in the kings disposition from thenceforth, and all letters patents and charters, which they or any of them had of the same names, castles, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, and liberties, should be surrendered up into the chancery, there to be cancelled. Diuerse other things were enacted in this parlement, to the prejudice of those high estates, to satisfie mens minds that were sore displeased with their doings in the late kings daies, as now it manifestlie appeared. For after it was understood that they should be no further punished than as before is mentioned, great murmuring rose among the people against the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Northumberland, and other of the counsell, for fauouring the liues of men whom the commons reputed most wicked, and not worthy in anie wise to liue. But the king thought it best, rather with courtesie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of their friends and allies, which were manie, and of no small power.

Tho. Wals.

The hatred which the commons had committed against the appellants.

After that the foresaid iudgement was declared with protestation by sir William Thirning iustice, the earle of Salisburie came and made request, that he might haue his protestation entered against the lord Spolie, which lord Spolie rising up from his seat, said, that so he might not haue; because in his first answer he made no protestation, and therefore he was past it now. The earle prayed day of aduilement, but the lord Spolie prayed that he might lose his aduantage, sith he had not entered sufficient plea against him. Then sir Matthew Courne sitting vnderneath the king said to the earle of Salisburie, that forso much as at the first day in your answers, ye made no protestation at all, none is entered of record, and so you are past that aduantage: and therefore asked him if he would saie any other thing. Then the earle desired that he might put in mainprise, which was granted: and so the earle of Kent, sir Rafe Ferrers, sir John Koch, & sir John Dailton knights, mainprised the said earle bodie for bodie. For the lord Spolie all the lords and barons offered to undertake, and to be sureties for him; but yet foure of them had their names entered, that is to saie, the lords Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Seales, and Berkelie: they had day till the fridaie after to make their libell.

The earle of Salisburie came and made request.

Sir Matthew Courne.

The earle of Salisburie mainprised.

The lord Spolie mainprised.

After this came the lord Fitzwater, and prayed to haue day and place to arreigne his appeale against the earle of Rutland. The king said he would send for the duke of Norfolk to returne home, and then vpon his returne he said he would proceed in that matter. Many statutes were established in this parlement, as well concerning the whole bodie of the

The lord Fitzwater.

The archb.
of Cantur-
burie resto-
red to his see.

Thom. Wals.
Hall.

The crowne
intailed.

common-wealth (as by the booke thereof imprinted may appere), as also concerning diuerse pinate persons then presentlie living, which partlie we haue touched, and partlie for doubt to be ouer-tedious, we do omit. But this among other is not to be forgotten that the archbishop of Canturburie was not onelie restored to his former dignitie, being removed from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue heard) but also the said Walden was established bishop of London, wherewith he seemed well content. Moreover, the kings eldest sonne Henrie alreadie created (as heire to his father, and to the crowne) prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, was also intituled duke of Aquitaine: and to auoid all titles, claines, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the uniting of the crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, his sone sonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrie, being named, as to whom the right should descend successiuelie by waie of inheritance, in case where heires failed to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himselfe firme-ly set on a sure foundation, not needing to feare any forme of aduersie fortune. But yet shortly after he was put in danger to haue bene set besides the seat, by a conspiracie begun in the abbat of Westminster's house, which had it not bene hindered, it is doubtfull whether the new king should haue intioied his roialtie, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principallitie. But God (of whome the poet saith,

*humana rotat
Instar volucris pulueris aëli
Turbine celeri mobilis aëre*)

had purposed a disappointment of their consuration, and therefore no maruell though the issue of their labours were infortunat by their flattering hope.

But now to make an end with this parlement. After that things were concluded and granted, so as was thought to stand with the suertie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king granted a free pardon to all his subiects, those excepted that were at the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and such as had committed wilfull murder, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious thieues. And those that were to take benefit by this pardon, were appointed to sue for the charters therof, betwixt that present and the feast of All saints next ensuing, and so was this parlement dissolved. Immediately after, the king (according to an order taken in the same parlement, to giue to vnderstand vnto all princes and countries about him, by what title and occasion he had taken to him the kingdom) sent ambassadors vnto them to signifie the same. Into Rome were sent, John Trenchant bishop of Hereford, sir John Cheinie knight, & John Cheinie esquier. Into France, master Walter Shirley bishop of Durham, and Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. Into Spaine, John Trenchour bishop of saint Asaph, and sir William Parre knight. Into Al-manie the bishop of Wangoz, and two others.

The Scots in time of the late parlement, taking occasion of the absence of the northerne lords, and also by reason of great mortalitie that afflicted the northerne people that yeare, invaded the borders, toke the castell of Warke, that was assigned to the safe keeping of sir Thomas Greie knight, who then was at the parlement, as one of the knights of the Shyre, by meanes of whose absence, the enemies the sooner (as is to be thought) obtained their desire, and so kept that castell a certeine time, and finally spoiled it, and overthrew it to the ground. Besides all this, they did manie other mischeifes in the countrie, to the vndoing of manie of the kings subiects. This yeare Thomas Mowbray duke of York sholdie died in

erle at Venice, whose death might haue bene worthilie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not bene consenting to the death of the duke of Gloucester. The same yeare deceased the duchesse of Gloucester, thorough sorow (as was thought) which she conceived for the losse of hir sonne and heire the lord Humfrie, who being sent for forth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the pestilence, and died by the waie.

10 But now to speake of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as chiefe instrument thereof. Ye shall vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derby, and yong of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therfore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remove the great beame that then greued his eyes, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and counsell, where they might consult and commen together, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselves outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house on a day in the terme time, all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so envious to the prosperitie of king Henrie, whose names were, John Holland earle of Huntington late duke of Excester, Thomas Holland earle of Kent late duke of Surrie, Edward earle of Rutland late duke of Armarie sonne to the duke of Poike, John Montacute earle of Salisbury, Hugh lord Spenser late earle of Gloucester, John the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudeley a priest one of king Richards chappell, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall friends, and when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in counsell, and after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iuss to be entered betwene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Salisbury and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph k. Henrie should be desired, & when he should be most busilie marking the martiall passime, he suddenly should be slaine and destroyed, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people, the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Herupon was an indenture sertipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indurour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreover, they swore on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, even to the houre and point of death.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsor, earnestlie requiring him, that he would boughsafe to be at Oxford on the date appointed of their iusses, both to behold the same, and to be the discoverer and indifferent iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and dowings. The king being thus

Tho. Wals.

Ambassadors
sent to foreign
princes.

The castell of
Warke taken
by the Scots.
Sir Thom.
Greie.

The death of
the duke of
York.

The death
of Gloucester
deceased.

Hall.

what meant
the abbat of
Westminster
to conspire
against the
king.

The lords
that conspi-
red against
the duke.

A iuss was
taken by the
duke at Ox-
ford.

An indenture
sertipartite.

He is desired
to come and
see the iuss.

In Reg. 1.

thus instantlie required of his brother in law, and nothing lesse imagining than that which was pretended, gentlie granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obtained, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armour on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such an high & solempne triumph appertained. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared hoisile and harnesse for his compassed purpose, and when he had all things readie, he departed towards Orenford, and at his coming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

*The duke of
Yorke secretly
the indenture
from his son.*

The father esping it, would needs see what it was; and though the sonne humbly denied to shew it, the father being more earnest to see it, by force took it out of his bosome, and perceiving the contents thereof, in a great rage caused his horses to be saddled out of hand, and spitefullie reproving his sonne of treason, for whom he was become suertie and mainperneur for his good abearing in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horsebacke to ride towards Windsoze to the king, to declare unto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland seeing in what danger he stood, took his horse, and rode another waie to Windsoze in post, so that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saing that he must needs deliuer the keyes to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knees, beseeching him of mercie and forgiveness, and declaring the whole matter unto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obtained pardon. Therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had taken from his sonne, unto the king, who thereby perceiving his sonnes wordes to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Orenford, and dispatched messengers forth to signifie unto the earle of Northumberland his high constable, and to the earle of Westmerland his high marshall, and to other his assured friends, of all the doubtfull danger and perillous ieopardie.

*The earle of
Rutland bet-
treth & whole
conspiracie
to the king.*

*Spalden
counterfeited
to be king
Richard.*

*The king
cometh to the
tower of Lon-
don.*

*The lords
come to win-
doso.*

The conspiratozs being at Orenford, at length perceived by the lacke of the earle of Rutland, that their enterpryse was revealed to the king, and thereupon determined now openlie with speare and shield to bring that to passe which before they couertlie attempted, and so they adozned Spalden, a man most resembling king Richard, in roiall and princelie be-
sture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauour of his keepers he was escaped out of prison, and so they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to destroe king Henrie. Whilste the confederatozs with their new published idoll, accom-
panied with a strong armie of men, took the direct waie towards Windsoze, king Henrie admonished thereof, with a few horsemen in the night came to the Tower of London about twelue of the clocke, where in the morning he caused the maiors of the citie to apparell in armour the best and most couragious persons of the citie, which brought to him three thousand archers, and three thousand bill-men, besides them that were appointed to keepe and defend the citie.

The conspiratozs cunning to Windsoze, entered

the castell, and vnderstanding that the king was gon from thence to London, determined with all speed to make towards the citie: but changing that determination as they were on their waie, they turned to Colboke, and there staid. King Henrie issuing out of London with twentie thousand men, came streight to Hundlo heath, and there pitched his campe to abide the coming of his enimies: but when they were aduertised of the kings puissance, amazed with feare, and forthinking their begun enterpryse, as men mistrusting their owne companie, departed from thence to Berkhamsted, and so to Cirecster, & there the lords took their lodging. The earle of Kent, and the earle of Salisburie in one inne, and the earle of Huntington and lord Spenser in an other, and all the host laie in the fields, whereupon in the night season, the bailiffe of the towne with fourescore archers set on the house, where the erle of Kent and the other laie, which house was manfullie assaulted and stronglie defended a great space. The earle of Huntington being in an other inne with the lord Spenser, set fire on diuerse houses in the towne, thinking that the assailants would leaue the assault and rescue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The host lieng without, hearing noise, and seeing this fire in the towne, thought verelie that king Henrie had bene come thither with his puissance, and thereupon fled without measure, euerie man making shift to saue himselfe, and so that which the lords deuised for their helpe, wrought their destruction: for if the armie that laie without the towne had not mistaken the matter, when they saw the houses on fire, they might easilie haue succoured their cheefeteins in the towne, that were assailed but with a few of the townsmen, in comparison of the great multitude that laie abroad in the fields. But such was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of hostes, who disposeth althings at his pleasure.

*The king go-
eth forth a-
gainst them.*

They retire.

*They come to
Cirecster.*

*The bailiffe
of Cirecster
seteth upon
them on their
lodgings.*

*The lords set
fire on their
lodgings.*

*Hall.
Froillard.*

The earle of Huntington and his companie seeing the force of the townsmen to increase, fled out on the backside, intending to repaire to the armie which they found disperfed and gone. When the earle seeing no hope of comfort, fled into Cister. The other lords which were left fighting in the towne of Cirecster, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads stricken off and sent to London. Thus writeth Hall of this conspiracie, in following what author I know not. But Thomas Walsingham and diuerse other sceme somewhat to dissent from him in relation of this matter: for they write that the conspiratozs ment upon the sudden to haue set upon the king in the castell of Windsoze, vnder colour of a maske or mummerie, and so to haue dispatched him; and restoring king Richard unto the kingdome, to haue recovered their former titles of honour, with the possessions which they had lost by iudgement of the last parlement. But the king getting knowledge of their pretended treasons, got him with all speed unto London.

Thom. Walf.

A maske.

The conspiratozs, to wit, the earles of Kent and Salisburie, sir Rafe Lumlie, and others, supposing that the king had not vnderstood their malicious purpose, the first fundaie of the new yeaere, which fell in the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the evening unto Windsoze with foure hundred armed men, where vnderstanding that the king was withdraue vpon warning had of their purposed intention, they forthwith returned backe, and came first unto Sunnings, a manor place not farre from Reading, where the queene wife to king Richard then laie. Here setting a good countenance of the matter, the earle of Kent declared in presence of the queenes seruants that the lord Henrie of Lancaster was fled from his presence with his children and friends, and had

*1400
Harding.*

*The wordes
of the queene
of Kent.*

had shut by himselfe & them in the Tower of London, as one afraid to come abroad, for all the brags made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (saith he) my intention is (my lords) to go to Richard that was, is, and shall be our king, who being already escaped forth of prison, lieth now at Pomfret, with an hundred thousand men. And to cause his speech the better to be believed, he took alwaie the kings cognisances from them that wore the same, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of crescents from the sleeves of the servants of household, and throwing them alwaie, said that such cognisances were no longer to be borne.

Thus having put the quene in a vaine hope of that which was nothing so, they departed from thence unto Wallingford, and after to Abington, inticing the people by all meanes possible unto rebellion, all the waie as they went, and sending their agents abroad for the same purpose: at length they came to Cirester in the darke of the night, and took by their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne suspecting the matter, and indoging, as the truth was, these rumors which the lords spied abroad to be but dreams, they took three upon counsell together, got them to arms, and stoped all the entries and outgates of the townes where these new ghestes were lodged, in so much that when they about midnight secretlie attempted to haue come forth, and gone their waies, the townesmen with bow and arrowes were ready to slay them, and keepe them in. The lords perceiving the danger, got them to their arms and weapons, and did their best by force to breake through and repell the townesmen. But after they had fought from midnight till three of the clocke in the afternoon of the next daie, and perceived they could not prevail, they yielded themselves to the townesmen, beseeching them to haue their liues saved, till they might come to the kings presence.

This request they had obtained, if a priest that was chaplaine to one of them, had not in the meane time set fire vpon certaine houses in the towne, to the end that whiles the townesmen should busie themselves to quench the fire, the lords might find meanes to escape. But it came nothing to passe as he imagined, for the townesmen leauing all care to saue their houses from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the lords, and so to reuenge themselves of them they brought them forth of the abbey where they had them in their hands, and in the twilight of the evening, strooke off their heads. The earle of Salisbury (saith Thomas Walsingham) who in all his life time had bene a fauourer of the Lollards or Wickleuists, a despiser of images, a contemner of canons, and a seermer of the sacraments, ended his daies, as it was reported without the sacrament of confession. These be the words of Thom. Wals. which are set downe, to signifie that the earle of Salisbury was a bidden ghest to blockham feast with the rest: and as it should seme by his relation the more maligne, because he was somewhat estranged fro the corruption of the religion then receiued, and leane to a sect pursued with spitefulnesse and reuenge.

John Hoell and earle of Huntington, as Thomas Walsingham writeth, was not with the lords at the castell of Windsoze, but staid about London to behold the end of his businesse: and hearing how the matter went, saith he, contrarie to that he wished, he sought to flee by sea, but not able to get alwaie, by reason the wind being contrarie would not permit him, he took his horse, and hauing a knight with him called sir John Shellic, he rood into Essex, attempting to haue fled from thence by sea: but still the wind was so against him, that he was continually driven

backe when he was about to make saile, and so coming againe to land, he was taken one evening at Pitwell in Essex, in a mill (that belonged to one of his trustie friends, as he sat there at supper, together with the said sir John Shellic. The commons of the countrie that took him, brought him first to Chelmsford, and after to Blashie, where on the daie of St. Maure, that is the fifteenth of Januarie, about sun setting he was beheaded, in the verie place in which the duke of Glocester was arrested by king Richard. He confessed with lamentable repentance (as writers do record) that diuers & manie waies he had offended God and his prince, because that vnderstanding the purpose of the other lords, he had not reuealed the same.

The lord Hugh Spenser, otherwisse called earle of Glocester, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Bristol, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. Paudelen fleeing into Scotland, was taken by the waie, and brought to the Tower. Manie other that were partie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Dorset, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell esquier, but sir Leonard Stokes, and sir John Shellic knights, John Paudelen, and William Ferbie chaplains, were dyawne, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chiefe conspirators were set on poles ouer London bridge, to the terro: of others. Shortly after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun (as is said) going betwene his monastrie & mansion, for thought fell into a sudden palfie, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. The bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracie, but the king of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offense, although he died shortly after, more through feare than force of sicknesse, as some haue written. Thus all the associates of this vnhappie conspiracie tasted the painefull penance of their pleasant pastime.

Thus haue ye heard what writers haue recorded of this matter, with some difference betwixt them: that writte, how the king should haue bene made alwaie at a iuss; and other that testifie, how it should haue bene at a maske or mummerie: but whether they meant to haue dispatched him at a mumming, or at a iuss, their purpose being reuealed by the earle of Rutland, they were brought to confusion, as before ye haue heard. And immediatlie after, king Henrie, to rid himselfe of any such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward saue himselfe to represent his person, though some haue said, he was not priue to that wicked offense. The common fame is, that he was euerie daie serued at the table with coslie meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature should suspect any thing done contrarie to the order taken in the parlement; and when the meat was set before him, he was forbidden once to touch it: yea, he was not permitted so much as to smell to it, and so he died of forced famine.

But Thomas Walsingham is so farre from imputing his death to compulsiue famine, that he referreth it altogether to voluntarie puning of himselfe. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of such his fauourers, as sought his restitution, and their owne aduancement, adulterated; and the chiefe agents shamefullie executed: he took such a conceit at these misfortunes, for so Thomas Walsingham termeth them, and was so beareen out of hart, that he would he starued himselfe, and so died in Pomfret castle.

The lords
pield them:
seines.

A priest set
fire on the
houses of
Cirester.

Abr. Fl. out of
Tho. Wals.
pag. 404.

* He died by
confession.

The lords
beheaded.

Chr. S.A.S.

The earle
of Hunting-
ton.

He is be-
headed.

Thomas
Spenser, earle
of Glocester.

Hall.

Execution.

The Wals.
Hall.

The abbat of
Westminster
died shortly
after.

The bishop of
Carleill died
shortly after,
more through
feare than
force of
sicknesse.

The earle
of Rutland
died shortly
after.

Abr. Fl. out of
Tho. Wals.
pag. 404.

in Reg. 1.

castell on S. Valentines daie : a happie daie to him, for it was the beginning of his ease, and the ending of his paine : so that death was to him daintie and sweet, as the poet saith, and that verie well in bræfe,

Dulce mori miseris

Neque est melius morte in malis rebus.

in Wallin.
Sir Piers de
Cron a mur-
derer of king
Richard.

One wyter, which saimeth to haue great know- ledge of king Richards doings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, fore sighing, said, haue I no faithfull frend which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preservation of my life: This saying was much noted of them which were present, and especial- lie of one called sir Piers of Erton. This knight in- continentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pom- fret, commanding the esquier that was accustomed to sew and take the assaie before king Richard, to doe so no more, saying: Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat. King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie, whereupon much marrelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier why he did not his dutie: Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of Erton, which is newlie come from S. Henrie. When king Richard heard that word, he took the heruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saying The diuill take Henrie of Lancaster and the tog- ther. And with that word, sir Piers entred the cham- ber, well armed, with right tall men likewise armed, euerie of them having a bill in his hand.

The desperate
manhood of
king Richard.

Richard
murdered.

King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, & stepping to the formost man, wounding the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers being halfe dismayed herewith, leapt into the chaire where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Ri- chard transtered his ground, from one side of the chamber to another, & coming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and there- by he was out of life, without giuing him respit once to call to God for mercie of his passed offences. It is said, that sir Piers of Erton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one stricken with the pike of a good conscience, for murdering him, whome he had so long time obeyed as king. After he was thus dead, his bodie was embalmed, and seered, and couered with lead, all faue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was con- ueyed from Pomfret to London, in all the towynes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige to be sung in the euening, and masse of Requiem in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the o- ther, his face discovered, was shewed to all that coue- ted to behold it.

The dead bo-
dy of S. Ri-
chard brought
to the Tower.

Richard
buried
in Langley.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule bare faced, where it laie three daies to- gether, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie done for him, both at Paules, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige o- uernight, and in the morning at the masse of Requiem, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was comman- ded to be had vnto Langley, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers. The bishop of Che- ster, the abbats of saint Albons and Waltham, cele- brated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles no; one of the commons (to accompt of) being pre-

sent: neither was there anie to bid them to dinner after they had laid him in the ground, and finished the funerall seruice. He was after by king Henrie the first remoued to Westminster, and there honozable intomed with quene Anne his wife, although the Scots vntreclie wrote, that he escaped out of prison, and led a vertuous and a solitarie life in Scotland, and there died, & is buried (as they hold) in the blacke friers at Sterling. But Fabian and others doe as it were point out the place of his interment, saying that he lieth intomed on the south side of saint Ed- wards shrine, with an epitaph exprelling partlie his propoition of bodie and partlie his properties of mind, as after followeth in a rimed herastichon:

*Prudens & mundus, Richardus iure secundus,
Per fatum victus, iacet hic sub marmore pictus,
Verax sermone, fuit & plenus ratione,
Corpore procerus, animo prudens ut Homerus,
Ecclesie fauit, elatos suppeditauit,
Quemuis prostrauit, reg alia qui violauit.*

When the newes of king Richards deposing was reported in France, king Charles and all his court wondering, detested and abhorred such an iniurie done to an annoiuted king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realme: but in especiall, Malerauc earle of saint Paule, which had married king Ri- chards halfe sister, moued with great disdain to- wards king Henrie, ceased not to stirre king Char- les & his counsell to make warres against the Eng- lishmen, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England. The earles sute was easilie agreed vnto, and an armie roiall appointed with all speed, to in- uade England. The armie was come downe into Picardie, redie to be transported into England: but when it was certeinlie known, that king Richard was dead, and that the enterpryse of his deliuerance (which was chæstie meant) was frustrate and void, the armie was dissolued. But when the certintie of S. Richards death was intimate to the Gascoignes, the most part of the wisest men of the cuntry were right pensile: for they iudged herelie, that hereby the English nation should be brought to dishonour, and losse of their ancient fame and glorie, for committing so heinous an offense against their king and soue- reigne lord, the memorie whereof (as they thought) would neuer die: and chæstie, the citizens of Bur- deaur toke the matter verie sore at the stomach: for they bare exceeding fauour to king Richard, because he was borne and brought vp in their citie, and there- fore more than all the residue they shewed themsel- ues to abhorre so heinous a deed.

Forren prin-
ces not with-
out cause aba-
horre to heere
of the shame-
full murder
of king Ri-
chard.

Howe the Gas-
coignes toke
the death of
S. Richard.

The duke of
Bourbon.

Froissard.

The Frenchmen hauing vnderstanding hercof, thought with themselves that now was the time for them to practise with the Gascoignes to reduce them from the English obedience, vnder their subiection. Whereupon came Alewes duke of Bourbon vnto A- gen, and wrote to diuerse cities and towynes, on the confines of Guien, exhorting them with large promi- ses, and faire sugred words, to reuolt from the Eng- lishmen, and to become subiects to the crowne of France; but his trauell preuailed not: for the people vnderstanding that the English yoke was but easie in comparison to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old subiection, than for a dis- pleasure irreuerable to aduenture themselves on a new doubtfull perill; yet it was doubted, least the cities of Burdeaur, War, and Baion, would haue re- uolted, if the lords of the marches about those places had leane to them in that purpose, for they sent their commissioners to Agen, to treatate with the duke of Bourbon. But forsomuch as the lords, Domiers, Gu- cident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Rosem, & Lan- gurant, were minded to continue still English, those cities durst not without them turne to the French o- bediance,

brifance, for they could not haue stirred out of thir gates, but those lords would haue bene readie at their elbowed, to haue caught them by the shewes.

King Henrie being aduertised of the Frenchmens couert meanings, and also of the wauering minds of the Gascoignes, sent Thomas Percie earle of Worcester with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guicn, to aid and assist sir Robert Knols, his lieutenant there. The chiefest capteines that accompanied the earle in this iourne were these: first, his nephew sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Colkeuill, sir William Lisle, John de Craillie base sonne to the capitall de Boen, sir William Daiton, sir John Danbreticourt: also there went with him the bishop of London, and master Richard Doall of Dolcie. The earle at his arriual so wiselie intreated the noble men, so grauelie persuaded the magistrats of the cities and townes, and so gentlie and familiarlie bled and treated the commons, that he not onlie appeased their furie and malice, but brought them to louing and vniforme obedience, receiuing of them othes of obedience, & loiall fealtie, which done, he returned againe into England with great thanks.

The French king perceiuing he could not bring his purpose about, neither by invading England, nor by praailing with the Gascoignes, sent a solemne ambassage into England, requiring to haue his daughter the ladie Isabell, sometime espoused to king Richard, restored to him againe. King Henrie gentlie receiued those that were sent to him about this message, and for answer, promised to send his commissioner vnto Calis, which should further commune and conclude with them. This seemeth dissonant from the report of Fabian deriued out of Gagneine. For he saith that Charles hearing of the suppression of Li. Richard, sent of his household knights into England, requiring king Henrie the fourth, then newlie made king, to send home his daughter Isabell, lately married vnto king Richard, with such dowrie as with hir was promised. In doing of which message king Henrie took such displeasure, that he threw the said two knights in prison; where though one of them named Blandier died in England, and the other called Henrie, after great sickness returned into France: wherefore if Fabian plaie not the fabler, those that were sent on the said message were not gentlie receiued of king Henrie; vntill to be cast in prison and discourteouslie dealt withall stand countable for beneuolence & gentle intertainment. But to remit this and the like variances among writers to such as can reconcile them, let vs returne to the storie.

It was not inough that Li. Henrie was thus troubled now in the first yere of his reigne, with ciuill sedition, and the couert practises of Frenchmen; but that the Scots also took vpon them to make open warre against him: it chanced (as in the Scottish chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbar, earle of the marches of Scotland, being in displeasure with Robert king of Scots, fled into England, to Henrie earle of Northumberland, where vpon the Scottish king depriued him of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goods to be confiscated, and after wrote to the king of England, requiring him if he would haue the truce any longer to continue, either to deliuer into his possession the earle of March and other traitors to his person or else to banish them out of his realmes and dominions. King Henrie discreetly answered the herald of Scotland, that the words of a prince ought to be kept: and his writings and seals to be inviolate: and considering that he had granted a safe conduct to the earle and his companie, he should neither without cause

reasonable breake his promise, nor yet de face his honor. Which answer declared to the king of Scots, he incontinentlie proclaimed open warre against the king of England, with fire and sword. Wherevpon one sir Robert Logon, a Scottish knight, with certaine ships well appointed for the warre, meant to haue destroyed the English fleet that was come on the coasts of Scotland, about Aberdin, to fish there: but (as it chanced) he met with certaine ships of Lin, that fought with him, and took him prisoner, with the residue of his companie, so that he quite failed of his purpose, and came to the losse himselfe.

At the same time, the Englishmen spoiled also certaine of the Isles of Dykeneie. This summer, great death chanced in this land, manie dying of the pestilence, wherewith sundrie places were infected. King Henrie perceiuing that policie oftentimes procureth perill, and vnderstanding the naughtie purposes of the Scots, gathered a great armie, and entered into Scotland, burning townes, villages, and castles, with a great part of the townes of Edinburgh and Leith, and besieged the castell of Edinburgh in the end of September, whereof was captaine David duke of Rothsaie, and a prince of the realme, with Archembold earle of Dotoglas, hauing with them manie hardie men of warre. Robert duke of Albanie, that was appointed gouernour of the realme, because the king was sicke and not meet to rule, sent an herald vnto king Henrie, promising him battell within six daies at the furthest, if he would so long tarrie, which king Henrie promised to do right gladielie, and gaue to the herald for bringing him so acceptable newes, a gowne of silke, and a chaine of gold. But king Henrie staied six daies, and sternaed without hearing any word of the gouernors coming. When the winter beginning to war cold, and foule weather still increasing, caused the king to breake by his siege, and so returned without battell or skirmish offered.

In the meane time that the king was thus in Scotland, the Scots made a rode into Northumberland, and burned diuerse townes in Bambrough shire. At the kings coming backe to Poche, there were two strangers, the one a Frenchman, and the other an Italian, requiring to accomplish certaine feats of armes, against sir John Cornewall, and Janico de Artois. Their request was granted, and the strangers were put to the worst, whereby sir John Cornewall obtained the kings fauour so farre forth, that he married the kings sister, the widow of John Holland, earle of Huntington. Yet some said, that the knight and the countesse were agreed aforehand, without the kings consent. In the kings absence, whilst he was forth of the realme in Scotland against his enemies, the Welshmen took occasion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, doing what mischance they could devise, vnto their English neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was sonne to an esquier of Wales, named Griffith Achan: he dwelled in the parish of Conywaie, within the countie of Merioneth in North Wales, in a place called Glindourwaie. Which is as much to saie in English, as The ballie by the side of the water of De, by occasion whereof he was first named Glindour Dew.

He was first set to studie the lawes of the realme, and became an utter barrister, or an apprentice of the law, as they terme him, and serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaster, though other haue written that he serued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to attaine the crowne, in some of an esquier, and after by reason of variance that rose betwixt him and the lord Reginald Crete of Ruthin, about the lands which he claimed

Polydor.
Frouillard.

The earle of
Worcester sent
into Gascoigne.

Ambassadors
from the
French
king.

Abr. Flout of
Fabian, pag.
304.

George earle
of March
fled into
England.

The answer
of king Henrie
to the
Scottish am-
bassadors.

Robert Le.
gontaker.
senior.

The Jew
of
Dykeneie
spoiled by
Englishmen.
Wherewith
the people.

King Henrie
invades
Scotland.

The duke of
Rothsaie.

The duke of
Albanie.

Anno Reg.

King Henrie
returns
home.
The Scots
burne in
Northumberland.
Julius at
Poche.

Sir John
Cornewall
married the
kings sister.

The Welsh
men rebel
against
the king
of Glendouer.

John S.
Owen Glendouer
before he
was.

The Welsh

An. Reg. 2.3.

The occasion
of the
king's
rebellion
into
France
and
the
king's
rebellion
into
France

The emperor
of Constantinople
comming into
England

1401
Parliament

One burnt in
Smithfield

Johns of
the chronicles
of Flanders

There was
also the
king of
France
and
the
king of
France
and
the
king of
France

The French
king troubled
with a frenzie

Since for
Paris

The French
king demand
a dowry for
queene
Katharine

claimed to be his by right of inheritance: when he saw that he might not prevail, finding no such favour in his fate as he looked for, he first made warre against the said lord Greie, wasting his lands and gaine the said lord Greie, and sword, cruelly killing his possessions with fire and sword, and the king advertised of such rebellious exploits, enterprised by the said Owen, and his unruly complices, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an armie entered into Wales; but the Welchmen with their capitaine withdrew into the mounteines of Snowdon, so to escape the revenge, which the king meant to towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword, being diverse that with weapon in hand came forth to resist him, and so with a great bootie of beasts and cattell he returned.

The emperor of Constantinople comming into England to sue for aid against the Turkes, was met by the king on Blackheath, upon the feast day of saint Thomas the apostle, and brought unto London with great honor. The king bare all his charges, presenting him with gifts at his departure, meet for such an estate. After the feast of the Epiphanie, a parliament was holden, in which an act was made, against those that held opinions in religion, contrarie to the received doctrine of the church of Rome, ordering, that wheresoever any of them were found and proved to set forth such doctrine, they should be apprehended, and delivered to the bishop their diocesse; and if they stood stiffelie in their opinions, and would not be reformed, they should be delivered to the secular power, to be burnt to ashes. The first that tasted the smart of this statute, was one William Watwre: a priest, that being apprehended was burnt in Smithfield, in time of this parliament.

About the same time, king Henrie (according to promise made (as ye have heard) unto the French ambassadors, sent over into the countie of Guines, Edward earle of Rutland, otherwise in king Richards daies intitled duke of Aunmarle, son to Edmund duke of Yorke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and his sonne the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Puan Fitzwarren, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter: where the duke of Burbon, the lords Charles d'Albert, Charles de Hangeul, John de Chastellon, the Patriarke of Jerusalem, and the bishops of Paris and Beauvois, were readie there to commune with them, and so they assembling together at sundrie times and places, the Frenchmen required to have queene Katherin to them restored, but the Englishmen seemed loth to depart with hir, requiring to have hir married to Henrie prince of Wales, one in blood and age in all things to hir equal; but the Frenchmen would in no wise consent thereto, without their kings consent, who at that present was not in case to utter his mind, being troubled with his wonted disease. The commissioners then began to treat of peace, and at length renewed the truce to endure for six and twentie yeares yet to come; whereunto the foure yeares passed being added, made up the number of thirtie yeares, according to the conclusion agreed upon, in the life time of king Richard.

Some authors affirme, that there was a new league concluded, to continue, during the lives of both the princes. The Frenchmen diverse times required to have some dowry assigned forth for queene Katherin, but that was at all times bitterlie denied, for that the marriage betwixt hir and king Richard was never consummate, by reason whereof she was not do'wable. Nevertheless, she was shortly after sent home, under the conduct of the earle of Worcester, associat with diverse other noble and honorable per-

sonages, both men and women, having with hir all the jewels, ornaments, and plate which she brought into England, with a great surplusage besides given to hir by the king. She was delivered betwixt Bullogne and Calis, to Valeran earle of saint Paule, the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanied with the bishop of Chartres, the lord de Huguculle, the ladie of Monpensier sister to the erle of March, the ladie of Lucenburgh sister to the said erle of saint Paule, & diverse other ladies and gentlewomen, which received hir with great joy and gladnesse, and taking leave of the English lords and ladies, they conveyed hir to the dukes of Burgonie and Burbon, that attended for hir, not far off, upon a hill, with a great number of people. They first conveyed hir to Bullogne, & after to Abbeville, from whence the duke of Breance conveyed hir to Paris, unto the presence of the king hir father, and the queene hir mother: she was after given in marriage unto Charles, sonne to Lewis duke of Breance.

About the same time, Owen Glendouer and his Welchmen did much hurt to the kings subiects. One night as the king was going to bed, he was in danger to have bene destroyed; for some naughty traitorous persons had conveyed into his bed a certaine iron made with smiths craft, like a caltrop, with three long pyckes, sharpe and small, standing upright, in such sort, that when he had laid him downe, that the weight of his bodie should come upon the bed, he should have bene thrust in with those pyckes, and peradventure slaine: but as God would, the king not thinking of any such thing, chanced yet to sleepe and perceiue the instrument before he laid him downe, and so escaped the danger. Howbeit he was not so soon delivered from feare, for he might well have his life in suspicion, & provide for the preservation of the same; fith perils of death crept into his secret chamber, and laie lurking in the bed of downe where his bodie was to be repored and to take rest. Oh what a suspected state therefore is that of a king holding his regiment with the hatred of his people, the hartgrudgings of his courtiers, and the peremptorie practices of both together? Could he confidentlie compose or settle himselfe to sleepe for feare of strangling? Durst he boldly eat and drinke without dread of poisoning? Might he adventure to shew himselfe in great meetings or solemn assemblies without mistrust of mischief against his person intended? What pleasure or what felicitie could he take in his princelie pompe, which he knew by manifest and fearefull experience, to be envied and malignd to the verie death? The state of such a king is noted by the poet in Dionysius, as in a mirror, concerning whome it is said,

*Distictus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pender, non sicula dapes
Dulcem elaborant saporum,
Non animum cytharæ cantus.*

Additions of
the chron.
of Flanders.
She is delivered home.

She is conveyed to Paris.

Hir second marriage.

Anno Reg. 3.
Owen Glendouer.
The danger of the king to have bene destroyed.

Hor. lib. ca. 3.
Ode. 1.

This yeare, the eight day of Aprill deceased the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick. In the moneth of March appeared a blasing starre, first betwene the east part of the firmament and the north, flashing forth fire and flames round about it, and lastlie, shooting forth fierie beams towards the north, foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of blood that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the same time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welchmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming forth to defend his possessions, which the same Owen wasted and destroyed: and as the fortune of that daies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and manie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the Welchmen into high pride, and increased meruelouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

1402
The earle of warwicke departed this life.
A blasing starre.

The lord Greie of Ruthen taken in fight by Owen Glendouer.

About

*The king was
swept abroad
that king Ri-
chard was li-
ving.
A priest take.*

*He is execu-
ted.*

*The prior of
Laund appe-
hended.*

*Grete friers
apprehended.*

*A grete frier
hanged in his
habit.*

*Sir Roger
Claringdon.*

*The duell
appareth in
likenesse of a
grete frier.*

*Eight friers
executed.*

*The earle of
March taken
prisoner in bat-
tall by Owen
Glendouer.*

About Whitsuntide a conspiracie was deuised by certeine persons, that wished the kings death, main-
teining and butting abroad, that king Richard was
alive, and therefore exhorted men to stand with him,
for thortlie he would come to light, and reward such
as took his part with iust recompense. Herewith,
there was a priest taken at Ware, or (as some books
haue, at Warwike, who had a kalendar or roll, in
which a great number of names were written, more
than were in any wise guiltie of the fact, as after-
wards appeared by the same priests confession. For
being examined, whether he knew such persons as he
had so inrolled, & were there present before him, he
said he neuer knew them at all; and being deman-
ded wherefore he had then so recorded their names,
he answered, because he thought they would gladlie
do what mischief they could against king Henrie,
vpon any occasion offered in reuenge of the iniuries
done to king Richard, by whom they had bene ad-
uanced, and princelie preferred. When therefore there
appeared no more credit in the man, he was condem-
ned, drawn, hanged, and quartered, and diuerse that
had bene apprehended about that matter, were re-
leased, and set at libertie. Shortly after, the prior of
Laund (who for his euill gouernment had bene de-
prived of his state and dignitie) was likewise execu-
ted, not for attempting any thing of himselfe, but on-
lie for that he confessed, that he knew euill counsell
and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldoche,
a canon sometime in Dunstable, and by king Ri-
chard promoted to the priorship of Laund.

Also the same time, certeine grete friers were ap-
prehended for treason which they had deuised to bring
to passe, and one of them, whose name was Richard
Frisbie, being asked what he would do if king Ri-
chard had bene alive, and present with them, an-
swered frontlie, that he would fight against any man
in his quarrell, euen to death. Herevpon, he was con-
demned, drawn, and hanged in his friers weed, to
the great confusion of his brethren; but they made
earnest instance to haue his bodie taken downe, and
buried with diriges and exequies, and had their sute
granted. Sir Roger of Claringdon knight was also
put to death about this conspiracie, with two of his
seruants, the one an esquier, the other a peoman. He
was base sonne (as was reported) vnto Edward, el-
dest sonne to king Edward the third, surnamed the
blache prince. On Corpus Christi daie at euenfong
time, the duell (as was thought) appeared in a towne
of Essex called Danburie, entering into the church in
likenesse of a grete frier, behauing himselfe verie
outragiouslie, plating his parts like a duell indred,
so that the parishioners were put in a marvellous
great feight.

At the same instant, there chanced such a tempest
of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the highest part
of the roose of that church was blowne downe, and
the chancel was all to shaken, rent, and tozied in pe-
eces. Within a small while after, eight of those grete
friers that had practised treason against the king,
were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were
drawn and headed at London; and two other suffe-
red at Leicester, all which persons had published king
Richard to be alive. Owen Glendouer, according
to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling
within the English borders, caused all the forces of
the thire of Hereford to assemble together against
them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle
of March. But coming to trie the matter by battell,
whether by treason or otherwise, so it fell out, that
the English power was discomfited, the earle taken
prisoner, and about a thousand of his people slaine
in the place. The shamefull villanie vied by the Welch-
women towards the dead carcases, was such, as ho-

nest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent
tongues to speake thereof. The dead bodies might
not be buried, without great summes of monie gi-
uen for libertie to conuie them awaie.

The king was not hasty to purchase the deliue-
rance of the earle March, because his title to the
croune was well enough known, and therefore suf-
fered him to remaine in miserable prison, wishing
both the said earle, and all other of his linage out of
this life, with God and his saints in heauen, so they
had bene out of the waie, for then all had bene well
inough as he thought. But to let these things passe,
the king this yeare sent his eldest daughter Blanche,
accompanied with the earle of Summerfet, the bishop
of Worcester, the lord Clifford, and others, into Al-
manie, which brought hir to Colin, and there with
great triumph she was married to William duke of
Bauer, sonne and heire to Lewis the emperor.
About mid of August, the king to chastise the pre-
sumptuous attempts of the Welchmen, went with a
great power of men into Wales, to pursue the cap-
taine of the Welch rebell Owen Glendouer, but in
effect he lost his labor; for Owen conuieced himselfe
out of the waie, into his known lurking places, and
(as was thought) through art magike, he caused such
foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and
haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings ar-
mie, that the like had not bene heard of; in such sort,
that the king was constrained to returne home, ha-
uing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a
great part of the countrie. The same time, the lord
Edmund of Langlie duke of Porke departed this
life, and was buried at Langlie with his brethren.
The Scots vnder the leading of Patrike Hepborne,
of the Hales the yonger, entering into England,
were ouerthrowen at Hefbit, in the marches, as in
the Scottish chronicle ye may find more at large. This
battell was fought the two and twentieth of June, in
this yeare of our Lord 1402.

Archembald earle Douglas fore displeased in his
mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to
inuaide England, and that to his cost, as ye may like-
wise read in the Scottish histories. For at a place cal-
led Homildon, they were so fiercely assailed by the
Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Percie,
surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of
March, that with violence of the English shot they
were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the third
daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the
Englishmen. We know that the Scottish writers
note this battell to haue chanced in the yeare 1403.
But we following Tho. Walsingham in this place,
and other English writers, for the accompt of times,
haue thought good to place it in this yeare 1402, as
in the same writers we find it. There were slaine of
men of estimation, sir John Swinton, sir Adam
Gordon, sir John Leuiston, sir Alexander Ramsie of
Dalehouse, and three and twentieth knights, besides
ten thousand of the commons: and of prisoners a-
mong other were these, Mordeche earle of Fife, son
to the gouernour Archembald earle Douglas, which
in the fight lost one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Mur-
rey, Robert earle of Angus, and (as some writers
haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with five hun-
dred other of meaner degrees. After this, the lord
Percie, hauing bestowed the prisoners in suer kee-
ping, entered Tuidale, wasting and destroing the
whole countrie, and then besieged the castell of Coc-
klatwes, whereof was captaine one sir John Gren-
lowl, who compounded with the Englishmen, that if
the castell were not succoured within three moneths,
then he would deliuer it into their hands.

The first two moneths passed, and no likelihood of
rescue appeared; but yet the third moneth was ex-
pired,

*The capture
of the king
gouernour
a great con-
science.*

*The king's
daughter re-
turned into En-
gland.*

*Tempest
weather.*

*The death
of the duke of
Porke.*

*Scots over-
throwen.*

*Scots be-
quitted at
Homildon.*

*The march
slaine.*

*Prisoners
taken.*

*The castell
Cocklatwes
besieged by
lord Percie.*

An. Reg. 3. 4.

The protest
of the
parliamentThe letters
of the
parliamentThe earle of
March was
in the daugh-
ter of Owen
Glendouer.An. Reg. 4.
A parliament.George earle
of March re-
commended
to the king by
parliament.

1403

Ambassadors

The earle of
Gloucester
was the first
of theThe earle of
Gloucester
was the first
of the

red, the Englishmen being sent for to go with the king into Wales, raised their siege and departed, leaving the noble men prisoners with the earle of Northumberland, and with his sonne the lord Percie, to keepe them to the kings use. In this meane while, such as inclined with the doctrine and ceremonies then used in the church, called not to utter their consciences, though in secret, to those in whom they had affiance. But as in the like cases it commonlie happeneth, they were beliaied by some that were thought chiefe to fauour their cause, as by sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to the doctrine a long time, did now (as Thomas Wallingham writeth) disclose all that he knew vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, to shew himselfe as it were to haue erred rather of simplicitie and ignorance, than of frowardnesse or stubborne malice. The names of such as taught the articles and conclusions maintained by those which then they called Lollards or heretikes, the said sir Lewes Clifford gaue in writing to the said archbishop. Edmund Mortimer earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irksomenesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncertaine, agreed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and toke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for the same night he was borne, all his fathers horses in the stable were found to stand in blood vnto the bellies. The morow after the feast of saint Michael, a parlement began at Westminster, which continued the space of seauen weekes, in the same was a tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the communalitie. Moreover, the commons in this parlement besought the king to haue the person of George earle of March a Scottishman, recommended to his maiestie, for that the same earle shewed himselfe faithfull to the king & his realme. There was also a statute made, that the friers beggars should not receive any into their order, vnder the age of fourtene yeares. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, ambassadors were sent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the duches of Britaine, the ladie Jane de Beauuare, the widow of John de Spontford, late duke of Britaine, surnamed the conqueror, with whom by procurators the king had contracted matrimoine. In the beginning of Februarie, those that were sent returned with hir in safetie, but without tasting the bitter stormes of the wind and weather, that tolled them foze to and fro, before they could get to land. The king met hir at Winchester, where the seventh of Februarie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them.

Whilist these things were thus in doing in England, Maleran earle of saint Paule, bearing still a deable and malicious hatred toward king Henrie, hauing assembled fiftene or seuentene hundred men of warre, imbarked them at Harflew, and taking the sea, landed in the Ile of Wight, in the which he burned two villages, and foure simple cotages, and for a triumph of so noble an act, made foure knights. But when he heard that the people of the Ile were assembled and approached to fight with him, he hastened to his ships, and returned home: therewith the noble men of his companie were displeased, considering his prouision to be great and his gaine small. In the same verie season, John earle of Cleremont sonne to the duke of Bourbon, was in Gascoigne out of the Englishmens possession, the castels of saint Peter, saint Marie, and the Petu castell; and the lord de la Bret was the castell of Carlasin, which was no small losse to the English nation.

Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother

Thomas earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Percie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull friends, and earnest aduersers, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and especiallie they were grieved, because the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scottish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for of all the captiues which were taken in the condias foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Mordeke earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne, though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: therewith the Percies being sore offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar prizes, by the counsell of the lord Thomas Percie earle of Worcester, whose studie was ever (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a boile, came to the king vnto Windsor (vpon a purpose to proue him) and there required of him, that either by ranfome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their consine germane, whom (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthy prison, shakled with irons, onelie for that he toke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The king began not a litle to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat nere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third; which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whose aunt called Eleanore, the lord Henrie Percie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare, that any man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause; nor in his seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices; & therefore he would neither ranfome him, nor release him.

The Percies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a litle fumed; insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: Behold, the heire of the realme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeme him. So in this furie the Percies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his solacie, and to place in his seat their consine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie; but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. Herewith, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the couenants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Percie.

This was done (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolfe, which should diuide this realme betwene them. Such is the deuotion (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh prophesies. King Henrie not knowing of

The request
of the PerciesThe saleng of
the L. Percie,The confy-
rancies of the
Percies with
Owen Glen-
douer.
An indenture
tripartite.A diuision of
that which
they had not,A vaine pro-
phesie.

C c i. this

The Perthes
take their
powers.

They craue
aie of Scots.

The archbish.
of York of
counsell with
the Perthes in
conspiracie.

Thom. Wall.

The earle of
Worcester go-
uernour to the
prince shippeth
from him.
Hall.

The pretence
of Perthes,
as they publi-
shed it abroad.

The kings
answer to the
Perthes libell.

this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Homeidon, for aid of men, promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwik, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scottish lords, great lordships and feignories, if they obtained the upper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old grefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

The Perthes to make their part seeme good, deuised certeine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, brother to the lord Scrope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, moued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onlie promise to the Perthes aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the confidit left them alone. Thus after that the conspirators had discovered themselves, the lord Henrie Perthe desirous to proceed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March, & other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers forth of Cheshire and Wales. Incontinentlie his uncle Thomas Perthe earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in secret manner, conueied himselfe out of the princes house, and coming to Stafford (where he met his nephew) they increased their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise. The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but being sicke, had promised vpon his amendeement to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all conuenient speed.

These noble men, to make their conspiracie to seeme excusable, besides the articles aboue mentioned, sent letters abroad, wherein was contained, that their gathering of an armie tended to none other end, but onlie for the safeguard of their owne persons, and to put some better gouernment in the commonwealth. For whereas taxes and tallages were daily leuied, vnder pretence to be imployed in defense of the realme, the same were vainlie wasted, and vnpromisable continued: and where through the slanderous reports of their enemies, the king had taken a greuous displeasure with them, they durst not appeare personallie in the kings presence, vntill the prelates and barons of the realme had obtained of the king licence for them to come and purge themselves before him, by lawfull trial of their peeres, whose indgement (as they pretended) they would in no wise refuse. Whan that saw and heard these letters, did commend their diligence, and highlie praised their assured fidelitie and trustinesse towards the commonwealth.

But the king vnderstanding their cloaked dissimulation (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appease the commons, and deface their contriued forgeries, and therefore he wrote an answer to their libels, that he marvelled much, sith the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Henrie Perthe his sonne, had receiued the most part of the summes of monie granted to him by the cleargie and communalitie, for defense of the marches, as he could euidentlie proue what should moue them to complaine and raise such manifest slanders. And whereas he vnderstood, that

the earles of Northumberland and Worcester, and the lord Perthe had by their letters signified to their friends abroad, that by reason of the slanderous reports of their enemies, they durst not appeare in his presence, without the mediation of the prelates and nobles of the realme, so as they required pledges, whereby they might safelie come afore him, to declare and alledge what they had to saie in proofe of their innocencie, he protested by letters sent forth vnder his seale, that they might safelie come and go, without all danger, or any manner of indamage-ment to be offered to their persons.

But this could not satisfie those men, but that resolved to go forwards with their enterprise, they marched towards Shrewesburie, vpon hope to be aided (as men thought by Owen Glendouer, and his Welshmen, publishing abroad throughout the countreies on each side, that king Richard was alive, whome if they wished to see, they willed them to repaire in armour vnto the castell of Chester, where (without all doubt) he was at that present, and redie to come forward. This tale being raised, though it were most untrue, yet it had variable motions in mens minds, causing them to wauer, so as they knew not to which part they should sicke; and verelie, diuers were well affected towards king Richard, speciallie such as had tasted of his princelie bountyfulness, of which there was no small number. And to speake a truth, no maruell it was, if manie enuied the prosperous state of king Henrie, sith it was euident inough to the world, that he had with wrong vsurped the crowne, and not onelie violentlie deposed king Richard, but also cruellie procured his death, for the which vndoubtedlie, both he and his posteritie tasted such troubles, as put them still in danger of their states, till their direct succceding line was quite rooted out by the contrarie faction, as in Henrie the first and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

But now to retorne where we left king Henrie aduertised of the proceedings of the Perthes, forthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enemies, before their power by delateng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enemies, lying in campe nere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of any such thing, for the Perthes thought that he would haue staid at Burton vpon Trent, till his counsell had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to do. But herein the enimie was deceived of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his owne person, wherevnto the earle of March incited him, considering that in delaie is danger, & losse in lingering, as the poet in the like case saith:

Tolle moras, nocuit semper differre paratis,

Dum trepidant nullo firmat robore partes.

By reason of the kings sudden coming in this sort, they staid from assaunting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand, and forthwith the lord Perthe (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and souldiers to prepare themselves to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point, that by no meanes it could be auoided, so that (said he) this daie shall either bring vs all to advancement & honor, or else if it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings spitefull malice and cruell disdain: for plaing the men (as we ought to do) better it is to die in battell for the commonwealths cause, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, which after shall be taken from vs, by sentence of the enimie.

Whereupon

Howe the
king was
advised
that with
the
Perthes
was
their
purpose.

The kings
speech vnto
the Perthes.

The Perthes
troubled with
the kings
sudden com-
ing.
The lord
Perthe exhorteth
his capteines
to their battell.

An. Reg. 4.

The number
of the Percies
armie.

The Percies
were their
armie to the
king.

King Henrie
was with
peruile.

Procurores &
procurors of
the common-
wealth.

The king
was to the
murtherers
that brought
the articles.

The king
was to par-
don his ad-
versaries.

The earle of
Worcester
was be-
lieving in
reuerence
the king's
wordes.

H. H.
of Henrie.

The welsh-
men came to
the aid of the
Percies.

Hereupon, the whole armie being in number about fourtene thousand cholen men, promised to stand with him so long as life lasted. There were with the Percies as chiefeines of this armie, the earle of Douglas a Scottish man, the baron of Hinderton, sir Hugh Spolme, and sir Richard Vernon knights, with diuerse other stout and right valiant capteins. Now when the two armies were incamped, the one against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord Percie with their complices sent the articles (whereof I spake before) by Thomas Catton, and Thomas Saluain esquires to king Henrie, vnder their hands and seales, which articles in effect charged him with manifest perurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finally to be murthered. Diuerse other matters they laid to his charge, as lenieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of the realme, and suffering the earle of March to remaine in prison, without trauellling to haue him deliuered. All which things they as procurores & protectors of the common-wealth, toke vpon them to proue against him, as they protested vnto the whole world.

King Henrie after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquires, that he was readie with dint of sword to defende battell to proue their quarrell false, and nothing else than a forged matter, not doubting, but that God would aid and assist him in his righteous cause, against the disloyall and false forsworne traitors. The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euent of Marie Magdalene, they set their battells in order on both sides, and now whilest the warriours looked when the token of battell should be giuen, the abbat of Shrewsburie, and one of the clerks of the priuie seale, were sent from the king vnto the Percies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable agreement. By their persuasions, the lord Henrie Percie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & so sent with them his uncle the earle of Worcester, to declare vnto the king the causes of those troubles, and to request some effectuall reformation in the same.

It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condescended vnto all that was resonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle of Worcester (vpon his returne to his nephew) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephues hart more in displeasure towards the king, than euer it was before, & vnto him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not: then suddenly blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng St. George vpon them, the aduersaries cried *Esperance Perie*, and so the two armies furiouslye joined. The archers on both sides shot for the best game, laien on such load with arrowes, that manie died, and were diuen downe that neuer rose againe.

The Scots (as some write) which had the foreward on the Percies side, intending to be reuenged of their old displeasures done to them by the English nation, set so fiercelie on the kings foreward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the same draw backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The Welshmen also which before had laine lurking in the woods, mountaines, and marishes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Percies, and reassured the wearied people with new succours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to discomfiture, that with the violent impression

of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of arrowes, that his aduersaries discharged freely against him and his people, it was no need to will him to stirre: for suddenly with his fresh battell, he approached and relieued his men; so that the battell began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Percie, and the earle Douglas, a right stout and hardie capteine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward together bent their whole forces towards the kings person, conning vpon him with speares and swordes so fiercelie, that the earle of March the Scot, perceiuing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safegard (as it appeared) for they gaue such a violent onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard, that slaieng his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt, and overthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it, as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king constable of the realme, and diuerse other.

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie young gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men that were about him, would haue conueied him forth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to do, least his departure from amongst his men might haplie haue striken some feare into their harts: and so without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceased, either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to encourage his men where it seemed most need. This battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng saint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enemies, and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Douglas strake him downe, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saien: I maruell to see so many kings thus suddenly arise one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he slue that daie with his olone hands six and thirtie persons of his enemies. He other on his part encouraged by his doings, fought ballantlie, and slue the lord Percie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre. To conclude, the kings enemies were vanquished, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle of Douglas, for haile, falling from the crag of an hie mountaine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his ballantnesse, of the king frankelie and frelie deliuered.

There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the procurore and setter forth of all this mischefe, sir Richard Vernon, and the baron of Hinderton, with diuerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part, beside the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten knights, sir Hugh Spolme, sir John Clifton, sir John Cokaine, sir Nicholas Gausell, sir Walter Blunt, sir John Caluerleie, sir John Haffie of Bodington, sir Hugh Postimer, and sir Robert Gausell, all the which received the same morning the order of knighthood: sir Thomas Wendelesie was wounded to death, and so passed out of this life shortly after. There died in all vpon the kings side firste hundred, and foure thousand were greuously wounded. On the contrarie side were slaine, besides the lord Percie, the most part of the knights and esquires of the countie of Chester, to the number of two hundred, besides peomen and footmen, in all there died of those that fought on the Percies side, about five thousand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euent, being saturdaye. Vpon the mondaie folowing, the earle of Worcester, the baron of Hinderton, and sir Richard Vernon knights, were condemned and beheaded.

The earle of
March,
Tho. Walsi.

Hall.
The ballance
of the young
prince.

A fore battell
& well main-
teined.

The balliant
doings of the
earle Dou-
glas.

The high
manhood of the
king.
The lord
Percie slaine.

The earle
Douglas ta-
ken prisoner.

The earle of
Worcester
taken.

Knights
slaine on the
kings part.

The slaugh-
ter of Cheshire
men at this
battell.

The earle of
Worcester and
others behead-
ed.

ded. The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the budge.

The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought) or at the least towards the king, to procure a peace: but the earle of Westmerland, and sir Robert Claterton knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his friend, turned suddenly backe, and withdrew himselfe into Marke-woyth castell. The king having set a state in things about Shrewsburie, went straight to York, from whence he wrote to the earle of Northumberland, willing him to dismis his companies that he had with him, and to come unto him in peaceable wise. The earle upon receipt of the kings letters came unto him the morow after saint Laurence daie, having but a few of his servants to attend him, and so excused himselfe, that the king, because the earle had beene in his possession, and further, had his castles of Alnewike, Markewoyth, and other, fortified with Scots dissembled the matter, gave him faire words, and suffered him (as saith Hall) to depart home, although by other it should seme, that he was committed for a time to safe custodie.

The king returning south of Yorkeshire, determined to go into Northwales, to chastise the presumptuous doings of the baronie Welshmen, who (after his coming from Shrewsburie, and the marches there had done much harme to the English subjects. But now where the king wanted monie to furnish that enterpryse, and to wage his souldiers, there were some that counselled him to be bold with the bishops, and supplie his want with their surplisage. But as it fortuned, the archbishop of Cantuarburie was there present, who in the name of all the rest boldie made answer, that none of his province should be spoiled by any of those naughtie disposed persons; but that first with hard stripes they should understand the price of their rash enterpryse. But the king neuertheless so bled the matter with the bishops for their good wills, that the archbishop at length to pleasure him, calling the cleargie together, got a grant of a tenth, towards the kings necessarie charges.

The Britaines under the conduct of the lord of Camils, spoiled and burnt the towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receiving any damage, but immediatlie thereupon, the westerne men manning south a fleet, under the gouvernement of one William Willford esquier, made saile over to the coasts of Britaine, where they took above fortie ships laden with oile, rope, and Rochell wine, to the quantitie of a thousand tunne, or much thereabouts. In returning homewards, they burnt fortie other vessels, and landing at Pennarh, they burnt townes and villages six leagues within the countrie, together with the towne of saint Patthew, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the same townes. About the feast of All saints, a parlement began at Couentrie, and continued there till saint Andrews tide: but at length, because bittels waged here, and lodging was streit, it was adjourned from thence unto London, there to begin againe in the octaves of the Epiphanie. The same time, a pardon was granted and proclaimed, for all such as had taken part with the Perles against the king, and likewise for other offenders, those excepted that had consented to betraye Calis, whom the king sent thither to suffer for their offenses. A little before Christmas the Frenchmen meant to have robbed and spoiled the Isle of Wight, but when a thousand of them were set on land, and had got together a great bottie of cattell, suddenly there came upon them such number of

people that they were constrained to withdraw to their ships, leaving their prey behind them, and no small number of their men to paie for their shot, so that they wan little by that iourne, returning home with shame and dishonor.

This yeare in the parlement holden at London (beginning the morow after the feast of saint Hilarie, and continuing twelue weeks) the earle of Northumberland was restored unto his former dignities, lands and goods, the Isle of Man onlie excepted, which by reason of the forfeiture made by the earle of Salisbury, the king had first given unto him, and now deprived him thereof, where all his other lands, possessions, and livings were wholie to him and his heires restored. By authoritie of the same parlement a subsidie was also granted to the king, of everie knights six twentie shillings, whether the same were holden of him by menalltie, or otherwise. Moreover, everie man and woman that might dispend in lands the value of twentie shillings & so upward, above the reprises, whether the same lands belonged to the laie fee, or to the church, paid for everie pound twelue pence: and those that were valued to be worth in goods twentie pounds and upwards, paid also after the rate of lands, that is, twelue pence for everie pound. ¶ This seemeth to be that subsidie which Thomas Wallingham calleth a forefurcharging subsidie, or an unaccustomed tax: the forme and maner whereof (saith he) I had here interlaced, but that the vertie granters and authors thereof had rather that the posteritie should be utterlie ignorant thereof, and never heare of it; although it was granted upon this condition, that hereafter it should not be vntome into example; neither might the evidences thereof be kept in the kings treasure, nor in the exchequer; but the records thereof presentlie (after the full accounts given up) burned; neither should writs or commissions be sent abroad against the collectors or inquirers hereof for their better inquest.

The Frenchmen about the same time came before the Isle of Wight with a great manie, and sent certene of their men to the shore, to demand in name of king Richard, and of his wife queene Isabel, a tribute or speciall subsidie in monie, of the inhabitants of that Ile; who answered, that king Richard was dead, and queene Isabel sometime his wife had bene sent home to her parents and countrie, without condition of any dowrie or tribute: wherefore, they answered reasonable, that none they would give: but if the Frenchmen had desire to fight, they willed them to come on land, and there should be none to resist them; and after they were on land, they promised to give them respite for six houres space to refresh themselves, and that time being once expired, they should not faile to have battell. When the Frenchmen heard of this stout answer made by the Island men, they had no lust to approach nere to the land, but returned without further attempt.

About this season, the duke of Breance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride than hauing tuncle of courage, wrote letters to king Henrie, aduertising him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feats of chivalrie, he could imagine nothing either more honorable or commendable to them both, than to meet in the field each part with an hundred knights and esquiers, all being gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed at all points, and furnished with speares, axes, swords, and daggers, and there to fight and combat to the yielding; and everie person, to whom God should send victory, to have his prisoner, & him to ransom at his pleasure, offering himselfe with his companie to come to his citie of Angouleme, so that the king would come to the lands of Burdeaur, and there defend this challenge.

The earle of Westmerland raiseth a power against the earle of Northumberland.

The king goeth to York.

The earle of Northumberland cometh to the king.

The westmen molest the English subjects.

It was spoken like a prophet.

A tenth levied of the cleargie.

William Willford. Ships taken.

Anno Reg. 6. Parliament at Couentrie.

Adjourned to London. A pardon.

Frenchmen invade the Isle of Wight.

They were perils.

The parliament began the 14th of June. The earle of Northumberland was restored the 14th of June.

Subsidie.

Abbr. Fl. ent. d. Tho. Wallin. Hypod. pag. 164.

The Frenchmen demand of the Isle of Wight.

The emperor of the Islands men.

The duke of Breance is challenged.

An. Reg. 5. 6.

The answer
of king Henrie
the fourth.

The king of England gruelie answered herevnto, that he marvelled why the duke under colour of doing deeds of armes for a vaine-glorie, would now seeke to breake the peace betwixt the realmes of England and France, he being sworne to mainteine the same peace, sith he might further vnderstand, that no king appointed, of verie datie, was bound to answer ante challenge, but to his pære of equal state and dignitie: and further declared, that when opportunitie served, he would passe the sea, and come into his countrie of Calcoigne, with such companie as he thought conuenient, and then might the duke set forward with his band, for the accomplishing of his couragious desire, promising him in the word of a prince, not thence to depart, till the duke either by fulfilling his owne desire in manner aforesaid, or by singular combat betwene them two one-lie, for auoiding of more effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe fullie satisfied. To this and much more contained in the kings answer, the duke replied, and the king againe reioined, not without talons and checks vnfitting for their estates. The duke of Breance offended highlie (as he might sene) furnished against the king of England with an armie of six thousand men, entered into Guen, and besieged the towne of Clergi, whereof was capitaine sir Robert Antfield, a right hardie and valiant knight, hauing with him onelie three hundred Englishmen, which defended the fortresse so manfullie, that the duke (after he had laine three moneths) and lost manie of his men, without honour or spoile returned into France.

The duke of
Breance be-
sieged Clergi
in Guen.

The lord du
Chastell
dane.

Owen Glendower
was called
the English
warrior.

Emeline of
the Countesse
of Glouc.

The Countesse
of Glouc.

R. Richards
once againe
that.

After this, the admirall of Britaine highlie incouraged, for that the last yere he had taken certeine English ships laden with wines, accompanied with the lord du Chastell, a valiant baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, sailed forth with thirtie ships from S. Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed; but by the puissance of the townesmen and aid of the countrie, they were repelled, in the which conflict, the lord du Chastell, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were slaine, and about two hundred taken prisoners and put to their ransom, amongst whom the lord of Baquenuille the marshall of Britaine was one. All this summer, Owen Glendower and his adherents, robbed, burned, and destroyed the countreies adioining nere to the places where he banted, and one while by sleight & guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he took and slue manie Englishmen, brake downe certeine castles which he won, and some he fortified and kept for his owne defense. John Eueno: bishop of Alesph, considering with himselfe how things prospered vnder the hands of this Owen, fled to him, and took his part against the king. About the same time, the Britaines and the Flemings took certeine ships of ours laden with merchandise, and slue all the mariners or else hanged them.

Also, the old countesse of Oxford, mother to Robert Clare late duke of Ireland, that died at Louaine, caused certeine of hir seruants, and other such as she durst trust, to publish and brufe abroad, thorough all the parts of Oler, that king Richard was alieue, and that he would shortly come to light, and claime his former estate, honoz, and dignitie. She procured a great number of harts to be made of silver and gold, such as king Richard was wont to giue vnto his knights, esquiers, & friends, to weare as cognizances, to the end that in bestowing them in king Richards name, the might the soner allarme ment to further hir lewde practises: and where the same went abroad, that king Richard was in Scotland with a grea polver of Frenchmen and Scots, readie

to come to recouer his realme, manie gaue the more light credit vnto this brufe thus set forth by the said countesse.

The persuasions also of one Serlo, that in times past was one of king Richards chamber, greatlie increased this errour; for the same Serlo, hearing in France (whether he was sicd) that his maister king Richard was in Scotland alieue, conueied himselfe thither, to vnderstand the truth of that matter, and finding there one indeed that greatlie resembled him in all lineaments of bodie, but yet was not the man himselfe (as he well perceiued) vpon malice that he bare to king Henrie, aduertised by letters sent vnto diuerse of king Richards friends, that he was alieue indeed, and shortly would come to shew himselfe openlie to the world, when he had once made his waie readie to recouer his kingdome, to the confusion of his enemies, and comfort of his friends. These forged inuentions caused manie to beleue the brufe raised by the countesse of Oxford, for the which they came in trouble, were apprehended and committed to prison. The countesse hir selfe was shut vp in close prison, and all hir goods were confiscat, and hir secretarie drawen and hanged, that had spied abroad this fained report, in going vp and downe the countrie, blotting into mens eares that king Richard was alieue, & affirming that he had spoken with him in such a place and in such a place, apparelled in this raiment and that raiment, with such like circumstances.

Serlo one of
R. Richards
chamber.

The countesse
of Oxford
committed to
prison.

Hir secretarie
executed.

The earle of
Northumberland
cometh
to the king.

Sir William
Clifford bring-
eth Serlo to
the king.

About the feast of saint John Baptiste, at the kings commandement, the earle of Northumberland came to Dornet, and brought with him his nephues, and his nephues sonnes, whereby he cleared himselfe of a great deale of suspicion, manie doubting before his coming that he had giuen euill counsell to the young men, whereby to moue them to rebellion, and to withstand the king. Sir William Clifford also came with the earle, and brought the foresaid Serlo with him, whom he had apprehended vpon his coming to him at Berwolke, in hope to haue found favour at his hands: in consideration whereof the king pardoned the said sir William Clifford of his disobedience shewed, in keeping the castell of Berwolke against him, in which doing he had committed manie felton.

This Serlo being knowen to be the man that had bene the chiefe murderer of the duke of Gloucestre, when he was made abate at Calis, was diligentlie examined, who were helpers with him in the execution thereof, and after what sort they made him awaie: Serlo knowing there was no waie with him but death, would not utter any other, but confessed for his owne part, he was worthy for that wicked deed to die ten thousand deaths, and shewed such outward appearance of repentance, that manie sore lamented his case, and promised to hire priests to sing masses, (as the maner was) for his soule, of their owne costs and charges. He was condemned to die at Dornet, and was drawen from thence through euerie good towne, through which those that had the conueiance of him passed with him till they came to London, where he was executed, confessing euerie thing to be true concerning his wicked pretense, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceiued how their counterfeit practise would come to light and he openlie reuealed, he meant to haue returned into France, but wanting monie, he thought to haue bene relieved with some portion at the hand of the said sir William Clifford, and this caused him to come vnto Berwolke, to shew him his necessitie, who to make his owne peace, did apprehend him, and present him to the king, as before ye haue heard.

Serlo examined
for the
duke of Glo-
cesters death.

He is drawen
through euery
good towne.
He is execu-
ted at London.

King Henrie wanting monie in the feast of saint Faith the virgine, assembled at Conuentrie his high court

Anno Reg. 6.

The laymen
parlement.

Strife be-
tween the la-
tie and spiri-
tualite.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie an-
swereth for
his brethren.

Sir John
Cheinie spea-
keth of the
parlement.

The archb.
chargeth.

The spake like
a lord

The kings
answer to the
archbishop.

court of parlement, in the which, the lord Stephen Scrope of Walsham, and the lord Henrie Fitz Hugh obtained first to haue places of barons. Moreover, it is to be noted, that this was called the laie mans parlement, because the shiriffes were appointed to haue a speciall regard, that none should be chosen knights for the courties, nor burgeses for the cities and towne, that had any skill in the lawes of the land. This was done, and when they came together to talke of the weightie affaires of the realme, spe- 10 ciallie how the king might be relieved with monie, to breake such charges as he was knowen to be at, as well in defending the realme from the Scots and Welchmen at home, as from the Britains, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroad, it was thought most expedient, that the spiritualite should be deprived of their temporall possessions, to the reliefe of the kings necessitie. Hereupon rose great altercation betwixt the cleargie and the laitie; the knights affirming, that they had oftentimes serued the king, not onelie with their goods, but also with their persons in great dangers and leopards. Whilist the spiritualite sat at home, and help the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie stoutlie answered herunto, that the cleargie had alwaie giuen to the king as much as the laitie had done, conside- 20 ring they had oftener giuen their tenths to him than the laitie their fifteens: also, that more of their tenants went forth into the kings warres, than the tenants of them of the laie se: beside this, they praied day and night for the kings good successe against his enemies.

When the speaker named Sir John Cheinie, in replie by plaine speech, seemed little to esteeme such praiers of the church, the archbishop was set in a great chafe, and with sharpe words declaring what he thought must needs follow, both of the king and kingdom, when praiers and suffrages of churchmen came to be so little set by, he grew to such impatience, that he flatlie told the speaker, that although he seemed little to esteeme of the religion of the cleargie, he would not haue him to thinke, that he should take awaie the possessions of the church, without finding such as would seeke to withstand him, for if (said he) the archbishop of Canturburie maie liue, thou shalt haue hot taking awaie any manner of thing that is his. After this, when the archbishop perceived that the king winked at these matters, he rose from his place and comming before the king, kneeled downe, and besought him to consider, how through the fauour and grace of the almightie God, he had attained to the kingdom, and therefore he ought to remember his first purpose and intent, which was, to saue vnto euerie man his right, so far as in him laie.

He willed him likewise to haue in consideration the oath which he willingly had receiued, that is, that he should aduance the honor of the church, and the ministers thereof cherish and mainteine. Also, to haue in mind the danger and dishonour that rebounded to such as brake their othes: so that he besought him to permit and suffer the church to inioy the priuileges and liberties, which in time of his predecessors it had inioied. requesting him to stand in awe of that king, by whose all kings did reigne; and to feare the censures and condemnation that those incurred, which toke and bereft from the church any good or right belonging to it, who most certeinlie (said he) are accused. When the archbishop had vsed this, or the like speech, the king commanded him to go to his seat againe, assuring him, that his intent and purpose was to leaue the church in as good state, or better, than he found it.

The archbishop herewith turning to the knights and burgeses of the parlement, said vnto them;

You, and such other as you be, haue giuen counsell vnto the king and his predecessors, to confiscate and take into their hands the goods and possessions of the celles, which the Frenchmen and Normans possessed here in England, and affirmed that by the same he and they should heape by great riches, and indeed those goods and possessions (as is to be proued) were 20 worth manie thousands of gold: and yet it is most true, that the king at this day is not halfe one marke of siluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of his hands, and haue appropriated the same vnto your selues, so that we may coniecture verie well, that you request to haue our temporalities, not to aduance the kings profit, but to satifie your owne greedie conuetousnesse, for vndoubtedly if the king (as God forbid he should) did accomplish your wicked purposes and minds, he should not be 20 one farthing the richer the yeare next after: and trulie, sooner will I suffer this head of mine to be cut off from my shoulders, than that the church should lose the least right that appertineth to it.

The knights said little, but yet they proceeded in their sute to haue their purpose forward, which the archbishop perceiving (as an other Argus, hauing his eye on each side, to marke what was done) laboured so to disappoint their doings, that he won the fauour of certeine of the temporall lords to assist him, who constantlie auouched by their consents, that the church should neuer be spoiled of the temporalities, and herein they acquitted the archbishop and prelates, one pleasure for an other, which they had done for them before, when the commons in this parlement required, that all such lands and reuerues as sometime belonged to the crowne, and had bene giuen awaie, either by the king, or by his predecessors king Edward, and king Richard, should be againe restored to the kings vse; vnto which request, the archbishop and other the prelates would in no wise consent: thus by the stout diligence of the archbishop Arundell 40 that petition of the commons, touching the spiritual temporalities, came to none effect. [Per the knights themselves, who verte instantlie had stood in this error, acknowledging their maliciousnes and guiltinesse herein, besought the archbishop of Canturburie to pardon them; and gaue thanks that by his courageousnesse the church in this so troublesome a time re- 50 mained, calling to mind the saluing of an ethiopia, by way of application, to the said archbishops pie praise:

—sub principe duro

Temporibusq; malis anisus es esse bonus.]

Two fifteens were granted by the commons, with condition, that the same should be paid vnto the hands of the lord Furniwall, who should see that monie imploied for maintenance of the kings warres. Moreover, at the importunate sute of the commons, the letters patents that had bene made to diuerse persons of annuities to them granted by king Edward and king Richard, were called in, and made void, not without some note of dishonour to the king. 60 The cleargie granted to the king a tenth and a halfe, notwithstanding that the halfe of one tenth lately granted was yet behind, and appointed to be paid vpon saint Martins daie now next comming. About this season, great losse happened in Kent, by breaking in of waters, that overflowed the sea banks, as well in the archbishop of Canturburies grounds, as other mens, whereby much cattell was drowned. Neither did England alone beuaile hir losses by such breakings in of the sea, but also Ireland, Flanders, and Holland tasted of the like damage.

William Wickham bishop of Winchester, being a man of great age, deceased this yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of his name, for the notable monuments which he created, in building 70 two

Abt. Fl. out of
Thom. Wals.
Hypod. pag.
167.

Two fifteens
granted.

Letters per-
taining to the
commons.

A tenth and
halfe granted
by the cleargie.

Overflowing
of the sea.

The best of
which was
ham.

An. Reg. 6.

two colleges, one at Winchester for grammar-
ans, and the other at Oxford called the new col-
ledge, purchasing lints and revenues for the main-
tenance of students there to the great commoditie
of the common-wealth: for from thence, as out of a
good nurserie, haue come forth diuerse men in all a-
ges excellentlie learned in all sciences. ¶ And here
I haue not thought it impertinent to speake some-
what of this worthy prelat (considering that by him
so great a benefit hath returned to the common-
wealth) according to such notes as I haue scene col-
lected by that painfull trauceller in search of antiqui-
ties John Leland, who saith, that as some haue suppo-
sed, the said Wickham, otherwise called Perot, was
base sonne to one Perot, the towne-clerke of Wick-
ham in Hampshire, of which place he toke his sur-
name, and that one maister Modall a gentleman,
dwelling in the said towne, brought him by at
scholl, where he learned his grammar, and to write
berie faire, in so much that the constable of Winche-
ster castell, a great ruler in those daies in Hamp-
shire, got him of maister Modall, and retained him
to be his secretarie, with whom he continued, till
king Edward the third, comming to Winchester,
conceiued some good liking of the young man, and
take him to his seruice, and withall vnderstanding
that he was minded to be a churchman, he first made
him parson and deane of saint Martins in London,
then archdeacon of Buckingham.

But for so much as his seruice was right accepta-
ble to the king, as he that with great dexteritie could
handle such affaires of the state, or other matters of
charge as were committed to his hands, the king
still kept him about his person, as one of his chiefe
chapleins of household, and imploied him in sundrie
offices, as occasions serued: and first he made him
surueior of his works and buildings, namelie at
Winchester, in repairing of that castell, and also at
Dunbrough, where, by the kings appointment, a
strong forresse was raised, for defense of the realme
on that side. After this, he was aduanced to the kee-
ping of the priue scale, made ouersceer of the wards
and forrests, also treasurer of the kings revenues in
France, and at length was made bishop of Winche-
ster. ¶ Yet the Blache prince did not greatlie fauour
him, whereupon Wickham procured to keepe him
occupied in warres beyond the seas. But at length
John duke of Lancaster, and Alice Perers king Ed-
wards concubine, conceiuing some great displea-
sure against him, found meane to procure the king to
banish him the realme, and then he remained in
Normandie and Picardie for the space of seauen
yeares, or thereabout, and might not be restored so
long as king Edward liued. But after his deceasse,
about the second yeare of king Richard the seconds
reigne, he was restored home, and purchased a gene-
rall pardon for all matters past that might be sur-
mised against him, or laid to his charge.

Afterwards he bare himselfe so rightlie in that
dangerous time, when such mistaking and priue en-
mie reigned betwixt the king and his nobles, that
both parts seemed to like of him, inso much that when
the king made him lord chancellor, there was not a
nie that greatlie repined thereat; and berelie in that
the king made choise of him before others to occupie
that place, it argueth there was not so euill a disposi-
tion in the king, nor lacke of discretion in order of
gouernment, as writers seeme to charge him with.
But where other could not so well beare injuries at
others hands as happlie Wickham could, the fire of
dissention chafte kindled thereof. For if the duke of
Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke, with those of that
faction could haue refrained to shew their displea-
sures, when the duke of Gloucester and other his com-

plises pinched at them (for that they sawe the king
haue them in more estimation than they wished)
matters might haue bene qualified peradventure
with lesse adu, and without danger to haue insued to
either part. But howsoeuer it went with them, it
may doubtlesse be easilie coniectured, that Wick-
ham was a man of singular wisdom, and politike
forescast, that could from meane degre in such wise
clime aloft, and afterwards passe through the chan-
ces and changes of variable fortune, keeping him-
selfe euer so in state, that he grew at length to be a-
ble to furnish the chargeable expences of two such no-
table foundations which he left behind him, to make
his name immortall. But leauing the consideration
hereof to others, I will returne to the purpose from
whence I haue thus far stepped.

In this first yeate, the fridaie after saint Valen-
tines daie, the earle of March his sonnes earlie in the
morning were taken forth of Winchester castell, and
conueied awaie, it was not knowne whither at the
first, but such search and inquirie was made for them
that shortly after they were heard of, and brought
backe againe. The smith that counterfeited the
keies, by the which they that conueied them thence
got into the chamber where they were lodged, had
first his hands cut off, and after his head striken
from his shoulders. The ladie Spenser, sister to the
duke of Yorke and widow of the lord Thomas
Spenser, executed at Bristow (as before we haue
heard) being apprehended and committed to close
prison, accused hir brother the duke of Yorke, as
chefe authour in stealing awaie the said earle of
March his sonnes. And further, that the said duke
ment to haue broken into the manor of Eltham the
last Christmasse, by scaling the wals in the night
season, the king being there the same time, to the intent
to haue murdered him. For to proue hir accusation
true, she offered that if there were anie knight, or es-
quier, that would take vpon him to fight in hir quar-
rell, if he were ouercome, she would be content to be
burnt for it.

One of hir esquiers named William Spaldstone,
hearing what answer his ladie and mistresse pro-
pounded, cast downe his hood, and proffered in hir
cause the combat. The duke likewise cast downe his
hood, ready by battell to cleare his innocencie. But
yet the kings sonne lord Thomas of Lancaster ar-
rested him, and put him vnder safe keeping in the
Tower, till it were further knowne what order
should be taken with him, and in the meane time
were all his goods confiscate. The same time was
Thomas Spolbray earle marshall accused, as pri-
uie to the purpose of the duke of Yorke, touching the
withdrawing of the earle of March his children, who
confessed indeed that he knew of the dukes purpose:
but yet in no wise gaue his consent therevnto, and
therefore besought the king to be good and gracions
lord vnto him for concealing the matter, and so he ob-
teined pardon of that offense.

The king had assembled at the same time the most
part of the nobilitie at London, to consult with them
for diuerse weightie matters, concerning the state
of the common-wealth, and about some aid of mo-
nie which he required: but the lords shewed them-
selues not willing to satisfie his request. He therefore
caused the spirituall lords as well as the temporall,
to meet at S. Albons in the Lent season, about the
same matter; but yet obtined not his purpose, by
reason the barons were soe against him, and so at
length on Palme sondaie they went their waie, each
man to his home, hauing gratified the king in no-
thing concerning his demand. In the meane time, to
wit the fifteenth of March at a place in Wales called
Hulke, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welshmen
and

1405
The earle of
Marches
sonnes.
Thom. Walsin.

The ladie
Spenser ac-
cused to
ward.

She accuseth
hir brother the
duke of Yorke,

William Spald-
stone esquier
offred to fight
in his ladies
quarrell.

The earle
marshall
accused.

The R. Wan-
teth monie &
can get none
of the lords.

He was also
at one time
treasurer of
England (as
Leland gas-
sareth.)

and certeine of the princes companie, the sonne of Owen Glendouer was taken, and fiftie hundred Welshmen taken and slaine. Also in Maye about the feast daie of S. Dunstons, was the chancelor of the said Owen taken prisoner, and a great number of other taken and slaine. The prisoners were brought by to London, where the chancelor was committed to safe keeping in the Tower.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wall. Hypod. pag. 159.

Full. Lib. 1. Herod. lib. 1. Nat. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7.

This was a shew of discomfort to the Welsh by the English, on whose sinfull lot lowred, at such time as more than a thousand of them were slaine in a hot skirmish; and such shamefull villanie executed upon the carcasses of the dead men by the Welsh women; as the like (I doe beleue) hath neuer or shal dome beene practised. For though it was a cruell deed of Comyns quene of the Gallagets in Scythia, against whome when Cyrus the great king of Persia came, and had slaine hir for ne, she by hir policie trained him into such straits, that she due him and all his host; and causing a great vessel to be filled with the blood of Cyrus and other Persians, did cast his head therein, sateng; Bloud thou hast thirsted and now drinke thereof thy fill: againe, though it was a cruell deed of Fulvia the wife of Marcus Antonius (at whose commandement Popilius cut off the head and hands of that golden mouthed orator Tullie, which afterwards were nailed by ouer the place of common places at Rome) to hold in hir hands the tongue of that father of eloquence cut out of his head after the same was parted from his shoulders, and to prick it all ouer with pins and needels: yet neither the crueltie of Comyns nor yet of Fulvia is comparable to this of the Welshwomen; which is worthe to be recorded to the shame of a fer pretending the title of weakke vessels, and yet raging with such force of fiercenesse and barbarisme. For the dead bodies of the Englishmen, being about a thousand lieng upon the ground imbrued in their owne blood, was a sight (a man would thinke) greuous to looke upon, and so farre from exciting and stirring by afflictions of crueltie; that it should rather haue moued the beholders to commiseration and mercie: yet did the women of Wales cut off their priuities, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of euery dead man, in such sort that the cullions hong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailes as they lay on the ground mangled and defaced. This was a verie ignominious deed, and a worse not committed among the barbarous: which though it make the reader to read it, and the hearer to heare it, ashamed: yet because it was a thing done in open sight, and left testified in historie; I see little reason why it should not be imparted in our mother tongue to the knowledge of our owne countrymen, as well as vnto strangers in a language vnknewne. And thus much by waie of notifying the inhumanitie and detestable demeanour of those Welshwomen, after the conflict betwene the English and the Welsh, whereof defaultie mention is made before pag. 520, where Edmund Mortimer earle of March was taken prisoner.

Valeran earle of S. Paule, by the assent of the French king, assembled five hundred men of armes, five hundred Genouaies with crossbowes, and a thousand Flemings on foot, with the which he laid siege to the castell of Marke, three leagues from Calis, vpon the fifteenth daie of Iulie. Capteine of the castell as then for the king of England was one sir Philip Hall, hauing with him foure score archers, and foure and twentie other soldiers, which defended the place so manfully, that the earle retired into the towne, and there lodged, fortifying it for feare of rescue that might come from Calis. The next daie he

gaue another assault to the castell, and toke the bitter court, wherein was found a great number of bowes, kine, and other cattell. The next daie there issued forth of Calis two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or twelue wagons laden with vittels and artilerie, conducted by sir Richard Aston knight, lieutenant of the English pale for the earle of Summerset, capteine generall of those marches.

The Frenchmen aduertised that the Englishmen were coming to remoue the siege, issued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their closure. Neuertheless, the Englishmen shot so sharpe and close together, that the Flemings and footmen began to flie: the men of armes, fearing the slaughter of their hostes, ran awaie with a light gallop. The Genouaies which had spent the most part of their shot at the assaults made to the castell, shewed small resistance, and so all the number of the French part were slaine and put to flight. The earle of S. Paule and diuerse other escaped awaie, and by S. Omers got to Therouenne, or (as others saie) to saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of three or foure score, and amongst other the lord de Dampier seneschall of Pontien, monsieur de Meriners, monsieur de Vinales, monsieur de Poitelles, monsieur John de Hangeys capteine of Wallongne, the lord de Hambures, monsieur Lionel Darreis capteine of Graueling, monsieur Peter Kasser capteine of Arde, also Combernard capteine of Trochan, Bold Canon capteine of Pontotie, John Canon capteine of Lille, Stenebecke capteine of Kalingham, the bastard of Burneuill capteine of Burburgh. There were slaine about 60, and among them as these sir Robert Berengueuill, the lord of Quercus, spozell de Sauncles, the lord Courbet de Kemppeuzet, and others.

The Englishmen had the spoile of the earls campe, and being returned to Calis, within five daies after there issued forth about five hundred men, meaning to haue towne the towne of Arde with a sudden assault, which they gaue to it in the night time. At sir Spanfrid de Bois, and the lord Wigine, did so valiantlie defend it, that the Englishmen with losse of fortie of their men were constrained to returne vnto Calis, after they had burnt the dead bodies in an old house, for that the enemies should not perceiue what losse the Englishmen had susteined. After this, the French king, to auoid perils, laid in garison at Wallongne, and in other places, the marques of Mount, sonne to the duke of Bar, the earle of Dampnie, and sir John Harpaban a knight of great renoume and estimation. The duke of Burgognie likewise sent a number of soldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one John Mandenwall, and to other fortresses alongst the coast he sent new supplies, for doubt of the Englishmens inuasions.

The king of England in deed hearing of the preparation made by the Frenchmen, leuided foure thousand men, which he sent vnto Calis, and to the sea, of the which 3000 were vnder the conduct of the kings sonne. The lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the two and twentieth daies of Maye (as some write) came vpon the coast of Flanders, and entring the haven of Sluis, burnt foure great ships which they found there lieng at anchor. On the fift daie after their coming into that haven they went on land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgognie. But as other write, after they had besieged the castell that stood in the mouth of the haven, and losing three score of their men, amongst which they name one to beare the title of earle of Denbroke (whom they buried for the time in the church of Spude) five daies after their coming

The earle of S. Paule put to flight. la. Mort.

Arde assaulted by Englishmen.

The marques de Mount.

An army sent to Calis and to the sea.

Chr. Plant. la. Mort.

The English men burning the castell of Sluis.

The castell of Marke besieged about the middle of Maye as Iac. Meir. saith. Sir Philip Hall.

ming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceiving the castell would not easlie be twome, but first they spoiled the countrie about them, and burnt theis flat, otherwise called Condekirke, and diuerse other places thereabout.

This done, they toke vp the bodie of him whom the Flemish writers call the earle of Penbroke, and got them againe to the sea, for that they were aduertised how the duke of Burgognie meant to besiege Calis. Whereupon raising their siege thus from Calis castell, they returned vnto the defense of the towne of Calis, so much desired of the French nation. As they returned homewards, they met with three caricks of Genoa, of the which one having the wind with hir, meant to haue ouerthrowne the ship wherein the lord Thomas of Lancaster was aboard: but by the good foresight of the master of the ship that ruled the sterne, suddenly turning the same, the violent waie of that huge vessel comming so vpon them, was auoided; but yet the caricke strooke off the nose of the English ship, and bzused hir on the side. Then began the fight verie cruell, till the earle of Bent came to the rescue: and so finally after a great windie and bloudie battell betwixt the caricks and English ships, the victorie remained with the Englishmen, who taking the caricks, turned their sailes towardes Normandie, where they arrived and burnt the towne of Hoggue, Mountbuge, Berckie, saint Petronils and other, to the number of thirtie six, passing forth in the countrie without resistance, the space of thirtie miles, spoiling all that came in their waie. This done, they returned, and brought the caricks into the chamber at Kie, where one of them by misfortune of fire perished, to the losse & no gaine of either of the parties.

John duke of Burgognie having obtained licence to besiege Calis, prepared an armie of six thousand men of armes, fiftene hundred rosbowes, & twelue thousand footmen, the which being assembled, and all necessarie provision readie at saint Omers, he was by the French king countermanded, and not suffered to proceed any further in that weightie enterprize. And this was thought to be partly the cause of the malice that he conceived against the duke of Orleans, supposing that through him (enueiling his rage) he was thus disappointed of his purpose. What such doings were in hand betwixt the English and French, as the besieging of Marke castell by the earle of saint Paule, and the sending forth of the English fleet, under the gouernance of the lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the king was minded to haue gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels, that vnder their chiefeine Owen Glendouer, ceased not to do much mischefe still against the English subjects.

But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke Thomas Howbzaie earle marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolk, who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had bene banished (as ye haue heard) the lords Hastings, Fauconbridge, Berdolf, and diuerse others. It was appointed that they should meet altogether with their whole power, vpon Northumberland, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be chiefeine, promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop accompanied with the earle marshall, deuised certaine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselves greued with: which articles they shewed first vnto such of their adherents as were nere about them, & after sent them

abroad to their friends further off, assuring them that for redress of such oppressions, they would shed the last drop of blood in their bodies, if need were.

The archbishop not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, forthwith discovered his enterprize, causing the articles aforesaid to be set vp in the publike streets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that moued him to rise in armes against the king, the reforming whereof did not yet appertene vnto him. Whereupon knights, esquires, gentlemen, peomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie, towne and countrie about, being allured either for desire of change, or else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled together in great numbers; and the archbishop comming forth amongst them clad in armor, encouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) picked them forth to take the enterprize in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose, promising forgiveness of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countrie about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In deed the respect that men had to the archbishop, caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, moued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The king aduertised of these matters, meaning to prevent them, left his tourne into Wales, and marched with all speed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Beuill earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, together with the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled together such power as they might make, and together with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord John to defend the borders against the Scots, as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Ceuers, the lord Robert Umfrevill, & others, made forward against the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the forest of Caltre, caused their standards to be pitched downe in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other, for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

When the earle of Westmerland perceived the force of the adueraries, and that they laie still and attempted not to come forward vpon him, he subtilie deuised how to qualle their purpose, and forthwith dispatched messengers vnto the archbishop to vnderstand the cause as it were of that great assemblie, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in armour. The archbishop answered, that he toke nothing in hand against the kings peace, but that whatsoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free access, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he maintained that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed forth a scroll, in which the articles were written wherof before ye haue heard.

The messengers returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles,

The archbishop of Yorke one of the chiefe conspirators.

The archbishop in armor.

The estimation which men had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The earle of Westmerland and the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne prepare themselves to resist the kings enemies.

The forest of Caltre.

The subtil policie of the earle of Westmerland.

The archbishops protestation why he had on him armes.

A great fight by sea. The caricks are taken. The duke of Burgognie burnt.

The duke of Burgognie prepared to besiege Calis.

The chiefe cause of the malice betwixt the duke of Burgognie & Orleans.

A new conspiracy against king Henrie by the earle of Northumberland and others.

he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose, promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who resolving hereat, gave credit to the earle, and persuaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune together. Here when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read over, and without anie more ado, the earle of Westmerland and those that were with him agreed to do their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

The earle of Westmerlands politike dealing.

The earle of Westmerland using more politike than the rest: Well (said he) then our trauell is come to the wished end: and where our people have borne long in armour, let them depart home to their wonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke together in signe of agreement, that the people on both sides may see it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a point. They had no sooner shaken hands together, but that a knight was sent straight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded, commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking together of the lords in louing manner, they being already wearied with the vnaccustomed trauell of warre, brake by their field and returned homewards: but in the meane time, whilst the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland; and yet the archbishop perceived not that he was deceived, untill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall, with diuers other. Thus saith Wallingham.

The archbishop of York and the earle marshall arrested.

But others write somewhat otherwise of this matter, affirming that the earle of Westmerland in deed, and the lord Kase Creuers, procured the archbishop and the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iust in the newwaie betwixt both the armies, where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perillous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to moue warre against the king, aduising them therefore to submit themselves without further delay into the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord John, who was present there in the field with banners spread, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword, if they refused this counsell: and therefore he willed them to remember themselves well; & if they would not yield and craue the kings pardon, he bad them do their best to defend themselves.

Whereupon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselves vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord John that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Whereupon their troops scaled and fled their waies: but being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Whosoever the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Pouiset to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power, and from thence he went to Poike, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsundaie in a place without the citie, that is to vnderstand, the archbishop himselfe, the earle marshall, sir John Lampley, and sir Robert Plumpton. ¶ Vnto all which persons though indemnities were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed. By the issue hereof, I meane the death of the foresaid, but specially of the

The archbishop of York, the earle marshall, & others put to death. Abr. Fl. our of Thom. Wallin. Hypod. pag. 163.

archbishop, the prophesie of a sickle canon of Bocking in Essex shire fell out to be true, who darke though foretold this matter, & the unfortunate event thereof in these words hereafter following, saying:

*Pacem tractabant, sed fraudem subter arabant,
Pro nulla marca, saluabitur ille hierarcha.*

The archbishop suffered death verie constantlie, inso much as the common people toke it, he died a martyr, affirming that certaine miracles were wrought as well in the field where he was executed, as also in the place where he was buried: and immediately vpon such bzuits, both men and women began to worship his dead carcasie, whom they loued so much when he was alieue, till they were forbidden by the kings friends, and for feare gaue ouer to visite the place of his sepulture. The earle marshall bodie by the kings leaue was buried in the cathedrall church, manie lamenting his destinie; but his head was set on a pole aloft on the walls for a certaine space, till by the kings permission [after the same had suffered manie a hot sunnie daie, and manie a wet shower of raine] it was taken downe and buried together with the bodie.

After the king, accordinglie as seemed to him good, had ransomed and punished by grieuous fines the citizens of Poike (which had borne armour of their archbishops side against him) he departed to Poike with an armie of thirtie and seven thousand fighting men, furnished with all provision necessary, marching northwards against the earle of Northumberland. At his coming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Collenill of the Dale, and sir John Griffith, being convicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded. The earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counsell was betrayed, and his confederats brought to confusion, thought too much haile of the archbishop of Poike, with three hundred, he got him to Berwike. The king comming onward quickelie, toan the castell of

Markelway. Whereupon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselfe in suertie at Berwike, as with the lord Berdolf into Scotland, where they were receiued of David lord Fleming. The king comming to Berwike, commanded that that kept the castell against him to render it to his hands, and when they flatlie denied so to do, he caused a peece of artillerie to be planted against one of the towers, and at the first shot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in such feare, that they simple yielded themselves without any manner of condition, wholie to remaine at the kings pleasure. Whereupon the chieffest of them, to wit, sir William Greystoke, sonne to Kasebaron of Greystoke, sir Henrie Beinton, and John Blenkinlop, with foure or fife other were put to death, and diuers other were kept in prison. Some write that the earle of Northumberland at his entering into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who bearing of king Henries approach, and despairing to defend the towne against him, set fire on it and departed. There was not one house that was left vnbrent, except the friers and the church.

After that the king had disposed things in such convenient order as stood with his pleasure at Berwike, he came backe, and had the castell of Alnwick deliuered vnto him, with all other the castells that belonged to the earle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Rodbow, Langlie, Cockermonth, Alahan, and Deloued. Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he toke his tourne westerlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had small successe, in so much that losing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned; and comming to Worcester,

The archbishop of York, a martyr.

The lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Collenill of the Dale, and sir John Griffith.

The earle of Northumberland.

Berwike is first taken by the king.

The king & the lord Greystoke and others put to death.

The castell of Alnwick taken by the king.

The king's tourne into Wales.

The king's loss of cariages by raine and waters.

An. Reg. 6, 7.

ster, he sent for the archbishop of Cantuarbie, and other bishops, declaring to them the misfortune that had chanced to him, in consideration whereof he requested them to helpe him with some portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his warres, for the raming of the presumptuous and vnquiet Welshmen.

In the meane time, the French king had appointed one of the marshalls of France called Pontmerancie, and the master of his crossbowes, with twelve thousand men to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They took shipping at Milford haueu, with the wind prosperous, landed at Milford haueu, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as Thomas Walsingham saith; though Enguerant de Montfrellet maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie. The most part of their horses were lost by the waite for lacke of fresh water. The lord Berkeley, and Henrie Paie, espieing their aduantage, burnt fiftene of those French ships, as they laie at road there in the haueu of Milford; and shortly after the same lord Berkeley, and sir Thomas Swinborne, with the said Henrie Paie, took other fourtene ships, as they came that waie with prouision of vittells and munition for the France to the aid of the other.

In the meane while the marshall Pontmerancie, with his armie, besieged the towne of Carmarden, and won it by composition, granting to the men of waite that kept it against him, licence to depart whither they would, & to take with them all their moueable goods: the castell of Denbroke they assaulted not, esteeming it to be so well manned, that they shuld but lose their labour in attempting it. Notwithstanding they besieged the towne of Hereford well, which neuertheless was so well defended by the earle of Arundell and his power, that they lost more than they won, and so they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their coming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen so fullie re- ceined of the Welsh rebels, and so when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbs: but hearing of the kings approach, they suddenly returned towards Wales.

The king with a great puissance followed, and found them unbattelled on a high mountaine, where there was a great balie betwixt both the armies, so that either armie might plainelie perceiue the other, and either host looked to be assailed of his aduersarie, & therefore sought to take the aduantage of ground. Thus they continued for the space of eight daies from morning till night, readie to abide, but not to giue battell. There were manie skirmishes, and diuerse proper feats of armes wrought in that meane while, in the which the French lost manie of their nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patrouillars de Eries, brother to the marshall of France, the lord Patellonne or Spatellonne, the lord de la Walle, and the bassard of Bourbon, with other, to the number (as some haue written) of fise hundred. But Enguerant de Montfrellet affirmeth, that vpon their retorne into France, there wanted not aboue threescore persons of all their companies.

After they had laine thus one against another the space of eight daies (as before is said) vittells began to faile, so that they were forced to dislodge. The French and Welshmen withdrew into Wales, and though the Englishmen followed, yet impeached with the desert grounds and barren countrie, thorough which they must passe, as our felles and cragie mounteins, from hill to dale, from marish to wood, from naught to worse (as Hall saith) without vittells or succour, the king was of force constrained

to retire with his armie, and returne againe to Worcester, in which returne the enemies took certeine carriages of his laden with vittells. The Frenchmen after the armies were thus withdrowne, returned into Britaine, making small byags of their painefull tourne.

This yeare at London, the earle of Arundell married the bassard daughter of the king of Portugale, the king of England and the quene with their presence honoring the solemnitie of that feast, which was kept with all sumptuous roialtie, the morrow after saint Batharins daie. And on the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the ladie Philip king Henries daughter was proclaimed quene of Denmarke, Polonia, and Sweden, in presence of such ambassadoys, as the last summer came hither from the king of those countries, to demand hir in marriage for him, and had so travelled in the matter, that finallye they obtained it. On the daie of the translation of saint Martine, the towne of Kollon was on fire. This yeare the first of March a parliament began, which continued almost all this yeare: for after that in the lower house they had denied a long time to grant to any subsidie: yet at length, a little before Christmasse, in the eight yeare of his reigne they granted a fiftenth to the losse and great damage of the communalitie, for through lingering of time, the expences of knights and burgeses grew almost in value to the summe that was demanded.

Moreover, by the clergie a new kind of subsidie was granted, to the king, to be leuied of stipendarie priests and friers mendicants, and other such religious men as long for the dead, celebrating (as they termed it) anniuersaries: euerie of them gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the cleargie that had still borne the burthen for them before. Whereupon now they murmured and grudged sore, for that they were thus charged at that present. The same time the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Barbolfe, warned by the lord Dauid Fleming, that there was a conspacte practised to deliuer them into the king of Englands hands, fled into Wales to Owen Glendouer. This cost the lord Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that he had disclosed to the earle of Northumberland what was meant against him, and that the earle thereupon was shifted awaie, certeine of the Scots due the said lord Fleming.

Whereupon no small grudge rose betwixt those that so due him, and the said lord Flemings friends. For this and other matters, such dissention sprang vp amongst the Scottish nobilitie, that one durst not trust another, so that they were glad to sue for a truce betwixt England and them, which was granted to indure for one yeare, as in some books we find recorded. This truce being obtained, Robert king of Scotland (vpon considerations, as in the Scottish histories ye may read more at large) sent his eldest son James intituled prince of Scotland (a child not past nine yeares of age) to be conueied into France, vnder the conduct of the earle of Dykenie, and a bishop, in hope that he might there both remaine in safetie, and also learne the French tong.

But it fortuneth, that as they sailed neare to the English coast about Flambrough head in Holderness, their ship was taken and staied by certeine mariners of Claie (a towne in Northfolke) that were abroad the same time; and so he and all his companie being apprehended the thirtieth of March, was conueied to Waindore, where though he had letters from his father, which he presented to the king, containing a request in his sonnes behalfe for fauour to be shewed towards him, if by chance he landed within any of his dominions: yet was he detained, and as well he himselfe as the earle of Dykenie was committed to safe

The Frenchmen returne home.

Anno Reg. 7.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom Walsin. Kollon burnt.

1406
A parliament.

A fiftenth granted by the rempoialtie.

A new kind of subsidie granted by the cleargie.

The lord Fleming lost his life for giuing knowledge to the earle of Northumberland of that which was meant against him.

Dissention among the Scottish nobilitie.

Eleuen yeares saith Harding. The prince of Scotland staid here in England.

safe keeping in the Tower of London, but the bishop got away and escaped (as some write) by that means I know not. By the Scottish writers we find that this chanced in the yeare 1404, that is, two yeares before the time noted in diuerse English writers, as Thomas Walsingham and other. But Harding saith it was in the ninth yeare of king Henries reigne, to wit, in the yeare 1408.

But whensoever it chanced, it is to be thought, that there was no truce at that present betwene the two realmes, but that the warre was rather open, sith diuerse English rebels still remained in Scotland, and were there succored to the high displeasure of king Henrie. ¶ By authoritie of the parlement that all this time continued, the Bishops that serued the quene, with two of hir daughters were banished the realme. Robert Halome chancellor of Oxford, as then being in the popes court at Rome, was created archbishop of Yorke. ¶ Moreover the same time, the pope gaue vnto Thomas Langlie the bishoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlow was then void. In the summer of this yeare, the ladie Philip the kings younger daughter was sent ouer to hir affianced husband, Criske king of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, being conuicted thither with great pompe, and there married to the said king, where she tasted (according to the common speech) of sed in praesens for the successe of such a match together in marriage both toy and some sorrow among. There attended hir thither Henrie Bolwet bishop of Bath, and the lord Richard brother to the duke of Yorke.

There was a iusts held at London, betwixt the earle of Kent, and the erle of Darre a Scottishman; also sir John Cornetwall, and the lord Beaumont, against other two Scottish knights, whereof the honoz remained with the Englishmen. In the parlement which yet continued, the duke of Yorke was restored to his former libertie, estate and dignitie, where manie supposed that he had bene dead long before that time in prison. Edmund Holland earle of Kent was in such fauour with king Henrie, that he not onelie advanced him to high offices and great honozs, but also to his great costs and charges obtained for him the ladie Lucie, eldest daughter, and one of the heirs of the lord Barnabo of Millane, which Barnabo paid to him 100000 ducates, in the church of S. Marie Queries in Southwarke, by the hands of Don Alfonso de Caimuola, vpon the day of the solemnization of the marriage, which was the fourre and twentieth of Januarie.

¶ In this yeare Roger of Walden departed this life; who hauing bene tossed by and done with sundrie changes of fortune, tried in a short time betwixt constant, vncertaine, variable, wandering, vnsstable, and flitting the is; which when he is thought firme to stand, the slippingie falleth; and with a dissembling looke counterfaiteth false ioies. For by the means of hir changeablenesse, the said Roger of a poyre fellow, grew up to be high lord treasurer of the realme, and shortly after archbishop of Canturburie; but by what right, the world knoweth; considering that the lord Thomas Arundell was then living. Anon after he was depozed from his dignitie, and lead the life of an ordinarie priuat man a long time; within a while after againe he was promoted and made bishop of London, which see he had not possessed a full yeare, but was depriued, and Nicholas Bobwith succeeded in his toime. So that hereby men are taught not to be proud of their preferment, nor to reckon of them as of perpetuities, sithens they may be as soon dispossessed as possessed of them; and for that all estates & degrees depend vpon Gods powder and prouidence, whereof the poet diuinelie saith,

Iudit in humanis diuina potentia rebus,

Et certam praesens vix habet hora fidem.

In this yeare the scuenth of Maie was Thomas Langlie consecrated bishop of Durham after the decease of Walter Skirlow. In which place he continued one and thirtie yeares. He among other his beneficiall deeds beautified the church of Durham for euer with a chanterie of two chapleines. Besides which for the increase of learning (wherewith himselfe was greatlie furnished) he built two scholes, the one for grammar to instruct youth, whereby in following time they might be made more able to benefit themselves and serue their countrie: and the other of musick, wherein children might be made apt to serue God and the church, both which scholes he created in a parcell of ground comunlie called The plate grane. To which buildings for he was one that delighted much therein, and like vnto the philosopher Anaxagoras supposed that there was not any more earthly felicitie, than to erect sumptuous palaces, whereby after their death the memorie of the founders might haue continuance) he added manie sumptuous parts of the palace of Durham. In the towne whereof he did also from the ground (of most stately stone) erect a new gaole with the gate-house to the same, in that place where of old it remained, and then by iniurie of time fallen downe and consumed. This man intioed the see of Durham almost the whole time of three kings, that is; about six yeares and six moneths in the time of Henrie the fourth, nine yeares and five moneths in the time of Henrie the fifth, and fiftene yeares in the time of Henrie the sixth; during the gouernment of all which princes, he was all his life time highlie esteemed and reuerenced for his singular wisdome, and for the great authoritie he bare in publike, betwene whome and the maiors of Newcastell arose great contention, about a bridge called Tinebridge in the towne of Gateshed or Gotesched, in Latine called *Caput caprae*. But in the yeare of our redemption 1416, and of Henrie the fifth, the fourth, and of his bishoprike the eleuenth, this bishop had the recouerie thereof, as appeareth by the letter of atturnie of the said bishop, made to diuerse to take possession of the same.

The letter of atturnie wherby the bishop authorised diuerse to take possession of Tinebridge.

Thomas Dei gratia episcopus Dunelmensis omnibus ad quos praesentes litterae peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quod assignauimus & deputauimus dilectos & fideles nostros Radulphum de Ewrie cheualier senescallum nostrum Dunelmie, Williamum Chanceler cancellarium, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie, ac Williamum Claxton vicecomitem nostrum Dunelmie coniunctim & diuisim, ad plenam & pacificam seisinam, de duabus partibus medietatis cuiusdam pontis vocati Tinebridge, in villa nostra de Gateshed, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie existentis. Quae quidem duas partes medietatis predictae, continent & faciunt tertiam partem eiusdem pontis usque austrum, in predicta villa de Gateshed. Super quas duas partes nuper maior & communitas villa Noui castri super Tinam, quandam turrin de nouo adificare ceperunt, & quas quidem duas partes cum franchisys, iurisdictionibus, & iuribus regalibus super eadem duas partes medietatis predictae, nuper iurisdictionem domini regis versus maiorem & communitatem dictae villa Noui castri recuperauimus nobis.

Hall.

Robert Halome archb. of Yorke.

The king and the quene brought hir to Lin where she took shiping. Tho. Wals.

Anno Reg. 8. The duke of Yorke restored to libertie.

The earle of Kent in fauor with king.

The marriage daughter of Barnabo lord of Millane.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 161.

Roger of Walden's variable fortune.

An. Reg. 8, 9.

*In successibus nostris episcopis Dunelmia, & in
iure ecclesie nostre sancti Cuthberti Dunelmia
possidendas de vicecomite Westmerlandia, praesentibus
textu eiusdem brevis dicti domini regis sibi directi
nomine nostro recipiendas; & turrin predictam ad
opus nostrum saluo & securi custodiendam. Ratum
& gratum habiturus quicquid idem Radulphus, Wil-
lianus & Willicmus nomine nostro fecerint in
premissis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras
nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum Dunelmie
per manus Williani Cancellarii nostri 26 Octo-
bris, anno pontificatus nostri undecimo.*

According whereunto in the said yeare, possession
was deliuered in the presence of these persons, whose
names I thinke not trimet for their posterities
cause to be remembred, being persons of god credit
and of antiquitie, that is to saie, John Lomelie, Kase
Crozate, Robert Hilton, William Fulthop, Wil-
liam Tempst, Thomas Suerties, Robert Cog-
niers, William Clarton shiriffe of Durham, Ro-
bert de Egle, John Bertram, John Widingerton,
and John Spidleton knights of Northumberland,
Christopher Hazlie, Will. Omunderlaw knights
of Westmerland; and also in the presence of these es-
quiers, Robert Hilton, Robert Crozic, William
Solwes, John Coniers, William Lampton the el-
der, John de Sporden, William Lampton the you-
ger, Hugh Waringhell, John Bittlie, William Bel-
lingham, Robert Belchis, Henrie Talboies; Tho-
mas Garbois, John de Hutton, William Hutton,
Thomas Coke of Hilsburne, and five others. This
bishop also procured certeine liberties from the pope
in the church of Durham, by vertue of which grant
they which were excommunicate (and might not in-
ter the priuilege of any sacraments, in other places
throughout the bishopricke) should yet baptise their
children in a font of that church, in an especiall place
appointed therfore, and also receive the other sacra-
ments there to be administered vnto them. He died
the eight and twentieth of Iouember in the yeare of
our redemption 1437, and was buried in the church
of Durham in the chanterie which he had before erec-
ted. Before whose death at his manour of Holbon
he builded all the west gates there of goodlie stone
and lime, with the chambers thereto belonging on
which he placed his armes.]

The duke of Breance hauing leuied a mightie ar-
mie, had besieged the towines of Burge and Blaise in
Calcoigne, meaning with force to win the same; but
so it fortuned, that for the space of eight weekes to-
gether, there passed not one date without tempest of
raime, snow, and haile, mixed with winds and light-
nings, which killed aswell men as cattell, by reason
whereof he lost (as was reported) six thousand men, so
that he was constrained to breake vp his camps
from before both those towines, and to get him awaie
with dishonour, for all his bags and boasts made at
his first comming thither. The same time, Henrie
Daie and certeine other persons of the five ports,
with fiftene ships, toke an hundred and twentie
prizes, which laie at anchor in and about the coast of
Britaine, laden with iron, salt, oile, & Rochell wines.
In this season also billes were set by in diuerse
places of London, and on the doze of Pauls church,
in which was contained, that king Richard being a-
line and in health, would come thostile with great
magnificence & polder to recouer againe his king-
dome: but the contriuer of this deuise was quicklie
found out, apprehended, and punished according to
his demerits. ¶ The citie of London this yeare in
the summer was infected with pestilent mortali-
tie, that the king durst not repaire thither, nor come

neare to it. Whereupon he being at the castell of Leeds
in Kent, and departing from thence, toke ship at
Quinburgh in the Ile, of Shepie, to saile ouer vnto
Lee in Essex, and so to go to Blaschie, there to passe
the time till the mortallitie was ceased.

As he was vpon the sea, certeine French pira-
ts which laie lurking at the Thames mouth to watch for
some prete, got knowledge by some meanes (as was
supposed) of the kings passage, and thereupon as he
was in the middelt of his course, they entred among
his fleet, and toke foure vessels next to the kings
ship, and in one of the same vessels sir Thomas
Kampston the kings vicechamberlaine, with all his
chamber suster and apparell. They followed the king
so neere, that if his ship had not bene swift, he had
landed sooner in France than in Essex: but such was
his good hap, that he escaped and arriued at his ap-
pointed port. The lord Camois, that was comman-
ded with certeine ships of warre to waite the king o-
uer (whether the wind turned so that he could not
keepe his direct course, or that his ship was but a
slug) ran so far in the kings displeasure, that he was
attached & indited, for that (as was surmized against
him) he had practised with the Frenchmen, that the
king might by them haue bene taken in his passage.

¶ We haue heard that the pope by vertue of his pro-
uision had giuen the archbishopricke of Yorke vnto
maister Robert Halom; but the king was so offen-
ded therewith, that the said Robert might in no wise
introp that benefice, and so at length, to satisfie the
kings pleasure, maister Henrie Wolnet was trans-
lated from Bath vnto Yorke, and maister Robert
Halom was made bishop of Salisburie then void by
remouing of Henrie Chichellie to S. Dauids. The
lord Henrie prince of Wales this yeare in the sum-
mer season besieged the castell of Abirufwith, and
constrained them within to compound with him vnder
certeine conditions for truce; but the prince was
no sooner from thence departed, but that Owen
Glendouer by subtil craft entered the castell, put out
the keepers, and charging them with treason for con-
cluding an agrément without his consent, placed
other in that fortresse to defend it to his use.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie,
that ancient warriour and worthie knight sir Robert
Knols departed this life: he was (as before we haue
heard) bozne of meane parentage, but growen into
such estimation for his vallant prowesse, as he was
thought meet to haue the leading of whole armies, and
the rule and gouernment of large prouinces. For
not long before his decesse, he being gouernour of
Aquitaine, incumbred with age, resigned his office
vnto sir Thomas Belfort, a right vallant capteine,
and therewith returned into England, where he died
at a manour place of his in Northfolke, & from thence
brought to London in a litter, with great pompe and
much torch light, was buried in the church of White-
friers in Fleetstreet by the ladie Constance his wife,
where was done for him a solemne obsequie, with
a great feast, and liberall dole to the poze.

Besides the diuerse noble exploits, and famous
warlike enterprises atchined by this vallant sonne
of Mars, he (to continue the perpetuall memorie of
his name) builded the bridge of Rochester, ouer the
riuer of Medwaie with a chappell at the end thereof;
he repared also the bodie of the church of the White-
friers where he was buried, which church was first
founded by the ancessour of the lord Greie of Cod-
ner. He also founded a college of secular priests at
Domstret, and did manie other things in his life right
commendable. Sir Thomas Kampston constable of
the towler was drownded, in comming from the court
as he would haue shut the bridge, the streame being
so big, that it ouerturned his barge. This yeare the

The king in
danger to be
taken by
French pi-
rats.

Sir Thomas
Kampston ta-
ken.

The king es-
caped through
swiftnesse of
his ship.
The lord Ca-
mois put in
blame.

Henrie Bowet
archbishop
of Yorke.

Abirufwith.

Owen Glendouer.

Sir Robert
Knols depa-
rth this life.
Bermondsey.

S. Albons.

He was bur-
ied in White-
friers.

He built Ro-
chester bridge
commonlie
called Knols
bridge.

Thom. Wals.

Anno Reg. 9.

f f f.

twentieth

Thom. Walf.
A. fabioie.

The lord Camois was arraigned the last of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high steward of England, and by his pères acquit of the offense, whereof he had bene indicted (as before ye haue heard) and so dismissed at the barre, was restored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. ¶ This yeare the winter was exceeding sharpe through frost and snow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Januarie, Februarie, and March, insomuch that thushes, blackbirds, and manie thousand birds of the like smaller size, perished with verie cold and hunger.

1408

The earle of Northumb. & the lord Bardolfe returns into England.

The thirthe of Foxeshire.

His hardie courage to fight.

The earle of Northumberland slain.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walfin. Hypod. pag. 172.

twentieth of October began a parlement holden at Glocester, but removed to London as should appere in November; for (as we find) in that moneth this yere 1407, and ninth of this kings reigne, a subscie was granted by authoritie of a parlement then assembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

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The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had bene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yeare: and as their euill fortune would, whilest the king held a counsell of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a dismall houre, with a great powder of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerse of the earls castles and seignories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Whereupon encouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Foxeshire, & there began to destroye the countrie. At their coming to Threfelie, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to releue the common-wealth, willing all such as loved the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armes on their backs, and in defenseible wise to assist them.

The king aduertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enemies: but per the king came to Nottingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokelbie thirthe of Foxeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power, coming to Grimbaunt hygs, beside Inarebourgh; there to stop them the passage; but they returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finally came forward vnto Wamham moze, nere to Hailwood, where they chose their ground meet to fight vpon. The thirthe was as readie to giue battle as the earle to receiue it, and so with a standard of S. George fpyed, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a standard of his owne armes encountered his aduersaries with great manhood. There was a foze incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties but in the end the victorie fell to the thirthe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but foze wounded, so that he shortly after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slain outright: so that now the prophesie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heauie hap long before; namelye,

Stirps Persitina periet confusa ruina.

For this earle was the stocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Percie; and of manie moze by diuerse slaughters dispatched. For those misfortune the people were not a little forrie, making report of the gentlemans valiantnesse, renowne, and honour, and applieng vnto him certaine lamentable verses out of Lucane, saieing:

*Sed nos nec sanguis, nec tantum vulnera nostri
Affecere senis; quantum gestata per urbem
Ora duci, quæ transfixo deseruio pilo
Fidimus.*

For his head, full of slaue horie heares, being put vpon a stake, was openlie carried through London, and set vpon the brydge of the same citie: in like manner was the lord Bardolfe. The bishop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the nineteenth day of Februarie. ¶ The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the punishment of those that were accused to haue succoured and assisted the earle of Northumberland, went to Pothe, where when manie were condemned, and diuerse put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietnesse, he caused the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had bene in armour against him with the foresaid earle.

In the beginning of March, the king sent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarcked in certaine ships of warre vnto the sea, because he had knowledge that diuerse rousers were waiking about the coasts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had serched the coasts, and could meet with no euinie abode, he was aduertised by spies, that the pirates hearing of his coming to sea, were withdrawne into Britaine: wherefore the said earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he sought, directed his course thither, and finding that they had laid by their ships in the hauens, so as he could not fight with them by sea, he lanchd out his boates, and with his fierre soldiers toke land, and manfully assaulted the towne of Bysake standing by the sea side. They within stoutly defended themselves, doing their best to repell the Englishmen, with throwing darts, casting stones, and shooting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, so that he died thereof within fise daies after.

The Englishmen not dismayed with his death, but the moze desirous to obtaine their purpose, continued their assaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, set it on fire, and slue all that made resistance; and after for want of a generall to command what should be done, they being pestered with pries and prisoners, returned into England. ¶ The countesse of Kent that was daughter (as ye haue heard) to Bernabo viscont lord of Millaine, having no issue by hir husband, was now moued by the king after hir husbands death, to marrie with his bastard brother the earle of Dorset, a man verie aged and euill bisaged; whereupon the misliking him, meant rather to satiffie hir owne fantasie, and therefore chose for hir husband Henrie Portimer, a goodly yong bacheller, by whom she had issue a daughter named Anne, married to sir John Ambemond.

This yeare, the next daie after the feast daie of Marie Magdalen, in a counsell holden at London by the cleargie, the doctors of the vniuersities of Cambridge and Orenford being there, with the rest assembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, payments of monie, and their accustomed obedience; considering that contrary to his word and promise so solemnly made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrew himselfe from the place where he (according to covenants) should haue bene present, to aduance an agreement and concord in the church. ¶ Upon the euen of the Nativitie of our labe, there chanced such floods through abundance of raine, as the like had not bene seene afore by anye man then liuing. Also about the feast of All saints, the cardinall of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the constant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like manner as he had informed the French king and the French men, to the end that he might persuade both these kings,

The earle of Hailes hanged.

The earle of Kent slain by the sea.

Bysake in William's assault by the Englishmen.

The earle of Kent wounded to death.

Bysake taken by force.

The countesse of Kent married her owne choice of her second husband.

A dispute between the doctors of Cambridge and Orenford being there, with the rest assembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, payments of monie, and their accustomed obedience; considering that contrary to his word and promise so solemnly made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrew himselfe from the place where he (according to covenants) should haue bene present, to aduance an agreement and concord in the church.

Anno Regis Henrici quartus. The cardinall of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the constant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like manner as he had informed the French king and the French men, to the end that he might persuade both these kings,

things which were accounted the chiefe in christen-
dom, to put vnto their helping hands, that the same
pope Gregorie might be induced to obserue and per-
forme that oth, which he had receiued, so as by the roial
authoritie of those two kings, concord might be
had in the church. The French king (as this cardinall
alleged) following the aduise of the learned men of
the vniuersities of Paris, Bologna, Orleans, Tho-
louze, and Montpelier, to auoid the danger of fauor-
ing schisme, determined to obeie neither the one nor
the other that contended for the papacie, vntill peace
and concord might be restored in Christes church. The
king vnderstanding the purpose of the cardinall,
shewed him what courtesie might be deuised, offering
to beare his charges, so long as it pleased him to re-
maine in England, and promising him to consider
aduisedlie the matter.

This yere after the Epiphanie, the archbishop of
Canturburie called the cleargie of the prouince of
Canturburie to a conuocation in Paules church at
London, to chose sufficient persons that might go
vnto the generall councill, appointed to be kept at
Pisa: herevpon were chosen Robert Walon bishop
of Salisburie, Henrie Gichele bishop of saint Da-
uid, & Thomas Chillingden prior of Christes church
in Canturburie. The king before this had sent am-
bassadors vnto pope Gregorie, and also to the cardi-
nals: to wit, sir John Coluill knight, and maister
Nicholas Kirton cleark, with letters, signifieng the
griefe he had conceiued for the inconuenience that
fell in the christen common-wealth thorough the
schisme; and withall putting the pope in remem-
brance what mischefe and destruction of people had
chanced by the same schisme. These and the like mat-
ters, to bitter what desire he had to haue an vnitie in
the church, he declared franklie in his letters direc-
ted to the pope, so as it might appeare to the world,
how soberlie and modestlie he sought to induce the
pope to procure peace & concord in the church. Cer-
taine collections of which letters (as I find them in
Thomas Walsingham) I haue here set downe in com-
mendation of this king so excellentlie minded.

An extract of the kings letter to
pope Gregorie.

Most holie father, if the seat a-
postolicall would bouchsafe by
prouidence to consider, how
great dangers haue inuaded
the whole world vnder the pre-
text of schisme, and speciallie the slaughter
of christen people, which is of about two
hundred thousand (as it is auouched) by the
outrage of warres and battell sprong bp
in sundrie parts of the world; & now late-
lie to the number of thirtie thousand (by
meanes of the dissention about the bishop-
rike of Leods betwene two, one conten-
ding vnder the authoritie of true pope, and
the other vnder the title of antipope) slaine
in a foughten field, whereof we make re-
port with graue; trulie the said seat would
be peniue in spirit, & with due sorow trou-
bled in mind; pea at the motion of a good
conscience, it would rather giue ouer the
honour of that apostolicall seat, than suffer
such detestable deeds further to be com-
mitted, vnder the cloke of dissimulation,
taking example of the true and naturall
mother, which pleading before king Salo-
mon, chose rather to part with hir owne

child, than to see him cut in sunder. And al-
though by that new creation of nine cardi-
nals, against your oth (that we maie vse
the wordes of others) made by you, wher-
of a vehement cause of wondering is risen,
it maie in some sort be suppoled (as it is
likelie) that your intent respecteth not a-
nie end of schisme; yet farre be it alwaies
from the world, that your circumspect feat
should be charged by anie person with so
great inconstancie of mind, whereby the
last errour might be counted worse than
the first, &c.

An extract of the said kings letter to
the cardinals.

Being desirous to shew how
great zeale we had, & haue, that
peace might be granted & giuen
to the church by the consent of
the states of our realme, haue sent ouer
our letters to our lord the pope, according
to the tenure of a copie inclosed within
these presents effectualle to be executed.
Wherefore we doe earnestlie beseech the
reuerend college of you; that if happi-
lie the said Gregorie be present at the ge-
nerall councill holden at Pisa, about
the yelding by of the papacie, according to
the promise and oth by him manie a time
made, to fulfill your and our desires, as we
with and beare our selues in hand he will
do; that you will so order things concer-
ning his estate, that thereby God maie
chæstie be pleased, and as well Gregorie
himselfe, as we, who deseruedlie doe tender
his honour and commoditie with all our
harts, maie be beholden to giue you and
euerie of you manifold thanks.

This yere certeine learned men in Oxford and
other places, publicklye in their sermons mainteined
and set forth the opinions and conclusions of Wick-
cliffe. This troubled the bishops and other of the cler-
gie sore, insomuch that in their conuocation house,
the six and twentieth of June, by a speciall mandat
of the lord chancellor in presence of the procurators, re-
gents, and others, as Richard Courtneie, Richard
Talbot, Nicholas Zouch, Walter Spidford, & such
like in great multitude: sentence was pronounced
by John Wicks, doctor of the canon law against the
books of John Wickliffe doctor of diuinitie, intituled
*De sermone in monte, Triologorum de simonia, De perfectio-
ne statuum, De ordine christiano, De gradibus cleri ecclesie;*
and to these was added the thirde treatise, which he
compiled of logike or sophistrie. These books and the
conclusions in the same contained, the chancellor of
the vniuersitie of Oxford by common consent and
assent of the regents and non regents of the same
vniuersitie, reprocued, disannulled and condemned, in-
hibiting on paine of the great curse and deprivation
of all degrees scholasticall, that none from thence-
forth should affirme, teach, or preach by anie man-
ner of nicanes or waies, the same hereticall books (as
they tearmed them) containing ante the like opi-
nions as he taught and set forth in the same books.

This yere about midsummer, were totall iusts
holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the sene-
schall of Heirault, and certeine Benewers challen-
gers, and the earle of Summerfet, and certeine Eng-
lishmen

Wickliffe's do-
ctrine main-
tained by the
learned.

Sentence pro-
nounced a-
gainst wic-
kliffe's books.

Fabian,
Juts in
Smithfield.

Dwen Glen-
dower entercy
his life in
great miserie.

Anno Reg. 11.
Officers
made.
1410
A parliament.

liffmen defendants. The Welsh rebell Dwen Glen-
dower made an end of his wretched life in this
tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being dizen
now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such
miserie, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he
fled into desert places and solitarie caues, where be-
ing destitute of all reliefe and succour, dreading to
show his face to anie creature, and finally lacking
meat to susteine nature, for more hunger and lacke
of food, miserable pined awhile and died. This yeare
Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie was made chan-
celloz, and Henrie Scrope lord treasurer. A par-
lement began this yeare in the quindene of saint Vi-
larie, in which the commons of the lower house exhi-
bited a bill to the king and lordz of the upper house,
containing effect as followeth.

A supplication to the king.

Tho. Walf.
Fabian.

The most excellent lord our K.
and to all the nobles in this pre-
sent parliament assembled, your
faithfull commons doe humbly
signifie, that our soueraigne lord the king
might haue of the temporall possessions,
lands & reuenues which are lewdly spent,
consumed and wasted by the bishops, ab-
bats, and priors, within this realme, so
much in value as would suffice to find and
susteine one hundred and fiftie earles, one
thousand & five hundred knights, six thou-
sand and two hundred esquiers, and one
hundred hospitals more than now be.

Thom. Wall.

The king (as some write) upon aduised considera-
tion hereof had, misliked of the motion, & thereupon
commanded that from thenceforth they should not
presume to studie about anie such matters. An other
thing the commons sued to haue granted vnto them,
but could not obtaine: which was, that clerks con-
uicted should not from thence forth be deliuered to
the bishops prison. Whereupon they demanded to haue
the statute either reuoked, or qualified, which had
bene established by authoritie of parliament, in the
second yeare of this kings reigne, against such as
were reputed to be heretiks, or Lollards. By force
whereof it was prouided, that wheresoever such man-
ner of persons should be found and knowne to preach
or teach their erroneous doctrine, they should be at-
tached with the kings writ, and brought to the next
goale: but the king seemed so highlie to fauour the
clergie, that the commons were answered plain-
ly, they should not come by their purpose, but rather
that the said statute should be made more rigorous
and sharpe for the punishment of such persons.

King Henrie
a Quozor of
the clergie.

John Wabbie
burnt.
Tho. Walf.

The prince
being present
at the execu-
tion offereth
him pardon.

Notable con-
stance of
Wabbie.

During this parliament one John Wabbie a tailor,
or (as some write) a smith, being convicted of heresie,
was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tun or
pipe burnt to death, in pitifull manner. The kings
eldest sone the lord Henrie prince of Wales being
present, offered him his pardon, first before the fire
was kindled, if he would haue recanted his opi-
nions; and after when the fire was kindled, hearing
him make a voying noise verie pitifullie, the prince
caused the fire to be plucked backe, and exhorting him
being with pitifull paine almost dead, to remember
himselfe, and renounce his opinions, promising him
not onely life, but also three pence a daie so long as
he lived to be paid out of the kings coffers: but he
hauing recovered his spirits againe, refused the
princes offer, choosing chifones to tast the fire, and so
to die, than to forsake his opinions. Whereupon the

Henrie the fourth.

An. Dom. 1411

prince commanded, that he should be put into the
tun againe, from thenceforth not to haue any fa-
uour or pardon at all, and so it was done, and the fire
put to him againe, and he consumed to ashes.

The king demanded in this parliament, that it
might be granted to him, to haue euery yeare in
which he held no parliament a tenth of the cleargie,
and a fiftenth of the laitie; but the estates would not
agree thereto, by reason whereof, the parliament
continued till almost the middle of Maie. At length
they granted to giue him a fiftenth, not without
great murmuring and grudging of the commonal-
tie. About this season died the lord Thomas Beau-
ford earle of Surrie. The eleuenth of Aprill or there-
abouts, the towne of saint Omers was burnt by ca-
suall fire together with the abbeie, in which towne
was such strange and marvellous prouision of en-
gines, and all manner of furniture and preparation
for the winning of Calis, as the like had neuer
bene seene nor heard of. Some write, that they of
Calis standing in doubt of such perueiance, & great
preparation deuised to annoie them, procured a
young man to kindle a fire, whereby all that dead-
full prouision was consumed to ashes, and so they
within Calis deliuered of a great deale of care and
feare which they had thereof.

But Tho. Walsingham maketh a full & complet
declaration, both concerning the dukes deuise, & also
of the Calemans deliuerance from the danger of the
same; which because it perfecteth the report of this pre-
sent matter, I haue thought good to set downe word
for word as I find it in his Hypodigme. About the
ninth of Aprill (saith he) the towne of saint Aud-
mare was burned with the abbeie, wherein was hid-
den and laid up the execrable prouision of the duke of
Burgognie, who had vowed either to destroe the
towne of Calis, or else to subdue it to the will and
pleasure of the French. There a great manie engines
to this daie no where seene, there an exceeding sort of
vessels containing poison in them were kept in store,
which he had aforehand prouided to cast out to the de-
struction of the said towne. For he had gathered to-
gether serpents, scorpions, todes, and other kinds of
venomous things, which he had closed and shut up in
little barrels, that when the flesh or substance of those
noisome creatures was rotten, and dissolved into fil-
thy matter, he might laie siege to Calis, and cast the
said barrels let out of engines into the towne; which
with the violence of the throw being dashed in peeces,
might choke them that were within, poison the har-
nessed men touched therewith, & with their scattered
venem infect all the streets, lanes, & passages of the
towne. In the meane time, a certaine young man al-
lured with couetousnesse of gold, or lead with affec-
tion and loue towards the kings towne, asked of the
gouernours what reward he should deserue, that
would discharge and set free the towne from so great
a feare, and would burne all the prouision which they
suspected. Whereupon they leuied a summe of that pe-
low metall (namely gold) where with the youngman
contented, went his waie, and with fire readie
made for the purpose, did not onely burne the said
venomous matter and infected stuffe, but also toge-
ther with the monasterie almost the whole towne.

Whereupon this yeare sir Robert Umfravill vice
admirall of England, annoied the countries on the
sea coasts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth
with ten ships of warre, and being there fourtene
daies together, he landed euery daie on the one side
of the riuer or the other, taking priees, spoiles & pri-
soners; notwithstanding the duke of Albanie, and
the earle Douglas were readie there, with a great
power to resist him: he burnt the galliot of Scotland
(being a ship of great account) with manie oyl, & de-
fets

The king
demanded in
the parlia-
ment.

A long
parlia-
ment.
A fiftenth
granted.
Earle of
Surrie de-
ceased.

Preparation
made to win
Calis.
Thom. Walf.

Abt. Fl. out 2
Thom. Walf.
Hypod. pag.
175.

The engines
of the duke of
Burgogne
against Calis
that shot out
barrels of po-
son.

Sir Robert
Umfravill
viceadmirall
Harding.

This report
Scotland.

An. Reg. 11, 12, 13.

His surname
Robert
Pendmarket
his.

By Robert
Pendmarket
his name
Pendmarket.

The earle of
Angus
Pendmarket
his name
Pendmarket.

1411
Anno Reg. 12.
Great death
by the fire.

John Pend-
market and
William
Long.

Long com-
mended to the
Tower.
The archbis-
hop of Can-
terbury not
willing to bid
the university
of Oxenford.

1412
France de-
clared with
two factions.

The duke of
Burgundie
murdered.

felis lieng the same time at the Blackenesh ouer a
gainst Leth. At his returne from thence, he brought
with him fouretyne god ships, and manie other great
pikes of cloathes, both woollen, and linnen, pitch,
tarre, wood, flower, meale, wheat and rie, which be-
ing sold abroad, the markets were well holpen there-
by, so that his surname of Robert Pendmarket se-
med verie well to agree with his qualities, which
name he got by this occasion.

About foure years before this, he burnt the towne
of Picles on the market daie, causing his men to
meat the cloathes which they got there with their
bowes, & so to sell them awaie, whereupon the Scots
named him Robert Pendmarket. Shortly after his
returne from the sea now in this eleuenth yeare of
king Henries reigne, he made a road into Scotland
by land, hauing with him his nephew young Gilbert
Amfrevill earle of Angus (commonlie called earle
of Rime) being then but fouretyne yeares of age, and
this was the first time that the said earle spread his
banner. They burnt at that time Jedburgh, and the
most part of Tindale. This yeare there died of the
bloudie fir in the citie of Burdeaur fouretyne thou-
sand persons, and so fore raged that diseale in Gas-
coigne and Cusen, that there wanted people to dresse
their vines, and presse their grapes.

John Pendmarch knight, & William Long scot-
red the seas, so as no pirat durst appeare, but that
merchants & passengers might passe to & fro in safe-
tie. But yet though disdaine of some that enuied
their good successe, the same Pendmarch and Long
were accused of robberies which they should practise,
in spoliing such ships as they met with, of diuerse
things against the owners wils. Pendmarch was
driven to take sanctuary at Westminster, and could
not be suffered to lodge in anie mans house for feare
of the kings displeasure, commanding that none
should receive him, and so was constrained to set up
a tent within the porch of saint Peters church there,
and to haue his seruants to watch nightlie about
him for doubt to be murdered of his aduersaries:
but his associat William Long laie still at the sea,
till the lord admirall hauing prepared certeine ves-
sels went to the sea himselfe in person to fetch him:
but yet he could not catch him untill he had promised
him pardon, and vnder taken upon his fidelitie that
he should haue no harme: but notwithstanding all
promises, upon his comming in he was shut up
fast in the Tower, and so for a time remained in du-
rance. The archbishop of Canturburie minding in
this season to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford, could
not be suffered, in consideration of priuileges which
they pretended to haue.

The realme of France in this meane while was
disquieted, with the two factions of Burgundie and
Bleance, in most miserable wise, as in the French
histories it maie further appeare. Neither could the
king, being a lunatique person, and feeble of braine,
take any full order for reforming of such mischeifs,
so that the whole state of the kingdom was maruel-
louslie brought in decaie: neither took those troubles
end by the death of the duke of Bleance (murdered
at length through the practise of the duke of Burgo-
gnie) but rather more perillouslie increased. For the
young duke of Bleance Charles, sonne to duke Lo-
wes thus murdered, alied himselfe with the dukes
of Berrie and Burbon, and with the earles of Alan-
son & Arminache, whereby he was so strongly ban-
ded against the duke of Burgundie, whom he desired
as his mortall fo and enemie, that the duke of Bur-
gogne fearing the sequele of the matter, thought
good (because there was a motion of marriage betwixt
the prince of Wales & his daughter) to require aid of
king Henrie, who foreseeing that this ciuill discord in

France (as it after hapned) might turne his realme
to honoz and profit, sent to the duke of Burgundie,
Thomas earle of Arundell, Gilbert Amfrevill earle
of Angus (commonlie called the earle of Rime) sir
Robert Amfrevill, uncle to the same Gilbert, sir
John Oldcastle lord Cobham, sir John Greie, and
William Porter, with twelue hundred archers.

They took shipping at Douer, & landed at Slais,
from whence with speedie iournies in the latter end
of this twelfth yeare of king Henries reigne they
came to Arras, where they found the duke of Bur-
gogne, of whom they were loiallie receiued, & from
thence he appointed them to go vnto Peron, where he
assembled a power also of his owne subiects, and re-
mouing from thence, he marched through the coun-
trie, by Roie, Betuneill, Beanois, and Cisois, till he
came with his armie vnto Pontois, where he remai-
ned about the space of thre weeks. From Pontois
the thir and twentieth of October, the duke of Burgo-
gnie marched towards Paris, and passing the riuer
of Saine at Pont deulene, he staid not till he came
to Paris, into the which he entred the 23 of October,
late in the euening. The duke of Bleance laie at
the same time at saint Denis, with the more part of
his armie, & the residue kept the towne of S. Clou,
where a bidge laie ouer the riuer of Saine. On the
9 of Nouember, with hard & sharpe fight the Eng-
lishmen gat the towne of saint Clou, with the bidge,
slew & drowned nine hundred souldiours that were set
there to defend that passage, besides 400 that were
taken prisoners. They took also about 12 hundred
horses, which they found in the towne, with great ri-
ches, whereof the men of warre made their profit.

Among other prisoners, sir Panferd de Bos a va-
liant capteine was taken, and shortly after put to
death, as diuerse other were, which the Burgognians
bought of the Englishmen that had taken them pri-
soners. The tower that stood at the end of the bidge
could not be wone. At another bickering also, it
chanced that the Englishmen, vnder the leading of
the earle of Angus or Rime, had the upper hand, and
toke manie prisoners, whom the duke of Burgundie
would that they should haue bene likewise put to
death as traitors to their countrie, but the said earle
of Angus answered for himselfe, and the residue
of the Englishmen, that they would rather die all in
the place, than suffer their prisoners to be bled other-
wise than as men of war ought to be, that is, to haue
their liues saued, and to be ransomed according as
the law of armes required, and by that meanes they
were preferred. The duke of Burgundie hauing the
worlde at will (for the duke of Bleance immediatlie
after the losse of saint Clou, departing from saint
Denis, got him into the high countries) sent home
the Englishmen with hartie thanks, and great re-
wards.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas
Beauford earle of Dorset, and his sonne the lord Tho-
mas of Lancaster, that was lord steward of Eng-
land, and earle of Aubemarle, he created duke of
Clarence. John duke of Burgundie, hauing now the
gouernance both of the French king and his relme,
so persecuted the duke of Bleance and his compli-
ces, that finallie they for their last refuge required aid
of king Henrie, sending ouer vnto him certeine per-
sons as their lawfull procurators (of the which one
was called Albert Aubemont, a man of great wit,
learning, & audacitie) to offer in name of the confede-
rates vnto the said king Henrie and to his sonnes,
certeine conditions, which were made and concluded
the yeare of our Lord 1412, the eight of Maie. The
names of the chiefe confederats were these, John
duke of Berrie and earle of Poitou, Charles duke of
Bleance, and Malois erle of Blois, and Beaumont
lord

The earles of
Arundell and
Angus with
others sent to
aid the duke
of Burgo-
gnie.

Anno Reg. 13.

Saint Clou
taken by the
helpe of the
Englishmen.

Sir Pan-
ferd de Bos
put to death.

Harding.

Recon. Turris.
Creations of
noblemen.

Hall.

The Olean-
tiall factis su-
eth to the Is.
of England
for aid.

The confeder-
ates of the
Olean-
tiall faction.

lord of Coucie and Ach, John duke of Bourbon, and Amuergne earle of Clearmont forest, and Aile lord of Beaucieu, and Castreau Chinon, John duke of Arlanfon, Barnard earle of Arminacke, and others. The effect of the articles which these confederats were agreed, vpon touching their offer to the king of England, were as followeth.

The articles of couenants which
they offered to the king of England.

First, they offered their bodie, finances, and lands, to serue the king of England, his heires, and successors, in all iust causes and actions, sauing alwaies their allegiance, knowing that he would not further inquire of them.

2 Secondlie, they offered their sonnes and daughters, naes and nephues, and all other their kindred folks to be bestowed in marriages according to the pleasure of the king of England.

3 Thirdlie, they offered their castels, towne, treasures, and all their other goods, to serue the forsaide king.

4 Fourthlie, they offered their friends, allies, and well-willers to serue him, being the most part of all the nobles of France, churchmen, clarkes, and honest citizens, as it should well appeare.

5 Fifthlie, they offered to put him in possession of the duchie of Guien, which they were readie to protest to belong vnto the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie and franchises, as any other king of England his predecessor had held and inioied the same.

6 Sixtly, that they would be readie to recognise the lands which they possessed within that duchie, to hold the same of the king of England, as of the verie true duke of Guien, promising all seruices and homages after the best maner that might be.

7 Seuenthly, they promised to deliuer vnto the king, as much as late in them, all towne and castels appertaining to the roialtie and seigniorie of the king of England, which are in number twentie towne and castels: and as to the regard of other towne and castles which were not in their hands, they would to the uttermost of their powers, helpe the king of England and his heires to win them out of his aduersaries hands.

8 Eightly, that the duke of Berrie, as vassall to the king of England, and likewise the duke of Orleans his subiect and vassall, should hold of him by homage and fealtie, the lands and seigniorie hereafter following, that is to saie; the duke of Berrie to hold onelie the countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the duke of Orleans to hold the countie of Angoulesme during his life, and the countie of Perigourte for ever, and the earle of Arminacke to hold foure castels vpon certeine suerties and conditions, as by indenture should be appointed. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requested of the king of England to condescend vnto these conditions in writing.

The conditions which they requested of the king of England.

First, that the king of England, as duke of Guien should defend and succor them as he ought to do, against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and speciallie vntill they had executed iustice fullie vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the crime which he committed vpon the person of the duke of Orleans.

2 Secondlie, that he should assist them against the said duke of Burgognie and his fautors, to recouer

again their goods, which by occasion of the said duke and his friends they had lost and bene depriued of.

3 Thirdlie, that he should likewise aid them in all iust quarels, for recouering of damages done to their friends, vassals and subiects.

4 Fourthlie, to helpe and assist them for the concluding and establishing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, so far as was possible. And further they besought the king of England to send vnto them eight thousand men, to aid them against the duke of Burgognie and his complices, which daily procured the French king to make war vpon them, seeking by all waies and means how to destroye them.

The king of England louinglie interceded the messengers, and vpon consideration had of their offers, as well for that he detested the shamefull murder of the duke of Orleans (which remained unpunished by support of such as maintained the duke of Burgognie, who as it appeared) would keepe promise no longer than serued his owne turne) as also for that the same offers seemed to make greatlie both for his honor and profit, thought that by the office of a king he was bound in dutie to succour them that cried for iustice, and could not haue it; and namelie sith in right they were his subiects and vassals, he ought to defend them in maintenance of his superiourie and seigniorie. Herevpon as duke of Guien, he took vpon him to succor and defend them against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and so sending a waite the messengers, promised to send them aid verie shortly.

This feat was not so secretlie wrought, but that it was knowne straightwaies in France. Wherefore the French kings counsell sent the earle of saint Paule downe into Picardie, with fiftene hundred horsemen, and a great number of footmen, who approaching to Guisnes, attempted to assault the castell, but was repelled and beaten backe, so that he retired to the towne of saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Englishmens hands, but euer departed from them with losse and dishonor. In this meane season the French king being led by the duke of Burgognie, pursued them that took part with the duke of Orleans, commonlie called Arminacks, and after the winning of diuerse towne he besieged the citie of Burges in Berrie, comming before it vpon saturday the eleuenth of June, with a right huge armie. Within this citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the earle of Auvergne, the lord Dalmet, the archbishops of Sens and Burges, the bishops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with them fiftene hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers and arcuballisters.

There were with the king at this siege, his sonne the duke of Aquitaine, other wise called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgognie and Bar, and a great number of other earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen; so that the citie was besieged euen till within the faur burges of that side towards Dun le Roie. The siege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignat, lord great maister of the Rhodes, and the marshall of Saouie, that were both in the kings campe, traouelling betwixt the parties, there were appointed commissioners on both sides to treat for peace, to wit the maister of the crossbowes, and the senehall of Heinalt, and certeine other for the king; and the archbishop of Burges, with the lord of Sawcourt and others for the Orleanist side. These coming together on a fridaie, the sixteenth of Iulie in the Dolphin's tent, used the matter with such discretion, that they concluded a peace, and so on the Wednesday next following, the campe brake vp, and the king returned.

Whilist these things were a doing in France, the

The king of England doth by this meanes to defend the Orleanist faction.

The earle of saint Paule assaulted the castell of Guisnes.

His sonne was against the Englishmen.

A peace was concluded betwixt the Orleanist and Burgognist factions.

The duke of
Clarence sent
to aid the duke
of Orleans,

tion of our ladie, he sent ouer an armie of eight hundred men of armes, and nine thousand archers, vnder the leading of his second sonne the duke of Clarence accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke, Thomas earle of Dorset, and diuerse other noble men and worthie captains. They landed in the Baie de la Hogue saint Maist, in the countrie of Constantine. The Englishmen swarmed like bees round about the countrie, robbing and spoiling the same.

Enguerant.

The earle of
Gloucester and
Richmond
sent to the duke
of Clarence.

The duke of
Clarence mar-
ched toward
Guien.

Enguerant.

The lord of
Rambures.

The earles of
Kent and War-
wicke sent as-
suer to Calis.

Fabian.
Cointe chan-
ged.

Abr. Fl. out of
Fabian pag.
388.
Thee floods
without chie-
ding between.

Abr. Fl. out of
R. Grafton,
pag. 433, 434,
in folio.

Whittington
college es-
tablished.

Charitie.

Newgate
builded.

S. Bartholo-
mews hospitall

Shortly after their departore from the place where they landed, there came to them six hundred armed men of Gascoignes that were inrolled at Burdeaur. When newes thereof came to the French court, being then at Auverre, incontinentlie the earles of Arlanon and Richmond were dispatched to go vnto the English campe, because they had euer bene partakers with the duke of Myleance, to giue them thanks for their paines, and to aduertise them of the peace that had bene lately concluded betwixt the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they might be satisfi'd, so as they should not spoile & waste the countrie, as they had begun. But where as the Englishmen were greedie to haue, and the duke of Myleance was not rich to paie, they marched on towards Guien in good order, and that by sack-king of townes, and ransoming of rich prisoners, they got great treasure, and manie good prizes and booties.

Being passed the riuer of Loire they spoiled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and sword wasted the countries of Touraine and Maine. The lord de Rambures appointed to resist such violence, was easily vanquished. Moreover, to the aid of the duke of Myleance, the king of England sent ouer to Calis the earles of Kent and Warwicke, with two thousand fighting men, which spoiled and wasted the countrie of Bullennois, burnt the towne of Samer de Bots, and toke with assault the fortreffe of Kussalt, and diuerse other. This yeare, the king abased the coines of his gold and silver, causing the same to be currant in this realme, at such value as the other was valued before, where indeed the noble was worse by foure pence than the former, and so likewise of the silver, the coines whereof he appointed to be currant after the same rate. ¶ In this yeare, and vpon the twelfth day of October, were three floods in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & no ebbing betwene: which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be seene.

¶ In this kings time, and in the eighth yeare of his reigne (as Richard Grafton hath recorded) a worthie citizen of London named Richard Whittington, mercer and alderman, was elected maio: of the said citie, and bare that office three times. This man so beloved his gods and substance, that he hath well deserved to be registred in chronicles. First he erected one house or church in London to be a house of prayer, and named the same after his owne name, Whittington college, remaining at this daie. In the said church, besides certeine priests and clerks, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, builded for them houses and lodgings, and allowed them wood, coles, cloth, and what else monie to their great reliefe and comfort. This man also at his owne cost builded the gate of London called Newgate in the yeere of our Lord 1422, which before was a most ougly and lothsome prison. He also builded more than the halfe of S. Bartholomewes hospitall in west Smithfield. He builded likewise the beautifull librarie in the grate friers in London now called Christs hospitall, standing in the north part of the cloister thereof, where in the wall his armes be grauen in stone. He also builded for the ease of the maio: of London, his brethren, and the worshipfull citizens, on the solempne

daies of their assemblie, a chapell adioining to the Guildhall; to the intent that before they entered into any of their worlde affaires, they should begin with prayer and invocation to God for his assistance: at the end ioining to the south part of the said chapell, he builded for the citie a librarie of stone, for the custodie of their records and other booke. He also builded a great part of the east end of Guildhall; and did manie other good deeds worthie of imitation. By a writing of this mans owne hand, which he willed to be fired as a schedule to his last will and testament, it appeareth what a pitifull and relenting heart he had at other mens miseries, and did not onelie wish but also did what he could procure for their reliefe. In so much that he charged and commanded his executors, as they would answer before God at the daie of the resurrection of all flesh, that if they found any debto: of his, whom if in conscience they thought not to be well worth three times as much as they owght him, and also out of other mens debt, and well able to paie, that then they should neuer demand it; for he clearely forgave it: and that they should put no man in late for any debt due to him. A worthie memoriall of a notable minded gentleman.

¶ We haue heard how the duke of Clarence and his armie did much hurt in the realme of France, in places as he passed: wherevpon at length, the duke of Myleance being earnestly called vpon to dispatch the Englishmen out of France, according to an article compilled in the conclusion of the peace, he came to the duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armie a thousand grames of silver, and disbursed to them as much monie as he or his friends might easily spare; and for the rest being two hundred and nine thousand frankes remaining unpaid, he deliuered in gage his second brother, John duke of Angouleme, which was grandfather to king Francis the first, that reigned in our daies, sir Marcell de Burges, and sir John de Samoures, sir Archibald Chiblers, and diuerse other, which earle continued long in England, as after shall appeare. When this agreement was thus made betwixt the dukes of Myleance and Clarence, the English armie with rich prizes, booties and prisoners came to Burdeaur, making waie on the frontiers of France, to their great gaine. In this meane while, the lord of Helie, one of the marshalls of France, with an armie of foure thousand men, besieged a certeine fortreffe in Guien, which an English knight, one sir John Blunt kept, who with three hundred men that came to his aid, discomfited, chased, and ouerthrew the French poluer, toke prisoners twelue men of name, and other gentlemen to the number of six score, and amongst other, the said marshall, who was sent ouer into England, and put in the castell of Milsebet, from whence he escaped, and got ouer into France, where seruing the duke of Myleance at the battell of Agincourt, he was slaine amongst other.

¶ In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Venterles reigne, a counsell was holden in the white friers in London, at the which, amongst other things, order was taken for ships and galleies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessarie to be provided for a voyage which he meant to make into the holle land, there to recover the citie of Jerusalem from the Infidels. For it grewed him to consider the great malice of christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischeifous purpose to destroye one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather than to make war against the enemies of the christian faith, as in conscience (it seemed to him) they were bound. He held his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being soxe bered with sicknesse, so that it was thought sometime that

Guildhall
enlarged

Anno Reg. 14.

The duke of
Myleance gi-
ueth to the En-
glish armie.

The lord of
Helie marshall
of France.

Sir John
Blunt.

Fabian.
The king
to haue made
a tourneye
against the
Infidels.

The king
being ber-
ered with
sicknesse.

An. Reg. 14.

that he had bene dead : notwithstanding it pleased God that he found that recovered his strength againe, and so passed that Christmasse with as much ioy as he might.

The morrow after Candlemas daie began a parlement, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the same parlement was ended: for now that his provisions were readie, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, cap-
tains, bittels, munitions, tall ships, strong gallees, and all things necessarie for such a roiall tournie as he pretended to take into the holie land, he was effo-
rmed taken with a soze sicknesse, which was not a le-
prossie, stricken by the hand of God (saith matter Hall) as foolish friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languished till his appointed houre, and had none other grace nor maladie; so that what man or-
deined, God altereth at his good will and pleasure, not giving place more to the pince, than to the po-
rest creature living, when he seeth his time to dispose of him this waie or that, as to his omnipotent pow-
er and diuine prouidence seemeth expedient. During this his last sicknesse, he caused his crowne (as some write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head, and sud-
denly his pangs so sore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall spirits had bene from him de-
parted. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had bene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

The pince his sonne being hereof aduertised, en-
tered into the chamber, toke awaie the crowne, and departed. The father being suddently reuiued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and hauing knowledge that the pince his sonne had taken it awaie, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant to do to misse himselfe. The pince with a good audacitie an-
swered; Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your next
here apparant toke that as mine owne, and not as
yours. Well faire sonne (said the king with a great
sigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth. Well (said the pince) if you die king, I will haue the garland, and trust to keepe it with the sword against all mine
enemies, as you haue done. Then said the king, I
commit all to God, and remember you to doo well.
With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and shortly after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of
Westminster called Jerusalem, the twentieth daie of
March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeate of his age
46, when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fise mo-
neths and od daies, in great perplexitie and little
pleasure (or fourteene yeares, as some haue noted,
who name not the disease wherof he died, but refer
it to sicknesse absolutelie, whereby his time of depar-
ture did approach and fetch him out of the world: as
Ch. Orl. saith, whose words may serue as a funerall
epitaph in memorie of the said king Henrie:

*Henricus quartus bis septem rexerat annos
Anglorum gentem summa cum laude & amore,
long senescenti fatalis terminus aui
Ingruerat, morbus fatalem accerserat horam.*

We find, that he was taken with his last sick-
nesse, while he was making his prayers at saint Ed-
wards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and
so to proceed forth on his tournie: he was so sudden-
lie and greivouslie taken, that such as were about
him, feared least he would haue died presentlie, wher-
fore to releeue him (if it were possible) they bare him
into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to
the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a
pillow before the fire, and vied all remedies to reuiue
him. At length, he recovered his speech, and under-
standing and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place

which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber
had any particular name, wherunto answer was
made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then said the
king; Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for
now I know that I shall die here in this chamber,
according to the prophesie of me declared, that I
should depart this life in Jerusalem.

Whether this was true that so he spake, as one
that gaue too much credit to foolish prophesies & vaine
tales, or whether it was fained, as in such cases it
commonlie happeneth, we leaue it to the aduised rea-
der to iudge. His bodie with all funerall pompe was
conueied vnto Canturburie, and there solemnlie bu-
ried, leaving behind him by the ladie Marie daugh-
ter to the lord Humfre Bohun earle of Hereford
and Northampton, Henrie pince of Wales, Tho-
mas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, Hum-
fre duke of Gloucester, Blanch duchesse of Bauier,
and Philip quene of Denmarke: by his last wife
Jane, he had no children. This king was of a meane
 stature, well proportioned, and formallie compact,
quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his
latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat
more loue amongst the nobles and people of this
realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will
in the beginning.

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, af-
ter he had attained to the crowne, what with such
taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was
constrained to charge the people with; and what by
punishing such as moued with disdeine to see him v-
surpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his
entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile)
did at sundrie times rebell against him, he wan him-
selfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had
bene longer by manie yeares than it was) had bene
possible for him to haue worded out & removed. And
yet doubtlesse, worthy were his subjects to tast of
that bitter cup, siethens they were so readie to ioin-
e and clappe hands with him, for the deposing of their
rightfull and naturall pince king Richard, whose
chefe fault rested onlie in that, that he was too boun-
tifull to his friends, and too mercifull to his foes; spe-
ciallie if he had not bene dyaone by others, to seeke
reuenge of those that abused his good and courteous
nature. ¶ But now to returne to the matter present.
The duke of Clarence immediatlie vpon knowlege
had of his father king Henrie the fourth his death,
returned out of Cuten into England, with the earle
of Angolesme, and other prisoners.

Now will we rehearse what writers of our Eng-
lish nation liued in the daies of this king. That re-
nowned poet Geffrie Chaucer is worthilie named
as principall, a man so eruditie learned in all scienc-
ces, that his match was not lightlie found any where
in those daies; and for reducing our English tong to
a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all o-
ther; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord
1400, as Bale gathereth: but by other it appeareth,
that he decessed the fise and twentieth of October in
the yeare 1400, and lieth buried at Westminster, in
the south part of the great church there, as by a mo-
nument erected by Nicholas Bigham it doth ap-
peare. John Gower descended of that worthy fami-
lie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Northshire (as
Leland noteth) studied not onlie the common lawes
of this realme, but also other kinds of literature, and
great knowledge in the same, namelie in poetical
inventions, applieng his indeno: with Chaucer, to
garnish the English tong, in bringing it from a rude
imperfectnesse, vnto a more apt elegancie: for wher-
as before those daies, the learned vsed to write onlie
in Latine or French, and not in English, our tong
remained verie barren, rude, and imperfect; but now
by

He is buried
at Canturbu-
rie.

His stature,

John Stow.

by the diligent industrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatly amended, so as it grew not onely verie rich and plentifull in words, but also so proper and apt to expresse that which the mind conceived, as any other vsuall language. Gower departed this life shortly after the decesse of his deere and louing friend Chaucer; to wit, in the yeare 1402, being then come to great age, and blind for a certeine time before his death. He was buried in the church of saint Marie Queries in Southwarke.

Pooreouer, Hugh Legat borne in Hertfordshire, and a monke of saint Albons, wrote scholies vpon Archytrenius of John Hanuill, and also vpon Boetius *De consolatione*; Roger Alington, chancelor of the vniuersitie of Oxford, a great sophister, & an enimie to the doctrine of Wickliffe; John Botrell, a logician; Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the same name in Hertfordshire, a Dominike frier, first proceeded master of art in Orenford, and after going to Paris, became the french kings confessor; and therefore hath bene of some taken to be a french man; John Elleshull, so called of a monasterie in the west parties of this realme whereof he was gouernour; Walter Dille, so called of a towne in Dorsethe where he was borne, first a Carmelite frier professed in Norwich, and after going to Cambridge, he there proceeded doctor; he was also confessor to the duke of Lancaster, and to his wife the duchesse Constance, & a great setter forth of pope Urbans cause against the other popes that were by him and those of his faction named the antipapes; Thomas Waldon, so called of the towne of that name in Essex where he was borne; John Edo, descended out of Wales by linage, and borne in Herefordshire, a Franciscane frier.

Add to the forenamed, Nicholas Fakingham, borne in Dorsethe, a greie frier, proceeded doctor in Orenford, a great diuine, and an excellent philosopher, prouinciall of his order here in England; Lawrence Holbecke, a monke of Ramse, well sene in the Hebrew tong, and wrote thereof a dictionarie; John Colton, archbishop of Ardmach; John Parrie, so called of a village in Dorsethe where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaster; Richard Chefer borne in Dorsethe, a diuine, and an Augustine frier in Norwich; John Lathburie, a Franciscane frier of Reading; Nicholas Woutz; Richard Scrope brother to William Scrope, lord tresuro; of England, studied in Cambridge, and proceeded there doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocat in the court of Rome, and afterwards was aduanced to the gouernement of the see of Couentrie and Lichfield, and at length was removed from thence, and made archbishop of Yorke, he wrote an inuective against king Henrie, and at length lost his head, as before ye haue heard; John Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an house of his order in Calis.

As and monuments of John Fox.

Furthermore, John Colbie, a Carmelite frier of Norwich; William Thorpe a northerne man borne, and student in Orenford, an excellent diuine, and an earnest follower of that famous cleark John Wickliffe, a notable preacher of the word, and expelling his doctrine no lesse in trade of life, than in spech, he was at length apprehended by commandement of the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to prison in Saltwood castell, where at length he died; Stephen Watrington, borne in

Dorsethe, a frier Carmelite, prouinciall of his order through England, of which word there were at that season 1500 within this land, he was bishop of saint Davids, and confessor to king Henrie the first, about the first yeare of whose reigne he decessed; Robert Pascall, a Carmelite frier of Ludlow, confessor also to the said k. who made him bishop of Hereford; Reginald Langham, a frier minor of Norwich; Actonius Dominicanus; Thomas Palmer, warden of the Blache friers within the citie of London; Boston of Burie, a monke of the abbey of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a catalog of all the writers of the church, and other treatises.

Pooreouer, Thomas Peuerell, a frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, he was aduanced to the see of Ossie in Ireland by Richard the second, and after by pope Boniface the ninth removed to Landaffe in Wales, and from thence called by Henrie the fourth, with consent of pope Gregorie the twelfth, to gouerne the see of Worcester, and so continued bishop of that citie, untill he ended his life in the yeare of our Lord 1418, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fifth; John Burcie, an excellent diuine, proceeded master of art in Orenford, he was apprehended for such doctrine as he taught, contrarie to the ordinaunces of the church of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, to recant at Paules crosse seven speciall articles, he wrote diuerse treatises, & was the second time committed to prison in king Henrie the fifth his daies, by Henrie Chichele, that succeeded Arundell in gouernement of the church of Canturburie; William Holme, a greie frier (and a good physician for curing diseases of the bodie, whatsoeuer his physician was for the soule) he liued untill Henrie the fifth his daies, and decessed about the fourth yeare of his reigne; Nicholas Batard, a blache frier, a doctor of diuinitie professed at Orenford; Thomas Raddburne, archdeacon of Sudburie, and bishop of saint Davids in Wales, succeeding after Stephan Watrington, he wrote a chronicle, and certeine epistles (as John Bale noteth.)

Finallie and to conclude, Nicholas Kilton, who being sore grieved in mind, as diuerse other in those daies, to consider what inconuenience redounded to the church, by reason of the strife and bialling among the prelats for the acknowledging of a lawfull pope, two or thre still contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, intituled *De tollendo schismate*; John Walter, an excellent mathematician, being first brought vp of a scholer in the college of Winchester, and after studied at Orenford; Thomas of Petowmarket, taking that surname of the towne in Cambridgeshire where he was borne, he for his worthinesse (as was thought) was made bishop of Careleill, well sene both in other sciences, and also in diuinitie; William Auger a Franciscane frier, of an house of that order in Bridgewater; Peter Russell a greie frier, and of his order the prouinciall here in England; John Langton, a Carmelite; Robert Langham a monke of Cernelie in Dorsethe, wrote a booke in verse, of the originall and signification of words; William Foxton, a Franciscane frier of Couentrie; Hugh Suth, a blache frier, and a great preacher; Richard Follham a monke of Norwich; Robert Wimbeldon, a singular diuine, and an excellent preacher, as appeareth by the sermon which he made upon this text, *Redderationem villacionis tue.*

See mally Fox, in the booke of 344 and monuments.

As also monuments.

Thus farre Henrie Plantagenet sonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancafter.

Henrie